









ST. BONAVENTURE
The Seraphic Doctor

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 1

JANUARY, 1924

SCIENCE

in the

FRANCISCAN ORDER

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

by JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.

LIBRARY
FRANCISCAN
SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY,
BERKELEY



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

BX

3601

F7

V.1-6

1924-

27

NIHIL OBSTAT.

FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap.

Censor deputatus

IMPRIMI PERMITTITUR.

HENRY KLUEPFEL, O. M. Cap.

Minister Provincial

Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 12, 1923

IMPRIMATUR.

+ HUGH C. BOYLE, D. D.

Bishop of Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 14, 1923

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

THE "Franciscan Studies" are intended to be what their name implies—a series of monographs written by Franciscan Friars and dealing with subjects of interest to thoughtful men and women. They will serve as an organ for publishing the researches of Franciscan scholars whether these deal with the history of the Franciscan Order or with any other topic that may engage the attention of the Catholic investigator. It is hoped that they will prove an incentive to Franciscan scholarship and encourage among our Friars that scholarly and literary activity that are said to be an urgent need of the American Church to-day.

The success of similar ventures in Europe warrants us in undertaking the publication of the series. In France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Spain the Friars are publishing scientific periodicals, and if this can be done with only one branch of the Order, and in certain cases only one Province, supporting the respective reviews, what may we expect of the "Franciscan Studies" sponsored as they are by the three branches of the Order and published in the land of infinite possibilities!

The contents of this number, the first of the series, may be adduced as evidence that our undertaking is in keeping with the best traditions of the Franciscan Order. The monograph of the Rev. John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap., is a summary of what the sons of St. Francis have accomplished in science during the past seven hundred years. The treatise may even seem to suggest that in these latter days the Friars have not made the most of their glorious heritage. But in this respect the Friars were affected like the rest of the clergy by the untoward conditions of the time. The French Revolution and the subsequent Secularization had swept away so much of the ancient institutions that the attention of Catholic scholars was concentrated almost exclusively upon what they regarded as their last stronghold—the philosophical and theological disciplines. This situation was unfortunate as the period was remarkable for passionate and often exaggerated devotion to science. And it is only because the theologians neglected the natural sciences that the fable of the opposition between sci-

ence and religion could obtain such wide acceptance among the masses. Hence we welcome all the more eagerly researches like the present one as a means to convince both friend and foe that the Church has never been the enemy of the sciences. Researches of this kind also furnish concrete proof that Catholic scholars promote the best interests of the Church by devoting themselves to scientific research.

"Science in the Franciscan Order" was read as a paper at the fifth annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, from June 28th to June 30th, 1923, and some of the discussions that it called forth at the time are appended herewith. Copies of the Report containing all the proceedings and papers of the meeting may be obtained from the Secretary of the Franciscan Educational Conference, Herman, Pa.

Several monographs of a character similar to the present issue are in preparation, and the reception accorded to the first number will guide both the editors and their collaborators in their plans for the future. Hence we bespeak for the first issue the interest of all who have at heart the furthering of Catholic scholarship and the advancement of God's kingdom on earth.

The editorial board of the "Franciscan Studies" is composed of twelve Friars representing the Franciscan Provinces of the United States and Canada. Rev. Felix M. Kirsch, O. M. Cap., is the editor-in-chief; and the following Friars are the associate editors: Rev. Bede Hess, O. M. C., Rev. Cyril Kita, O. M. C., Rev. Ferdinand Gruen, O. F. M., Rev. Joseph F. Rhode, O. F. M., Rev. Victor Mills, O. F. M., Rev. Robert Moore, O. F. M., Rev. Cyril Piontek, O. F. M., Rev. Ermin Schneider, O. F. M., Rev. Sixtus Ligario, O. F. M., Rev. Theodosius Foley, O. M. Cap., Rev. Francis S. Laing, O. M. Cap.

SCIENCE IN THE FRANCISCAN ORDER

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

FR. JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. CAP.

SCIENCE in its broadest concept is synonymous with learning and systematic knowledge. But general usage has restricted its meaning to the systematized knowledge of nature and natural phenomena, thus making it a short term for natural science. Natural science taken in a very wide sense includes both physics and chemistry, and the large class of descriptive sciences together with mathematics and its allied disciplines.

Being a body of cultured men the early Franciscans were familiar with the natural sciences in so far as they were taught in the schools of the time. In this regard the early Franciscans did not differ from the early Dominicans or the members of other religious Orders.

Origin of Science in the Franciscan Order

However, St. Francis introduced into his Order a new stimulus for cultivating the study of nature — the poetical motive. Love of nature was the great passion of our Seraphic Father. He sought in all things for the traces of God's beauty and found them even in the lowest of His creatures. Conscious of our common origin he called them his brothers and sisters. His heart went out in love not only to his fellowmen, but to all the lower animals—the birds in the air, the beasts on the land, the fishes in the sea. He loved the rock and the forest, the meadow and the vineyard, the rivulet and the blue sky, fire and water and wind; and called upon them all to remain pure, to praise their Maker and be His servants. Where other men saw only fleeting beauty, St. Francis perceived by intuition the eternal links which bind the physical order to the moral order, and the eternal principles which connect the mysteries of nature with the mysteries of faith. He loved the beauty of the flower, delighted in its sweet odor, and was reminded thereby of the mystical flower on the stem of Jesse. He

preached to birds as though they were endowed with reason. He praised the industry of the bee, and held up to his disciples as models the lark and the dove. In the eighteenth year of his Penance, he composed the *Canticle of the Sun*, and thus interpreted for the mediæval and the modern world the sentiment of the Old-Testament *Benedicite*. It may be noted in passing that Renan did not hesitate to proclaim St. Francis one of the great religious poets of all time, and his *Canticle of the Sun* as the greatest religious poem since the Hebrew Psalms were written. The noble poem reveals, in spite of its brevity, the whole soul of the Saint, but discloses especially his tender love for every one of God's creatures.

St. Francis passed away amid the sweet strains of his *Canticle of the Sun*, but his brethren had caught of his spirit. The generation of Friar-poets who went out from Assisi brought home to the world at large the message of the *Canticle of the Sun*. Still these poetical hymns to nature, which broaden out as time went on into mystical and apocalyptic effusions, are not products of science. The study of science in the Franciscan Order is a by-product of the study of philosophy and as such is a later development of the original ideal of St. Francis.

St. Francis was opposed to the study of all purely profane sciences in his Order, and allowed the study of theology only.¹ Towards the end of the year 1223, St. Antony of Padua opened, with the approval of the Seraphic Father, the first theological school at Bologna, and the scholastic movement spread so rapidly that twenty-five years later schools had been established in all Provinces of Italy and France.² Some of these theological schools had in the meantime taken up the study of philosophy and the natural sciences.

It was about the year 1230 that Robert Grosseteste began in the convent of the Friars Minor at Oxford his lectures on the natural sciences and philosophy. The convent of Oxford

First Franciscan School of Science was therefore the first Franciscan school of science, and remained throughout the thirteenth century the most famous Franciscan school for the study of the natural sciences.

1 Hilarin Felder, O. M. Cap., "Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden." Freiburg, 1904, pp. 95ff.

2 Felder, l. c., pp. 149, 153, 155.

Aristotle continued during the entire Middle Ages the great master in the natural sciences as well as in philosophy. His works were used as textbooks in the schools, were commented upon by generations of teachers, and formed the starting-point for new researches and systems. In the Franciscan Order no less than in the rest of Christian Europe, the natural sciences were inconceivable apart from Aristotelianism. However, prior to 1250 the schools at Oxford and Paris formed the only centres where the natural sciences were seriously studied along with philosophy.

But in spite of strong opposition on the part of the so-called Spiritualists the study of the natural sciences and philosophy was gradually introduced into all Franciscan schools during

the latter part of the 13th century and was finally approved formally by the General Constitutions of 1292 so that henceforth these studies formed part of the official curriculum in the schools of the Friars Minor.³

Felder⁴ interprets the wording of the General Constitutions of 1292 as having reference to medical studies. He contends that throughout the thirteenth century the word "physica" stands for "medicine" in all legal texts as well as in decrees of Councils and Popes: "Since the natural sciences were to form not only the most important and extensive branch of medicine, but also to put medicine upon a new and scientific basis, and really had a better claim than medicine to the denomination of Physics, the General Chapter had as early as 1292 called the natural sciences by the name of Physics; the words: *Physica legantur*, in the General Constitutions of 1292 accordingly mean 'physical sciences which are preparatory to medicine'." But this opinion of the distinguished historian is erroneous. The Provincials and Custodes who framed the Constitutions of 1292 could have in mind nothing else than Aristotle's *Physics* which had by that time been studied in the schools for more than sixty years; the "commentaria in physicam" circulating among the students were commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, so that "physica" had long before 1292 become a technical term for the Aristotelian natural sciences. Therefore the first official approbation of these studies marks a mile-

³ Felder, l. c., pp. 462, 465.

⁴ Felder, l. c., pp. 390-394.

stone in the history of the natural sciences in the Franciscan Order.

A historical sketch of the study of the natural sciences among the Friars Minor can not overlook, as is generally done, the corresponding teaching of the schools in the different ages.

**Importance of
the General
History of
Science Teaching**

Most of these systems, popular in bygone ages, may seem mere rubbish to our generation, yet they formed the mental pabulum for thousands of Friars and were, in many a case, stepping-stones in the upward march of modern science. The hypotheses of the past claim just as much respect as some of the supposed achievements of modern science which will be classed before long among the vagaries of the human mind.

TRADITIONAL TEACHING OF THE SCHOOLS

Dominicus Gundissalinus (died after 1153) is the first apostle of Aristotelianism in Europe. He is the first Latin author who in his own works availed himself of Aristotle's physical writings. Yet Gundissalinus, like his successors Simon of Tournay (died after 1196) and Alain of Lille (d. 1202), used Aristotle's physical writings only sparingly, and was primarily a philosopher.

Alexander Neckam was the first Peripatetic naturalist of Latin Europe. Born at St. Albans in England in 1157, he came to France at an early age and obtained a professorship at Paris in 1180, but returning a few years later he died in 1217. In his work, "De natura rerum" (edited by Wright, London, 1863) he includes dissertations on the four elements, on astronomy, natural history, mineralogy, and optics.

Alfred Sereshel or Sarchel (died after 1227), another Englishman, added an exposition of physiology and psychology, while the Scotchman Michael Scotus (died about 1234) popularized the pseudo-Aristotelian book on physiognomy and Arabian astronomy, chemistry, and the occult sciences.

At this juncture the great Friar Minor Alexander of Hales (died 1245) entered and made the whole range of Aristotle's philosophy tributary to Catholic theology. The huge *Summa* of Alexander of Hales is the first successful effort to utilize

Aristotelian philosophy in the interests of speculative theology.⁵ Alexander quotes Aristotle's physical and metaphysical books as well as the commentaries of Avicenna and Averroes, and this had never been done by any previous theologian.⁶ A detailed study of the use made of Aristotle's works by Alexander of Hales is still a great desideratum, and we may hope that some future day a studious Friar may fill out this gap, the more so since the forthcoming standard edition of Alexander's *Summa* will greatly facilitate such researches.

"Whether Alexander of Hales," writes Fr. Felder, (op. cit., pp. 204-205, note 3), "has compiled regular commentaries on Aristotelian works, is still a moot point. Two works quoted in a document of the Parisian University from the year 1286 under the title: *Commentum Alexandri super librum Meteororum et Phisognomia Aristotelis* have remained unnoticed hitherto, and they may be ascribed to Alexander of Hales or his namesake Alexander of Paris." But this conjecture of the distinguished Friar is preposterous. The two commentaries spoken of in the document are the works of the celebrated Greek philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias (died after 211 A. D.) which had been translated into Latin and were widely used at the universities. Alexander of Hales did not write commentaries on Aristotelian books.

The systematic study of Aristotle's physical books and what was then considered natural sciences, was inaugurated in the Franciscan Order by the lectures of Robert Grosseteste in the Friary at Oxford in 1230. Grosseteste was born in 1175, became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, and died in 1253. He was a genius in every regard, great as theologian, philosopher, scientist, and philologist. He compiled a systematic *Summa* of Aristotle's eight books of *Physics*, wrote a compendium on the globe, books on geometry, arithmetic, and chronology, and also a *Compendium of the Sciences* treating of medicine, music, optics, and politics. The *Summa philosophiae* treating of forms, colors, iris, and comets is spurious.⁷

Grosseteste reaped his highest honors at his Franciscan school, had his best scholars and friends among the Friars,

⁵ Felder, l. c., pp. 199ff.

⁶ Felder, l. c., p. 204.

⁷ This book has been published by L. Bauer, "Robert Grossetestes philosophische Werke z. erstenmal vollst. in kritischer Ausgabe besorgt." Muenster, 1912, in "Beitraege," IX.

and wrote a large number of his books in the Friary. He must therefore be regarded as the first Franciscan scientist.

Adam of Marsh, the fast friend of Robert of Grosseteste, was the first Friar who taught at the Franciscan School in Oxford (from about 1234 till his death on Nov. 18, 1258). Roger Bacon praises him as a great scholar and speaks highly of his attainments in the domain of the natural sciences. Unfortunately none of his works seem to have survived the ravages of the time, so that we can not give any details regarding the particular merits of this Franciscan scientist.

Roger Bacon speaks in terms of high praise of what the Oxford Friars achieved in the study of the natural sciences. The Oxford Friary is in his eyes the centre of all experimental and physical sciences, as well as of mathematics. But these early Oxford Scientists, with but one exception, have not left any works and accordingly remain mere names in the annals of the history of the inductive sciences.

Friar John Peckham (d. 1292), who taught at Oxford and Paris and later became Archbishop of Canterbury (1279-1292), is one of the few writers on optics during the thirteenth century. His work published under the title *Perspectiva communis* is, however, actually nothing else than an extract from Alhazen's (Ibn. Heitham, lived about 1100 A. D.) *Optics* which had been translated from Arabic into Latin a few years before. Nevertheless, it deserves to be mentioned as a proof of the interest taken in optics at that time. Peckham's *Optics* enjoyed a great popularity during the Middle Ages, a fact which is amply attested by its appearing in print at Milan between 1480 and 1482 and by the commentaries made to elucidate it.⁸

The death of Roger Bacon in 1294 marks the end of the polymathic school of sciences established by Grosseteste in the Franciscan Order. A new period was beginning — that of Aristotelian philosophy and physics: new researches became rarer and old opinions were rehearsed in countless variations by the commentators on Aristotelian books.

Duns Scotus (died 1308) is in the Order of Friars Minor what Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas had been fifty years before in the Order of Friars Preacher: the great Master

⁸ "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," V (1912), p. 771.

Scotus and the Scotists

who firmly established Aristotelian philosophy in the schools. His system may be a compromise and like all compromises may represent only a makeshift, yet it embodies more Aristotelian elements than those of his predecessors. Unfortunately Scotus was prevented by death from devoting his energy to the study of Aristotle's physical writings. The Commentaries on Aristotle's eight books of *Physics* and *Meteorology* printed under Scotus' name in his *Opera omnia* (Vols. II, III, and IV, Paris, 1891-1892) are spurious beyond any doubt.⁹

The celebrated disciple of Scotus, Francis of Meyronnes (Mayronis), who died in 1325, is the first Friar who wrote a Commentary on Aristotle's eight books of *Physics*.

He was followed by the Friars and Scotists, John Anth. Andreae (d. about 1320), John Canonicus (d. about 1320), Francis Rossi of the Marches (d. after 1344), Nicholas Bonetus (d. 1360), Peter of Aquila (d. about 1370), Philip of Florence (lived about 1313), James Binatus de Blanchiis (lived about 1343), Nicholas de Orbellis (died after 1465), and finally by William of Occam (d. 1349), the famous Nominalist.

The books of Mayronis, Andreae, Canonicus, Bonet, Orbellis, and Occam remained standard works in the schools till the middle of the 16th century and passed through many editions between the years 1475 and 1542. The Commentary of Canonicus was the first to be printed (Padua 1475) and that of Mayronis the last (Venice, 1542). The Commentaries of Francis Rossi, Peter of Aquila, Philip of Florence, and James Binatus were never published, an evident proof that they had been forgotten at the time of the invention of printing.

At a very early time the work of systematization was begun and Aristotle's numerous books on the physical sciences were condensed into methodical treatises.

We mention as the earliest authors of this kind Francis Spinetti of Aqua Putrida (d. about 1343) with his "Compendium conclusionum universae philosophiae sive diadema philosophorum de reconditis naturalibus arcanis,"¹⁰ Gerhard Odonis (d. 1348), "De naturali philosophia," which is still unpublished; and John of Bassolis (d. about 1347), "Miscellanea philosophica et medica." In the 16th century the most

Systematizing Aristotle

popular textbook in the natural sciences written by a Friar was the "Compendium philosophiae naturalis" by Francis Titelmann (d. 1537), who originally an Observant, was a Capuchin during the last two years of his life, 1535-1537. His textbook was first published at Lyons in 1545, and was re-published within the next half century in numerous editions. The "Philosophia naturalis Joannis Duns Scoti" (Venet., 1606, 1622) of Philip Fabri, O. M. Conv. (d. 1630), marks the end of this phase of the study of the natural sciences in the Franciscan Order.

⁹ Ibid., III (1910), pp. 626-632; V (1912), p. 775.

¹⁰ This work has not yet been published; cf. "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," III (1912), p. 300, note 3.

With the year 1600 there begins a new period in the history of natural sciences in the Order. The separate commentaries and small compendia are mostly displaced by voluminous *Cursus philosophiae* which systematically treat in the section named "Physica particularis" the whole range of the natural sciences, including at times even mathematics.

Aug. Gothut ("Gymnasium speculativ.," Paris, 1605) and Vincent Ciorla de Scanno ("Disputationes Philosophicae," Romae, 1640-1649, and Neapol., 1652) led the way among the Scotists, and were followed by Michael Francus ("Disputat. Philos.," Naples, 1650); John Poncius, d. 1660 ("Philosophiae cursus," Romae, 1642; Paris, 1648; Lugd., 1672); Alexander Rubeus de Lugo, O. M. Conv., d. after 1664 ("Philos. cursus," Bonon., 1656-1660); Angelus a S. Francisco (Richard Mason), d. 1678 ("Philos. cursus," Duaci, 1656); Bartholomaeus Mastrius de Meldula, O. M. Conv., (d. 1673), and Bonav. Belluti, O. M. Conv., (d. 1676) wrote conjointly "Disputationes in Physicam Aristotelis" (Romae, 1637, Venet., 1644; etc.), "Disput. in libros de generat., de coelo, mundo et meteoris" (Venetiis, 1640), which were collected in their "Cursus Philosophicus" (Venet., 1678, 1688, 1708, 1727); Bonaventura Baron, d. 1696, the Irish Friar, ("Cursus Philosophicus," Coloniae, 1664); Livius Rabeanus de Montursio ("Philos. cursus" 6 partes, Venet., 1664-1674; Paris, 1668); Gulielmus van Sichem, d. 1691 ("Cursus philosophicus," Antwerp., 1666 and Antw., 1678); Thomas Llamazares ("Curs. philosophic.," Lugd., 1670); Felix Rotundus de Monte Leone ("Cursus philosophic.," Patav., 1672-1673, Patav., 1689); Joseph Lealus ("Paediae Scoticae juxta Aristotelis principia," Venet., 1673); Angelus de Sonneno ("De triplici philosophia Aristotelis," Romae, 1672-1673); Claudius Frassen, d. 1711 ("Cursus philosophiae," Paris, 1668; Tolosae, 1686; Romae, 1726; Venet., 1767); Amandus Hermann, d. 1700 ("Curs. philosophiae," Sulzbach, 1676); John Gabr. Boyvin ("Philosophia Scoti," Paris, 1681; Bonon., 1690; Venet., 1701; Venet., 1734); Bernard Sannig ("Curs. philosophic.," Prag., 1684-1685); John Anth. Ambrosinus ("Enchiridion philosophic.," Neapol., 1689-1693); Peter a S. Catharina and Thomas a S. Joseph, Ord. Strict. Observ. ("Cursus philosophic.," Venet., 1697; Venet., 1714; Venet., 1732); Sebast. Dupasquier ("Summa philosophiae," Patav., 1705; Patav., 1718; Patav., 1732); John a Trinitate and John a Nativitate ("Curs. philosophiae," Salmant., 1712; Vallisolet., 1713); Peter Arcedeckne ("Curs. philosophic.," Pragae, 1732); Crescent Krisper, d. 1749 ("Philosophia scholae Scotisticae," Augsb. 1728 and 1735); Marin Panger, d. 1732 and Kilian Kazenberger, d. 1750 ("Philosophia Aristotelica," Ingolst., 1739); Alip. Locherer ("Clypeus philos.," Krems, 1740); Anton Melgaco ("Scotus Aristotelicus," Lisbona, 1747); Jos. Ant. Ferrari de Modoetia, O. M. Conv., ("Philos. Peripatetica," Venet., 1746-1747; Venet., 1767); Franc. Jacquier ("Institutiones philosophicae," Venet., 1764); Vincent Gonzalez a Penna ("Curs. philosophiae," Salmant., 1765-1767); Cyrill Zorn ("Encyclopaedia philos.," Aug. Vind., 1774); finally Carol. Joseph a S. Floriano ("Scoti philosophia nunc primum recentiorum placitis accommodata," Mediol., 1771-1782).

Among the followers of St. Bonaventure we mention Marc. Ant. Galitius, O. M. Cap., d. 1665 ("Cursus philosophic.," Romae, 1634-1636); Martinus de Torrecilla (d. 1709), O. M. Cap. ("Curs. philosoph.," Matrit.,

1667-1671); Bartholomaeus Barberius, O. M. Cap. ("Curs. philos.," Lugd., 1677); Hyacinth. Olpensis, O. M. Cap. ("Cursus philos.," Barcinone, 1691); Gervas. Brunk of Breisach, O. M. Cap., d. 1711 ("Curs. philos.," Colon., 1699); and Franc. a Villaplanda, O. M. Cap. ("Curs. philosophiae," Matrit., 1777-1778).

Special subjects of the natural sciences were discussed in numerous works as "Vestigiones peripateticae" (Patav., 1639) by Matthew Ferchi (d. 1666), "Paralipomena philosophica" (Antw., 1652) by Franc. Conventriensis, "Meteorologia" (Romae, 1644) by Franc. Resta a Talleacotio, "Theatrum Meteorologicum" (Romae, 1660) by Franc. Macedo (d. 1681) and in regular commentaries on Aristotle's works on the natural sciences.

These numerous works which represent the traditional teaching of the natural sciences in the Franciscan Order have never yet been studied by historians of modern science and

Subjects for Historical Research yet they contain the most precious material for tracing the various stages of the introduction of modern science into the schools.

How the results of exact science were first rejected by the Aristotelians, then coördinated with Aristotle's teachings, and finally adopted as ascertained truths is a story which has not yet been told in the history of modern science. The historians are looking only for new researches, and the Scholastic philosophers are not interested in the natural sciences of past ages. Let us hope that a studious Friar, well versed both in Aristotelian and modern science, may give us an extensive history of the traditional teaching at least from the year 1485 that witnessed the first printed edition of the *Cursus philosophiae seu compendium mathematicum, physicum et metaphysicum* of Nicholas de Orbellis (Bononiæ, 1485; Basil., 1494; Basil., 1503), to the year 1782 when the first *Philosophia recentiorum placitis accommodata* by Car. Jos. a S. Floriano was published.

During the 19th century the natural sciences have been rigorously eliminated from the textbooks of philosophy, and the Friars used the books current in the schools of the time.

Science Teaching in the 19th and 20th Centuries

No Friar has within the last hundred years taken pains to compose a suitable textbook for our students. The English Capuchin Lawrence McCarthy published three mathematical textbooks from 1886-1897, and this represents the sum total of what, as far as I know, the Friars produced during that long period of time.

The 20th century opened with a movement to include again the natural sciences, at least their general principles, under the

scope of philosophy and to restore the encyclopedic character of that branch of knowledge. The "philosophy" (or first principles) of astronomy, botany, and other sciences was written by competent men and the attempt was made to incorporate these results into the Latin textbooks of Scholastic philosophy. However, the Friars have up to the present time stood aloof to a very great extent. Consequently the study of the natural sciences has a purely cultural value in their curriculum, and is not yet raised to the higher dignity of forming a branch of the great synthesis of all human sciences.

NEW RESEARCHES

Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253) was the founder of the Franciscan school at Oxford and was therefore the first scholar to render an enduring service to Franciscan science. He also made a study of all problems of nature as far as was possible with the meagre equipment of the time. He wrote about the atmosphere, sound, light, movement, heat, perspective, astronomy, geometry and arithmetic, medicine, and music. "No man," writes Roger Bacon,¹¹ "knew the sciences so well as Robert Bishop of Lincoln." Many works of Grosseteste are still unpublished, and a detailed study of his achievements as a scientist has never been attempted. Louis Bauer has written on Grosseteste's theories about light: *Lichtmetaphysik Grossetestes* in the *Abhandlungen*, Hertling gewidmet (Freiburg, 1913).

Roger Bacon (d. 1294) was the first Friar to achieve immortal fame in the annals of science. He had mastered the whole range of contemporary science, was versed in the science of the ancients, and made original researches in mathematics, mechanics, optics, chemistry, medicine, and the descriptive natural sciences. In mathematics and physics he was far superior to his only rival, Albert the Great. Roger Bacon was the first scholar to give the correct computation of the focus in a concave mirror, to describe a method of making parabolic burning-reflectors, to detect the errors of the Julian Calendar, to systematize the discoveries of Geber in the domains of chemistry in numerous works,¹² and his writings probably led

¹¹ "Opus Tertium;" cf. Felder, l. c., pp. 263-264.

¹² Collected in Roger Bacon, "Thesaurus chymicus." Francof., 1603-1620.

up to the contemporary invention of spectacles. Where he presents the results of his predecessors, one feels instinctively that he has mastered the problems completely; there is a solidity and keenness of penetration about his style which are sadly wanting in his predecessors.

"Roger Bacon possessed," says J. C. Poggendorff,¹³ "an inventive genius and a wealth of original ideas which would have led him in more advanced times and under more favorable conditions to many an important discovery and invention. As things were, his ideas remained mere projects. He speaks among other things of automobiles, flying machines, lifting-engines, telescopes—all of which evinces his talent for applied mechanics. However, his vivid imagination and sanguine expectation often led him to speak of his projects, as though he realized them." "We may blame him," says Sig. Guenther,¹⁴ "for speaking more of the method of experimenting than applying the method in experiments, but in those days it was an achievement merely to point to the right road." In the domain of the descriptive sciences Roger Bacon was no less a master. He made original studies in mineralogy, botany, zoölogy, and comparative anatomy and physiology — everywhere testing the theories of former scientists by his own observations. Roger Bacon had studied all mathematical works of his age and tried to solve almost all mathematical problems in his own way, thereby proving his mastery in theoretical and applied mathematics. He was the first to apply mathematics to physics by a reliable method and on an extensive scale.¹⁵ Though the number of his original discoveries is not large, he anticipated by several centuries the scientific methods of modern times and must be classed among the foremost scientists of all ages.

Roger Bacon was the master of a school of scientists at Oxford. One of these scientists, Thomas of Bungay, Friar Minor and Professor at Oxford University (died about 1300) was, like Roger Bacon, a great student of mathematics and physics. Owing to his experiments in physics and his work dealing with these sciences entitled *Natural Magic*, he shared his master's fate of being looked upon as a magician.

¹³ "Geschichte der Physik." Leipzig, 1879, p. 34.

¹⁴ "Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften." Leipzig, 1909, p. 88.

¹⁵ Felder, l. c., pp. 418-419.

His work, *De Magia naturali*, is still unpublished, and hence we can not say much about this Franciscan scientist.¹⁶

Germany boasts of Berthold Schwarz, the reputed inventor of gunpowder. While it is certain that he was not the first to make this discovery, it is commonly admitted now that the invention of firearms is due to him. This Friar is variously placed into different ages, but this invention was most probably made about the year 1313.¹⁷

In Spain the Friar John Giles Zamora, the confidant of King Alphonse X. (1252-1284), shed lustre upon the Franciscan Order. His studies of the natural sciences, his linguistic attainments and his sane views on debated questions of theology have merited for him the title of a second Roger Bacon.¹⁸

The celebrated physicist, astronomer and astrologer Guido Bonatti of Forli (d. 1296), a Friar Minor, drew scholars to his professorial chair from all parts of Europe. He wrote *Theoria Planetarum* (printed Venet., 1506) and *Liber astronomicus*.¹⁹

In 1320 a professor at the University of Paris whose name is not known, had taught the immobility of the sun and Francis of Meyronnes incorporated this doctrine into his *Commentary* on Peter Lombard (l. II, dist. 14, q. 5) written in the same year. Accordingly Friar Francis of Meyronnes (d. 1325) has the unique distinction of having first spread by writing the Copernican system of the rotation of the earth.²⁰

Bernard of Verdun who lived toward the end of the thirteenth century, also cultivated the study of astronomy. He had read Bacon's writings and wrote a *Tractatus super Astrologiam* (manuscript in National Library of Paris, cod. lat. 7333 and 7334), in which he refutes the objections raised by Bacon against the Ptolomaic system.²¹ He was apparently the first of the Latins to adopt a method of figuration in the system of eccentrics and epicycles tracing all celestial motions acknow-

16 "Kirchenlexikon," II, 1887, 1508; "Grey Friars." Oxford, 1892, p. 153.

17 Poggendorff, l. c., pp. 86-90; Max Heimbucher, "Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche," Vol. II. Paderborn, 1907, p. 467.

18 Heribert Holzapfel, O. F. M., "Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens." Freiburg, 1909, p. 293.

19 Printed Aug. Vind., 1491; Basil, 1510; cf. Wadding, V, 1733, "Arch. Fran. Hist.," II, p. 464.

20 Pierre Duhem in the "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," VI (1913), pp. 23-25.

21 "Histoire litter. de la France," XXI. Paris, 1847, pp. 317-320; "Arch. Fran. Hist.," VI (1913), p. 565.

ledged by Ptolemy back to the rotations of solid orbs accurately fitted into one another. This representation which refuted most of the objections raised against Ptolomaic astronomy, became very popular in the course of time.²²

Between the years 1277 and 1377 all the essential principles of Aristotle's *Physics* were undermined, and the basic principles of modern science formulated. This revolution was first

Revolution in Science

the work of Oxford Franciscans (Richard of Middleton, d. 1300, Duns Scotus, d. 1308, and William of Occam, d. 1349), and later of masters in the Schools of Paris who were heirs to the tradition inaugurated by these Franciscan theologians. Richard of Middleton first overthrew the Aristotelian teaching that an empty space is an impossibility and thus laid the foundation of that branch of mechanical science known as dynamics. Again, Richard of Middleton and Duns Scotus, whilst continuing to admit that the earth was absolutely stationary and the heavens moved with a rotary diurnal motion, began to formulate hypotheses to the effect that these bodies were affected by other motions. Not quite twenty years later Francis of Meyronnes of the School of Paris taught the earth's motion, not any more as a possibility, but as a reality. Furthermore, Richard of Middleton, William of Ware (d. after 1300) John of Bassols (d. about 1347), and William of Occam taught that God could create other worlds similar to ours, a doctrine which required that the Aristotelian theory of gravity and natural space be changed radically. Finally, William of Occam was responsible for the overthrow of Aristotelian dynamics. By means of spirited argumentation, William of Occam demonstrated the absurdity of the Peripatetic theory of the motion of projectiles and established an essential identity between the constitutive matter of celestial and sublunary bodies.²³

John of Monte Casale wrote in 1346 a treatise on motion and other problems of natural science, which is still unpublished.²⁴

Raimundus Lullus (d. 1315), though not a Friar, but only a Tertiary, can not be overlooked here. About the year 1300

²² "Catholic Encyclopedia," XII. New York, 1911, p. 49.

²³ Duhem, *ibid.*, pp. 50-52.

²⁴ "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," I (1908), p. 116; II (1909), p. 632; III (1910), p. 300.

he perfected a method of reckoning the tonnage of ships which had been known in principle by Greek seafarers and was later called "Marteloio."²⁵ He was the first to give a detailed description how to make mirrors by backing glass with lead. However, he enjoys a greater reputation as a chemist or alchemist. Most of the numerous works bearing his name must be attributed to a namesake, Raimundus Catalanus, a converted Jew.

Alchemy seems to have received particular attention among the Friars from the very first. The search for the "quinta essentia" or elixir of life, and the desire to effect the transmuta-

Alchemy

tion of base metals into silver and gold, must have engrossed their attention. However, most of the works assigned to Friars are literary forgeries or of doubtful authorship. Brother Elias of Cortona (d. 1253), second general of the Order, is credited at least with four alchemical works (*Liber Saturnini*, *Liber alchimicalis*, etc.).²⁶ Bonaventure of Iseo (lived before 1300) wrote *Liber Compostellae* dealing with alchemy and medicine, and *Tractatus metallorum* or alchemy.²⁷ Richard of Middleton (d. 1300) is the reputed author of a *Speculum alchymiae*. Raymond Gaufredi (d. 1310), the thirteenth general of the Order, compiled an explanation of Roger Bacon's alchemical work *Verbum abbreviatum* (*Arch. Franc. Hist.*, III (1910), p. 553). To Duns Scotus is wrongly ascribed a *Quaestio an ars alchymica aurum generare possit*.²⁸ Later alchemists are Paul of Caureanto and Joh. Richardi de Branchiis (about 1494).²⁹

But the most famous of these Friars dabbling in alchemy was John of Roquetaillade (Rupescissa), who died about 1362. His experiments in distilling led to the discovery of what he called *quinta essentia*, and which he commended as a panacea in his works: *De consideratione quintae essentiae* (printed in Basel, 1561) and *De extractione quintae essentiae*. In the *Libellus de conficiendo vero lapide philosophico* (printed at Strassburg, 1659) and *Liber lucis* (printed at Leyden, 1598),

²⁵ Guenther, "Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften." I, p. 80.

²⁶ "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," III (1910), p. 354; V (1912), pp. 129-130.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I (1908), pp. 116-117; II (1909), p. 655; III (1910), p. 556.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III (1910), p. 554.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 558.

he recommends a remedy he had discovered for all the physical ills that flesh is heir to.³⁰

Notwithstanding some false ideas which prompted the researches of the alchemists, many advances were made in descriptive chemistry, metallurgy, distillation, and pharmacology. Unfortunately, however, these early alchemists have never received any attention from historians. Roger Bacon and Raimundus Lullus are the only Friars whose alchemistic achievements have been at all noticed.³¹

Roger Bacon informs us that his teachers at Oxford had no rivals in mathematics and particularly in geometry. In fact, the latter subject was taught in no other school at the time.³²

Mathematics

The greatest mathematician of the Franciscan Order and of Europe in the Middle Ages is Lucas Pacioli (Paciuolo), who was born at Borgo San Sepolcro about 1450 and died soon after 1509. His scientific writings became the basis for the works of the sixteenth century mathematicians, including even the geniuses Cardan and Tartaglia. In his first work, *Summa de Arithmetica, Geometria, Proportione et Proportionalita* (printed at Venice in 1494), a large work of six hundred folio pages, he applied algebra to geometry, made known the art of book-keeping by double entry, and treated of the theory of probability. The *Divina Proportione delle Matematiche* (Venice, 1509, reedited in part with notes by Winterberg, Vienna 1897) treats among other things about the "sectio aurea," the inscription of polyhedrons in polyhedrons, and the use of letters to indicate numerical quantities. In 1509 he published at Venice the *Trattato dei cinque Corpi regolari e dipendenti da essi* and *Euclidis Elementa*.³³

Fra Giovanni Giocondo (d. 1515), the famous architect, was likewise a great mathematician. He published in 1511 at Venice an edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, and illustrated it with charts and figures. Moreover, he produced some monographs on points of applied architecture.³⁴

30 "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. VIII. New York, 1910, p. 477; "Kirchenlexikon," Vol. VI, 1889, 1761f.

31 Felder, l. c., pp. 399-401.

32 Ibid., p. 417.

33 "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. XI, New York, 1917, p. 383.

34 Ibid., Vol. VI, New York, 1909, pp. 563ff; "Archiv. Fran. Hist.," II (1909), p. 389; VI (1913), p. 356.

On account of the ingenious mechanical helps employed as aids to teaching we must mention here the works of the great satyrist Thomas Murner (d. 1537): *Chartiludium logicae* (Cracov., 1507; Argentor., 1518; mnemotechnics teaching Aristotelian logics by going through a game of chess), *Ludus Studentum* (Francof., 1511), and *Chartiludium Institute summarie* (Argent., 1518), which latter teach prosody and jurisprudence according to the same method. The most popular system of mnemotechnics up to the eighteenth century was the *Ars Magna* of Raimundus Lullus which was first printed at Venice in 1480 and passed through seventeen editions prior to 1536. Among the Friars the foremost exponent of the Lullian art was Bernard of Lavinheta (*Introductorium*, Lugd., ca. 1514; Lullii *Ars magna interpretat.*, Lugd., 1517, *Opera Artis Lullii explicationem tradens* edit. J. H. Alstedio, Colon., 1612). The *Epistola de nutrienda memoria* of Friar Dominicus de Carpanis (printed at Naples in 1476) can not be called a mnemotechnical work.

Friar Frederic Krafft of Nuremberg (beginning of the 16th cent.) was remarkable for his mathematical attainments which he put to the best of use in constructing an astrolabium serviceable for all degrees of altitude of the pole and in making two celestial globes, one representing the movements of the three planets and the other those of Venus and Mercury (Minges, *Franzisk. in Bayern*, Muenchen, 1896, p. 62).

The two Friars Konrad Rottenburger and Leonhard Marcae (latter half of 15th cent.) were famous organ-builders. The former built before 1475 the largest organ now in the Minster at Ulm, in 1475 the organ in the Stift at Bamberg, and finally the magnificent organ with manual and pedal in the church of the Friars Minor at Nuremberg. The latter enlarged the organ in St. Lawrence's church at Nuremberg (Minges, l. c., p. 61). Even more famous was Urban of Venice who built organs for the Cathedrals of Treviso and Venice (about 1425). The lutes and violas made by Dardelli of Mantua (about 1500) were very much in demand.³⁵

Music was regarded in the Middle Ages as a branch of mathematics, and the theory of music or the arithmetical syst-

³⁵ Holzapfel, l. c., pp. 297ff.

em regulating this art was taught in the schools. St. Louis of Toulouse (d. 1297) is the first Friar who wrote a treatise on the theory of music, entitled *Sententia in musica sonora*, i. e., polyphonic music, which has been published lately.³⁶ In the 16th century Bonaventure of Brescia wrote *Regula musicae planae*, a very popular treatise on plain chant (printed at Brescia 1500, Venice 1524, 1539, ca. 1550 and without imprint ca. 1500). Peter Canuzzi and Francis of Bruges are two other Friars who wrote on the theory of music about the year 1500.

The branches of descriptive natural science were not neglected by the Friars during the Middle Ages. In this domain Bartholomaeus Anglicus (d. after 1250) ranks first with his encyclopedia of all sciences, entitled *De proprietatibus rerum*. This book was widely popular for nearly four hundred years, and no other textbook in natural science could compare in popularity with this digest of the English Friar. From 1474 till 1536 no less than thirty-two editions appeared in print (17 Latin, 9 French, 3 English, 2 Spanish, and 1 Dutch); the last edition was published at Frankfurt in 1601. The whole range of natural science is treated in this work, but in such a manner that natural history receives most attention. Bartholomaeus Anglicus is the greatest naturalist of the Middle Ages. The sections on natural history contain a wealth of personal observations, and the part dealing with geography is of permanent value.³⁷

The Franciscan missionaries scattered over the globe contributed no small part to the history of medieval discoveries and descriptions of new countries. John de Piano di Carpine (d. 1252) travelled through Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Southern Russia and Asia to the Grand Khan at Karakorum and wrote a report which describes the political conditions, ethnography, history, and geography of the Tartar lands. Friar Benedict of Poland, one of his companions, added a similar description of the Slav countries. Both these works, however, are surpassed by the writings of William Rubruck (d. after 1256) whose report Peschel pronounces to be "the geographical mas-

³⁶ "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," II (1909), pp. 378-383.
³⁷ Felder, l. c., pp. 248-254, 395-397; Langlois, "Connaissance de la nature au Moyen-Age." Paris, 1911, pp. 114-179; Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., in the "Archiv. Fran. Hist.," XII (1911).

terpiece of the Middle Ages." He was the first Christian geographer to give reliable information concerning the position of China and the character of its inhabitants. The glowing pictures he drew of the wealth of Asia first attracted the attention of the seafaring Venetians and Genoese to the East. His book describing his journeys was for centuries the sole source of knowledge for the geographical and cartographical representations of Asia.

Odoric of Pordenone (d. 1331) is in the extent of his travels the greatest traveller of the Middle Ages. In April, 1318, he started from Padua and went through Armenia, Persia, India to China. On his return journey he went overland through northern China, Tibet, Persia and Armenia, reaching home in 1330. The account of his travels was widely spread in the Middle Ages and was the first source available for studying the manners and customs of the peoples of the Far East. Menentillus of Spoleto, a Dominican, who was the first geographer to prove in 1310 the peninsular shape of India, made use of a work of a Franciscan for his geographical and oceanographical description of India. This work which is now lost, was most probably written by John of Monte Corvino (d. 1328). John of Marignolli (d. after 1360), the last Franciscan Friar who travelled to China in the Middle Ages, left Italy in April 1339 and passed through Turkey, Persia, India and the South Sea to China where he arrived in 1342. On his return journey he took the same route and arrived in Europe in 1353. John of Marignolli became one of the greatest travellers in Asia, and has left an account of his itinerary which is much studied to-day by geographers of the Far East: he demolished many a geographical myth and furnished a vast amount of new information.³⁸

During the past seven centuries Palestine has been a country of deep interest to the Friars. The numerous *Itineraries*, or guide-books, compiled by Friars besides giving descriptions of the Sacred Places and exact directions for the route, contain a great deal of information about the country and people of Palestine and the neighboring lands of Asia Minor, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and even India. The *Passagia in terram*

³⁸ Hartig in the "Catholic Encyclopedia," Vol. VI. New York, 1909, p. 448.

sanctam are important for the history of oceanography and climatology, and the *Regimina*, or dietary rules to be observed during the passage, interest greatly the historian of medicine. However, this extensive literature has never been studied from the viewpoint of science and here a big gap remains to be filled out.

Friar Nicholas of Poggibonsi travelled to Palestine in 1345 and gave an account of his voyage in *Libro d'Oltramare*.³⁹ Alexander Ariosto (d. 1484) wrote in 1463 the *Topographia Terrae Promissae*.⁴⁰ Paul Walther of Guglingen's *Itinerarium in terram sanctam* (1481-1483) was edited by Sollweck (Tuebingen 1892). Francis Suriano (d. after 1515) wrote *Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente* which was published by G. Golubovich, O. F. M., at Milan in 1901.

The scientific investigations of the Friars had also a great share in the progress of physical and mathematical geography. Columbus was emboldened to carry out his great project on the strength of Roger Bacon's statement that India could be reached by a westerly voyage, an assertion based on mathematical computation. Even before Ptolemy's *Geography* had been rediscovered, Roger Bacon attempted to sketch a map, determining mathematically the positions of places. Peschel pronounces this to have been "the greatest achievement of the Scholastics." Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (d. 1425) whose encyclopedia *Imago Mundi* was a favorite book of Columbus, had drawn largely on Roger Bacon's writings for this work.⁴¹

MODERN SCIENTISTS AND NATURALISTS

In modern times the Friars continued their researches in science; they helped to advance the knowledge of various countries and races and contributed to the development of the theory of the physical and mathematical sciences.

Among the inventors of astronomical instruments the Capuchin Anthony Marie Schyrl has become quite famous. Born in 1597 at Reutte, in Tirol, and accordingly often sur-

³⁹ Edited by Bacchi della Lega at Bologna in 1882; "Archiv. Fran. Hist.," IV (1911), p. 362.

⁴⁰ First published by Marcellin da Civezza, O. F. M., in "Storie delle Missioni Francescane," Rome, 1861, reprinted Rome, 1863, and in 1909 in the "Rev. de l'Orient Latin," XII, Paris, pp. 1-67; "Archiv. Fran. Hist.," V (1912), p. 377.

⁴¹ Hartig, l. c., p. 450.

Scientific Instruments and Mechanical Inventions

named de Rheita, he died in 1660. He is the inventor of the so-called terrestrial telescope. In 1608 Hans Lippershey invented the astronomical telescope which, however, was unfit for observing sublunary things. Kepler adjusted a third lense in front of the eyepiece and thus made it serviceable for observation of subastral matter. Schyrl invented a combination of four convex lenses which show the object in its natural upright position. We may regard this terrestrial telescope either as a double astronomical telescope or as consisting of one object-glass and three convex eye-glasses. It is superior to Kepler's telescope with three lenses and is still much used, whereas Kepler's instrument has been forgotten. Schyrl made known his invention in his great work *Oculus Enochii et Eliae seu Radius sidereomysticus* (Antw., 1645). In this work Schyrl first coined the terms "ocular" and "objective" still in use, and drew a moon-chart (Poggendorff, *Gesch. d. Physik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 196). Schyrl was less fortunate in the defense of his peculiar geocentric system, which is in the main that of Tycho Brahe. For the rest his large work of 630 folio pages contains a complete system of astronomy, so that he occupies a conspicuous place among the astronomers of the seventeenth century. It is curious that Schyrl claims to have seen several moons around Jupiter, Saturn and Mars. He described these discoveries in his work: *Novem stellae circa Jovem visae, circa Saturnum sex, circa Martem nonnullae a P. Ant. Rheita detectae*, Lovanii, 1643.⁴² Later astronomers treated these discoveries as illusions.⁴³

The Capuchin Cherubin Le Gentil of Orleans (d. about 1680) was a famous physicist, astronomer and mathematician. In 1671 he published a large work on dioptrics: *La dioptrique oculaire*, a folio with 60 copper-plates (reprinted in Paris, 1675). In his work: *De visionne perfecta* (Paris, 1678) he describes his invention of the binocular microscope which was far superior to the older models of Galileo and Divini. His third large work, *L'effect de la force de la contiguité des corps* (Paris, 1679) treats among other things about a telegraph invented by him.

Valerian Baron of Magni, who was born at Milan in 1587

⁴² Poggendorff, l. c., p. 197.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 637.

and died at Salzburg in 1661, is the third Capuchin famous in the annals of inventions. In 1643 Torricelli had invented the barometer at Florence. Four years later Valerian published at Warsaw a work: *Demonstratio ocularis* (reprinted at Bonon., 1648, and Venet., 1649) in which he describes the barometer that he had designed without knowing of the invention of the famous Italian. The startingpoint of Valerian's invention were the suction pumps of Galileo. He concluded that the rise of mercury which is thirteen times heavier than water must be correspondingly thirteen times lighter.⁴⁴

The Capuchin Francis Marie Jablier (or de la Rallier), who was born at Paris in 1634 and died at Marais in 1714, is the inventor of the photometer. He described his invention in the book: *Nouvelle découverte sur la lumière pour la mesurer et en copter les Degrès*, printed at Paris in 1700. He called his invention a photometer, and this name is still in use. A second instrument for the same purpose was constructed by him, and the firm of Fougereais placed the photometers on the market.⁴⁵

Emmanuel of Viviers (d. 1738), a Capuchin, was a noted astronomer and mathematician. He was a corresponding member of the French Academy at Paris, and constructed telescopes and microscopes which were widely used in those days. He published numerous astronomical calendars, a *Calendrier perpétuel* (Toulouse, 1728), and a *Cadran astronomique* (Toulouse, 1737) showing the position of the principal cities in relation to the fixed stars.⁴⁶

Chrysologus André of Gy (d. 1808), a Capuchin, is famous as astronomer and geographer. He designed two planispheres (1778-1779) with an *Abrégé d'astronomie* as guide for the use of them (1778), and these were highly extolled by the savants. Moreover, he made a map of the world and wrote an explanation of it (both printed at Paris in 1774 and 1778), and made four other special maps. In 1805 he published a description of his improvements on the barometer. His last work *Theorie de la surface de la terre* (1806) is one of the first works on geology and was praised highly by Cuvier.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Kamshoff, "Bunte Bilder," Warnsdorf, 1905, pp. 37-39; "Bibl. Script. Capuc." Venet., 1747, p. 242.

⁴⁵ "Études Franciscaines," Paris, X (1903), pp. 655-658.

⁴⁶ "Bibl. Script. Capuc.," p. 80.

⁴⁷ "Études Franciscaines," Paris, V (1901), p. 399-412; IX (1903), pp. 83-84.

The Franciscan Peter Singer (d. 1882) gained international fame by his invention of an orchestrion, which he called "Pansymphonikon," and which is still preserved in the Franciscan Monastery at Salzburg.

Among the inventors we find the Capuchin Julian of Marmers who invented one of the first acetylene generators. The first model of a fountain pen was made by the Capuchin Candide of Magland. In 1906 there was a successful test in Rome of the apparatus invented by the Capuchin Angelo Fiorini, Bishop of Pontremoli, for averting railroad collisions. The apparatus is so constructed as to indicate automatically whether there is an obstruction on the track, by signalling in due time to the nearest station and to the train crew. After many experiments the invention received the unanimous approval of expert mechanics and was adopted by the Italian government. The inventor has described the apparatus in his pamphlet, *Sistema di blocco ferroviario automatico*, Rome, 1906.

In the domain of pure science there are several illustrious names. Hilarius Altobello, O. M. Conv. (d. about 1630), published a star-map, *Tabulae Regiae Maceratae*, and his knowledge of mathematics and astronomy was highly extolled by Kepler.⁴⁸ The Capuchin Melito Llobet of Perpignan (d. 1755), member of the Academies of Science of Paris, Toulouse, and Montpellier, wrote several works in defense of the Gregorian Calendar (*Les Epactes grégoriennes justifiées*, Toulouse, 1738; *Gregoriana Correctio vindicata*, Colon., 1743; *Apologia Correctionis Gregoriana*, Colon., 1745; *Apologia iterata Correct. Gregor.*, Colon., 1754) besides a work setting forth by an ingenious method of mathematical calculi how to find the best samples for mosaics. This last work, however, remained unpublished owing to the exorbitant cost of printing.⁴⁹ The Franciscan Polycarpus Poncelet of Verdun created a sensation during the second half of the 18th century by the researches he made in organic chemistry.⁵⁰ The Capuchin Lawrence Fantoni of Milan (d. 1801) lived almost fifty years on the mountain pass of St. Godhard and published his meteorological observations for the years 1782 and 1784-1792 (in *Effemeride di Mannheim*

48 Holzzapfel, l. c., p. 608.

49 Apollinaire de Valence, O. M. Cap., "Histoire des Capucins," Vol. II. Toulouse, 1897, pp. 489-500.

50 Holzzapfel, l. c., p. 577.

and *Briefe aus der Schweiz* edit. by Andrea). The Fathers Onuphrius, Pius, and Seraphin assisted him in his work. Goethe who twice received the hospitality of the Capuchins on the St. Godhard (1779 and 1797), speaks highly of Lawrence of Milan.⁵¹

The making of clocks and dials was a favorite pursuit among the Friars prior to the 18th century. They also wrote many treatises on horology and gnomonics; ex. gr., *Trattato di fare gli Orologi* (Venet., 1617) by Theophilus Brunus of Verona, O. M. Cap. (d. 1638), *Retta linea gnomonica* (Forli, 1667) by Jos. Maria a Cento, O. M. Cap. (d. 1682); *Thaumalemma* (Venet., 1589) by Cherubinus Sandolinus, O. M. Cap.

Mnemonics continued to be a favorite study of the Friars. Among those eminent in this field we mention Hieronymus Marafioti, O. F. Min. (*Ars memoriae*, Francof., 1602; Argent., 1603; tradotta di Latino, Venez., 1605), and the expositors of Raimundus Lullus' *Ars Magna*, the Capuchins Juvenal de Ruffinis of Nonsberg (died 1713, *Synopsis artis magnae sciendi*, Salzb., 1689; German transl. by Franz. Haggemiller, O. M. Cap.: *Der goldene Zirkel*, Augsb., 1904) and Louis de Flandes (not Flanders, d. about 1750, *El antigo academico*, Madrid, 1742-1747).

Great as may be these achievements of the Friars in the domain of pure and applied science, they are, however, eclipsed by their work in the field of the descriptive natural sciences.

Their achievements in the discovery and description of new lands form a bright chapter in the history of modern geography and allied sciences. As early as 1500 we find the Friars in India and America. Starting from Quito, Ecuador, Franciscans discovered the source of the Amazon in 1633, the River Napo in 1647, and the Pará River in 1650. The Recollects Hennepin, dela Ribourde, and Mambré penetrated to the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls in 1680 and the following years, and also navigated the Mississippi. Friar Gabriel Segard, a Recollect, sojourned among the Hurons from 1624 to 1626 and gave us the first description of that tribe; and Friar Christian Le

⁵¹ Valdemire Bonari, "Cappuccini della Provinc. Milanese," Vol. II. Crema, 1898, pp. 526ff.

Clercq, likewise a Recollect (d. about 1695), who labored among the Micmacs (1675-1687) wrote a description of the Indians and the country of the Maritime Provinces of Canada (transl. from the French by W. F. Ganong: *New Relation of Gaspesia*, Toronto, 1910).

The Capuchins Cavazzi (1654), Carli (1666), Merolla (1682) and Zucchelli (1698) accomplished remarkable results in the exploration of the Congo region. Even as late as the year 1862 the geographer Petermann made use of their writings to construct a map of that region. The Capuchins spent thirty years in Tibet (1707-1745) and sixty years in Nepal (1706-1769), and both Tibet and Nepal have ever since remained "forbidden countries." Joseph Count of Bernini, O. M. Cap. (d. 1761), wrote the first description of Nepal (published in part in the *Asiatic Researches*, II, Calcutta, 1790). In the boundary dispute between British Guayana and Venezuela the maps drawn by the Capuchins were the most important documents in settling this quarrel.⁵²

The descriptions of the Holy Land multiplied to a great extent. We instance the following: *Descriptio terrae sanctae et urbis Jerusalem* by Anselmus Polonus, O. F. M., (Cracov., 1514), *Vermerkung der heilig. Stet* by Nichol. Wankel, O. F. M. (Nuremb., 1517), *Descripcion de la Terra Santa* by Antonio de Aranda, O. F. M. (Alcalá, 1531), *Elucidatio terrae sanctae* by Francis Quaresmius (Antverp., 1639, Venet., 1880), the standard work, *Trattato delle piante ed immagini dei sacri edifizii in Jerusalemme* by Bernardino Amico, O. F. M. (d. 1590, Rome, 1609; Florence, 1620). Of recent date are the guide-books of Lievin de Hamme (d. 1898) and Barnabas Meistermann.

Natural history was cultivated by many Friars in modern times. The celebrated Humanist Joannes Camers, O. M. Conv. (d. 1546), compiled a summary of Plinius' *Natural History* (*Index Plinianus*, Viennae Austr., 1514; Venet., 1525) and wrote annotations to Solinus' *Polyhistoria* (Viennae Austr., 1520), thereby popularizing the natural history of the ancients. Antonio Brandimarte, O. M. Conv., published *Plinio Seniore illustrato nella*

⁵² Strickland, "Documents and Maps." Rome, 1896.

descrizione del Piceno (Roma, 1815), an edition of Pliny with plates. Electus Zwinger (d. 1690) is famous for his: *Blumenbuch des Hl. Landes* (Muenchen, 1661) with many pictures and charts designed by himself. Marianus Velloso (d. 1811), the "American Linné," is one of the foremost authorities on the flora of Brazil. The Conventual John Bonavita Blank (d. 1827), Professor of natural history at the University of Wuerzburg, bequeathed his large collection to that university. Joseph Giraldi, missionary in North-Shensi, has been sending to Europe since 1890 a great number of new specimens of plants. Julius Gremblach (d. 1905), Professor at the Franciscan Gymnasium of Hall, was known as a great botanist. The celebrated botanist Charles Plumier (d. 1704) was no Friar Minor, as Bihl states erroneously,⁵³ but a Minim.⁵⁴

The Capuchin Tiburtius Prost of Jussey (d. 1804) was a mineralogist who collected a large number of minerals and fossils which now form the nucleus of the museum of Besancon. Prudentius Vauchoz of Faucogney (d. 1792) wrote on forestry and agriculture.⁵⁵

The Conventual Vincent Marie Coronelli (d. 1718) is the greatest cartographer among the Friars, and one of the ablest and most productive cartographers and globe-makers of the world. His universal atlas *Atlante Veneto* in 13 folio volumes was printed at Venice 1689-1700. The two largest globes made by him (diameter 13 feet) are in the National Library, Paris; smaller ones are at Venice, Genoa, Bologna.⁵⁶ Because of his excellent work he received from the Emperor the title: "Cosmographus publicus." Coronelli is likewise famous for his picturesque representations of ecclesiastical costumes (*Ordini Cavallereschi*, published about 1702 with 210 plates) and his *Epitome cosmografica per fabbrica delle sfere, globi, planisferi, astrolabi e tavole geografiche* (Venez., 1683), a work treating of the making of globes and other astronomical instruments with many interesting details and 32 plates.

Among the many writers on the theory of music we single out Angelo da Piccitono (*Fior angelico di musica*, Vineg., 1547); Illuminato Aiguino da Brescia (*La illuminata de tutti*

53 "Catholic Encyclopedia," VI, p. 296.

54 Ibid., XII, p. 169.

55 Morey, "Capucins en Franche-Comte," pp. 225-228.

56 Cf. Fiorini, "Coronelli ed i suoi globi," 1892.

i tuoni, Vineg., 1562); Silverio Picerli da Rieti (*Specchio di musica*, Napoli, 1630-1631); Bernh. Scheyrer (*Musica choralis*, Muenchen, 1663, in German); Andrea da Modano (*Canto harmonico*, Modano, 1690), one of the best works on plain chant; Zaccaria Tevo (*Il musico testore*, Venez., 1706); Ant. Martin y Coll (*Arte de canto llano*, Madrid, 1714 and 1719); Pablo Nassare (*Escuela musica*, 2 vols. fol., Zaragoza, 1723-1724); Fabric. Tettamanzi (*Metodo per apprendere il canto fermo*, Milano, 1726),⁵⁷ and Stanislas Mattei (*Practica d'accompagnamento*, Bologna, 1824). Mattei was a Conventual, but all the others were Friars Minor.

The Friars Minor acted as physicians from the very beginning of the Order, since they regarded it as their duty to nurse the sick, especially the lepers.⁵⁸ However, their contributions

Medicine to the scientific study of medicine seem to have been very moderate during the Middle Ages. Pharmaceutics was cultivated by the Observants Francis Sirena (*L'arte dello spetiale*, Pavia, 1679) and Onuphrius Friggi (*Ricette Galenistiche*, Pavia, 1692). The Capuchin Cesare Magati (d. 1647) is famous for his reform in surgery.⁵⁹

The foregoing is but a meagre sketch of what the Friars have done for science. An adequate history of the activity of Friars in these branches can not be attempted at the present

Subjects for Further Research Work time. We have raised problems and pointed out gaps which may keep studious Friars busy for many a year. Natural science is embodied not only in special works but scattered throughout the theological and philosophical literature.

Salimbene (d. 1288) describes many natural phenomena in his famous Chronicle. The preachers delivered symbolical sermons taking their material from science; in a sermon of John Capistran, as quoted in the *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, VI (1913), pp. 83-90, twelve properties of light are adduced to symbolize twelve virtues. The theologians and philosophers discussed the laws of nature in their Scholastic works. Even romances on the style of Jules Verne's, like the *Somma dei*

⁵⁷ Eitner. "Quellenlexikon der Musik." Leipzig, 1900, I, pp. 154ff.; VI., p. 350; VII., p. 148; IX., p. 15, p. 386.

⁵⁸ Felder, l. c., pp. 275ff., 394, 401ff.

⁵⁹ Egisto Magni, "Cesare Magati, O. M. Cap., e la sua riforma nella chirurgia." Bologna, 1919.

quattro Mondo by Friar Pacifico Stivivi of Rimini written in 1581,⁶⁰ should not be lightly passed by, since they reveal to us the limitations of science at a particular period.

DISCUSSION

FR. CUTHBERT:—It was a real surprise for me to hear that so many of our Brethren in days gone by delved in the sciences, and that so much of what is called modern must be traced back, at least in great part, to the ingenuity and laborious research of the Friars of Old.

Lessons from History

The paper of Fr. John is well written and is a credit to his scholarship. It must have cost him a great deal of time and labor to compile the impressive list of Friar-scientists.

The paper will be an inspiration to all who may chance to read the Report of our Meeting. To all readers, whether within or without the Order, it will be a revelation showing that the Friars of the olden days were very active indeed in the pursuit of the sciences; but to the readers within the Order the paper will moreover be an incentive to renew our efforts to emulate or at least to uphold the splendid traditions of our saintly and scientific Brethren of the past.

FR. SIMON:—I should like to stress the fact that the Franciscan Scientists of the Middle Ages were not only the most remarkable scientists of the time, but were also the leaders in the movement that assured the sciences a definite place in the course of study. The Dominicans were, indeed, great students of theology, but they ruled drastically against the study of the sciences in the Provincial Chapter of Barcelona in 1299: "Volumus et ordinamus ut fratres in hujusmodi scientiis non studeant, nec de medicina, vel de secularium causis, unde possit ordini scandalum generari, se ullatenus intermittant. Quod si contra fecerint, sint privati libris hujusmodi facultatum" (Douais, "Acta Capitulorum Provincialium O. P.," Toulouse, 1894, p. 648, No. 14).

Franciscans as Pioneers in Medieval Science

Many Franciscans were, of course, of the same way of thinking; even the majority were. But the English Franciscans were an exception, and from the beginning paid a great deal of attention to the sciences. Roger Bacon justly regarded the experimental sciences as the foundation of medical science. It was through his personal efforts that the study of the sciences was finally approved by the sons of St. Francis in the General Constitutions of 1292, and gradually also by the sons of St. Dominic.

FR. GRATIAN:—H. G. Wells enumerates Roger Bacon among the six greatest men in history, and says of him that he had "such a vision of what was needed in the world for education and fruitful knowledge as no other man had." But Wells speaks unfairly of the "night of the 13th century" in which Bacon shone "like a star." As a matter of fact the 13th century has rightly been called the greatest of the centuries, and it was distinguished for such great men as Dante, St. Thomas Aquinas, St.

60 "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum," V (1912), pp. 148-149.

Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, Albert the Great, and Vincent of Beauvais. Among them Roger Bacon deserves, indeed, a high rank. The 13th century was largely devoted, it is true, to the intensive study of philosophy and theology, whereas the interests of Friar Roger were mainly scientific, experimental, and linguistic. And since the modern period is one of scientific achievements, considerable interest has been taken in this Friar and his work. Furthermore, because he was silenced by his religious superiors, many modern scientists, who resent ecclesiastical intervention, and who are unacquainted with medieval thought, have hailed him as a modern by nature and a medieval by fate. As a consequence, his works have been reprinted and studied by many who otherwise might find little interest in him.

Both Catholics and non-Catholics admit that he was a man of great intellectual ability. Humboldt, for instance, calls him the greatest man of his century. It may be said of him that he laid down the principles of modern science and of the experimental method.

Roger Bacon was born about the year 1214 near Ilchester in Somersetshire, or according to another tradition in Gloucestershire. From his own account of money expended in research studies, and other casual references, it would seem that his family was one of some wealth and standing. Of his early life little is known. At Oxford his professors very probably were the Dominican Richard Fitzacre, Robert Grosseteste, who in 1224, before his elevation to the see of Lincoln was "rector" of the Franciscan school at the University, and Adam Marsh, who was the first of a long line of Franciscan professors. Bacon always held Lord Robert of Lincoln and Friar Adam in the highest esteem.

The influence of Grosseteste over Roger's mind must have been quite extraordinary. Grosseteste himself was a Greek scholar and a scientist. He wrote much about physics, light, and optics. He also composed opuscula on philosophy. No doubt, his influence with its strong mathematical and physical bent, dominated the early training of Roger, who afterwards followed and superseded him in his daring scientific speculations.

The thirteenth century is known in a special way because of the sway that Scholasticism held over the leading minds of that time. It can not be doubted that Scholasticism produced some master minds. Philosophy and theology were enriched by works that even to-day call forth our admiration. Even the enemies of Scholasticism must concede that this period was rich in men who can easily compare with the greatest of modern times. The more unbiased historians study the men and works of this period, the more evident it becomes that the Middle Ages were by no means dark ages.

But as in every movement we may distinguish a period of prosperity and a period of decline, so with Scholasticism too we may say that it reached its zenith in the great Scholastics of the thirteenth century. After them came men who were more given to speculation, often idle and barren, than to the search of well-established truth. Instead of sound logic and solid argument they employed sophism and subtlety. They gave scant recognition to facts and gave more weight to the authority of a book or a master. This was what Roger Bacon could not brook. He would have men study nature and its phenomena. He attacked those who slavishly adhered to the older methods, with a bitterness and intemperance of language, that was uncalled for, and to which much of the harshness with which he was treated was

due. He recognized the good in Scholasticism. But he aimed at improving upon it. He would enlarge its scope and widen its horizon. Outworn formulas should not serve as the sole demonstration of truth. He desired that a greater place in the domain of human knowledge be given to languages, history, applied mathematics, and the experimental study of nature and its laws.

Roger Bacon was not the man who taught one thing and practised another. He was a master of Latin, the universal language of the schools, writing it with a certain ease, naturalness, and elegance. His knowledge of Greek was such as to enable him to read Aristotle in the original. He also knew Hebrew and Arabic—his knowledge of Arabic seems to have been extraordinary—and he lashed theologians mercilessly, demanding of them how they could discover the real meaning of Holy Writ, if they ignored the Biblical languages. In this contention Roger was undoubtedly right and if he had been less violent or more persuasive, he would have accomplished much more than he did. As it is, theologians and Scripture scholars of a much later date have profited by his suggestions.

But the field in which Roger Bacon especially distinguished himself was that of the sciences. His was essentially a scientific mind. For him, the two foundations of knowledge and science were observation and reason. Yet his scientific observation, his relentless logic never caused him to waver in his acceptance of the dogmas of his faith. Notwithstanding his troubles with his superiors and his disagreements with some of the greatest men of his time, he always remained a staunch son of the Church. The three works that contain his scientific and doctrinal principles are the "*Opus Majus*," the "*Opus Minus*," and the "*Opus Tertium*." These works were addressed to Pope Clement IV., who was his protector and friend.

In the "*Opus Majus*" Roger Bacon does not follow the usual Scholastic method of that period. He does not tread the beaten path but follows his own bent. This work is a long persuasive letter on the reform of ecclesiastical studies, by one who had reform in his blood. Sketches of innumerable subjects are given in passing and the whole is written in such a pleasing style that many students find Bacon more interesting than Albert, Thomas, Alexander, or Duns Scotus. In this work, moreover, he complained that experimental science, physics, chemistry, and those other branches in which Bacon himself had specialized, were being neglected. None can doubt the sincerity of his plea, nor his love for the sciences to which he had devoted many laborious years of research and study. His "*Opus Minus*" and "*Opus Tertium*" are unfortunately left in a truncated form.

Bacon had an unusual gift for utilizing his scientific knowledge. He was above all an experimentalist endowed with a keen, practical desire to apply his knowledge to life and practice. If he had only confined himself to his science, or if in pleading its cause he had adopted less combative methods, he would most certainly have been greeted by Albert, Thomas, and his colleagues in research-work as an invaluable ally. In science Bacon was far ahead of his time. Some of his contemporaries seem to have thought him inspired by the devil. As it was, he unnecessarily made enemies for himself by his bluntness, by trespassing in the fields of speculative science and theology, and by his contempt for the leaders of Scholasticism.

Roger Bacon was not the victim of the theological narrow-mindedness of two of his own Superiors General, Jerome of Ascoli and St. Bonaventure. By his bitter controversial tone and his occasional errors Roger Bacon was a danger not only to himself, but to the

whole Order. Because of a heretical book published by one member of the Order a general prohibition was passed in 1260 by the Franciscans against the publication of books by members of their Order, unless these books were censored and, if necessary, revised by the proper authorities. The works of the English Friar came under the general law. The censure was not primarily aimed at him.

No person of sound judgment will think of blaming his superiors. They aimed at guarding the faith and the laws of charity. They were not enemies of progress in science or experimental knowledge. No, they tried to curb Roger's intemperate zeal. They may have been unduly severe in the measures taken against the author of the "Opus Majus." But when we consider that Roger Bacon wrote a great deal, that he occupied himself with almost every science, physics, chemistry, astronomy, language and mathematics, that he even caught the first dim vision of the great modern triumphs of the flying machine, the diving bell, the steam engine, suspension bridges and high explosives, then we must admit that he was not so hampered in his investigations as certain biased historians would have us believe. The Church which he always loved, has long since adopted all that is best in his plan of studies. He died about 1294 and was buried in the Franciscan church at Oxford.

FR. WILLIAM:—It is pleasant to recall, in connection with Fr. Gratian's remarks, some of the features of the Celebration held at Oxford University on June 10, 1914, to commemorate the seven

Roger Bacon Celebration at Oxford

hundredth anniversary of the birth of Roger Bacon, one of the greatest of her sons. The following account was published in the "America," Vol. XI, p. 251, and was written by a Delegate (presumably Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M.) to the Oxford Celebration. It is noteworthy that Monsignor Ratti of the Vatican Library, now Pope Pius XI., is mentioned among the Delegates who were "most conspicuous," and that he made an important address on the occasion.

For the ceremony there had gathered a distinguished company of scarlet-robed doctors, a number of Franciscan Friars in their brown garb, and several eminent scholars from abroad, amongst whom Monsignor Ratti of the Vatican Library in his prelatial robes, le Comte d'Haussonville in the dress of a member of the French Academy, and Professor Francois Picaret, the Delegate of the University of Paris in brilliant yellow, were, perhaps, the most conspicuous.

The principal event of the day was the unveiling of a statue of Roger Bacon in the University Museum by Sir Archibald Geikie, former President of the Royal Society, and its acceptance on behalf of the University by the Chancellor, Earl Curzon of Kedleston. The statue, which is the work of Mr. Hope Pinker, is a full length figure in white marble. It shows Bacon in his Franciscan habit, astrolabe in hand, gazing with cheerful and unflinching mien into the unknown. In unveiling the statue Sir Archibald Geikie paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the Oxford Friar, recalling how "this eminent philosopher devoted his strenuous and checkered life to widen the boundaries of knowledge in every branch of intellectual effort and to make this increase of knowledge subservient to the advancement of mankind in virtue and religion." Roger Bacon, he said, "was one of the great forerunners in the development of the new or experimental

philosophy which some four centuries later arose into quickened activity under the inspiration of his illustrious namesake, Francis Bacon."

Lord Curzon, in a graceful speech accepting the custody of the statue, described the ceremony as a tardy reparation of a long neglect, the filling of a notable gap in the commemoration of a long line of distinguished men whom Oxford had produced. "Roger Bacon was," he said, "one of the greatest men of genius Oxford had ever known. The sciences of which he was to some extent master included theology, medicine, philology, mathematics, optics, chemistry, alchemy—though he mentioned that with some suspicion—moral and political philosophy, and experimental science of which he was the acknowledged founder and parent. He foreshadowed, moreover, if he did not actually foresee, some of the most remarkable appliances and inventions of modern days: the steamship, the railway, the telescope, the magnifying-glass, gunpowder, mesmerism, the aeroplane, and the submarine." Bacon was in reality, he concluded, one of the most unusual geniuses that England, or the world, has ever produced.

After Lord Curzon's speech addresses were presented by Fr. David Fleming, O. F. M., on behalf of the Order of Friars Minor, which he had come specially from Rome to represent, and by Professor James Ward, the Delegate from the University of Cambridge. The Public Orator, Mr. A. D. Godley, brought the proceedings to a close by delivering a Latin oration. The Delegates and other guests were afterwards entertained at luncheon by the Warden and Fellows of Merton, the College which inherited so much of Roger Bacon's glory. To Bodley's Librarian, Mr. Madan, was entrusted the toast, "In memoriam Rogeri Bacon," while Monsignor Ratti, of the Vatican Library, made the chief response to the toast of "The Delegates," which was proposed by the Chancellor, Lord Curzon. Monsignor Ratti recalled the help that Pope Clement IV. gave to Roger Bacon, and his advice to remain in Oxford in spite of the fact that he was under surveillance—advice which, if not followed, might have ended in the loss of all of Bacon's works.

Among the other Delegates present were: Professor Eugene Smith, from Columbia University; Father Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., from the Catholic University of America; Father Cuthbert, O. M. Cap., Rector of St. Anselm's House, Oxford; and Father Felix, O. M. Cap., Professor at Queen's College, Cork, who represented the National University of Ireland. The others present at the luncheon included Sir William Osler, Sir Oliver Lodge, Colonel Hime, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton, Sir Arthur Evans, Professor Turner, Professor Odling, and Professor Love.

Most of the Delegates attended the Romanes Lecture by Professor Sir J. J. Thompson at the Sheldonian Theatre, and afterwards inspected an exhibition of manuscripts, etc., relating to Roger Bacon at the Bodleian Library. A garden party in the famous grounds of Wadham College brought the splendid Roger Bacon Celebration to a close. In connection with the commemoration a volume of essays on Roger Bacon by various writers was issued by the Clarendon Press. Among the contributors is His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet, who appropriately writes on "Roger Bacon and the Latin Vulgate." It is hoped that to-day's proceedings may lead to the foundation of a Bacon Society, and may hasten the publication of the "opera omnia" of the Oxford Friar.

FR. CONRADIN:—The attitude of Roger Bacon towards the sciences appeared to many of his contemporaries and to not a few historians as destructive of the devotional temper. But this is an

Science and the Devotional Temper

erroneous view. On this head I shall quote a telling passage from "The Romanticism of St. Francis" by Father Cuthbert, O. M. Cap.: "The immediate relationship between experimental science and the devotional temper of mind exhibited in St. Francis, may not be at once apparent; and in these days men are apt to regard the experimental scientist as temperamentally antagonistic to the theologian. As a matter of fact, however, the study of natural phenomena would seem to lie very close to the mystical temperament. It is in the facts of life that the true mystic seeks his knowledge, and to him phenomena are more eloquent than dialecticism. Adam Marsh, one of the most notable and pious of the early Franciscan Schoolmen, seems to have considered a study of physical phenomena together with the text of Scripture and the Holy Fathers as of more value than dialectical speculation in the study of theology."

FR. MICHAEL:—It may be interesting to supplement Fr. John's account of the Friars' explorations by quoting from "Mount Everest," the new book just brought out by the Protestant Sven Hedin, the

A Protestant Authority on Explorations of the Friars

famous Swedish author and explorer. In this book Hedin gives credit to Catholic missionaries for the first explorations in Tibet and for the discovery of the peak now known as Mount Everest. He also points out several errors that have crept into the book "Mount Everest, the Reconnaissance 1921," by the English Colonel C. K. Howard-Bury which gives the history of the Mount Everest expedition of 1921-22. Col. Howard-Bury's book attracted attention from those interested in scientific knowledge and exploration not equaled since the publication of Stanley's book on his African explorations.

Referring to the English explorer's statement in his account of the journey to Tingri, that the people of that part of the country had never seen a European before, Hedin remarks, "he might just have mentioned the many Jesuit and Capuchin Fathers who repeatedly made this journey to and fro as long as two hundred years ago."

Hedin recalls how, in 1738, the Capuchin Orazio della Penna started from Rome with a party of eleven Friars. They reached Lhasa in 1741 and an account of their journey, on which they passed through Tingri and Schikar, was written by another Capuchin Fra Cassiano Belligati. As to the discovery of Mount Everest, Hedin writes:

"It was absolutely incorrect to say that Mount Everest was the discovery of the English Colonel Everest, who, in 1858, was the leader of a surveying party sent out from India, and from whom the mountain received its name. It is not my intention to injure the honor of the English topographer as a discoverer or to deprive him of it. But I can not help bringing truth from the obscurity of oblivion to light, by pointing out that Mount Everest, with only slight inaccuracies, is found under its true Tibetan name 'Tschomo-Lungma' on maps made from native materials by French Jesuits in Peking in the year 1717. These maps were later engraved in Paris and published in 1733."

In Sven Hedin's book a special chapter "Jesuits and Capuchins in the Region of Mount Everest" is devoted to a historical account of the journeys to the Himalaya and Tibetan highlands by Catholic missionaries as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Referring to the British expedition of 1921, he writes:

Mount Everest Discovered by Catholic Missionaries

"Since, in London, people have attributed to this expedition such great importance for all mankind, it is but fair to remember the men who wandered the same way 260 and 200 years ago, not, it is true, to make geographical discoveries and much less to climb as high as possible on the mountains, but with the pious intention of preaching Christianity to the Tibetans."

With possible irony he refers to the statement of Sir Francis Younghusband, President of the British Royal Geographical Society, which aided in the 1921 expedition. In his introduction to Col. Howard-Bury's book, Sir Francis wrote:

"From the very beginning, we decided that the chief purpose of the expedition was to ascend the mountain and that everything else should be subordinate to the lofty aim of reaching the summit."

Hedin suggests that it might have been an exhibition of greater wisdom and foresight to emphasize the object of scientific and historical research in an important part of southern Tibet, and to have included the sportsmanlike exploit of ascending the mountain in second place. He adds that the sporting instinct of achievement was not what animated the Catholic Friars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that they were urged on by the love of Christ. He praises the written accounts of these journeys left by some of the early missionaries, descriptions of the country, the mode of life and manners of the people, means of travel and communication, customs and usages and the native religion.

"Others," he writes, "undertook journeys which can be compared in daring only with that of Marco Polo, and which were repeated by other Europeans only centuries later."

Hedin recalls how the two Jesuits Grueber and Albert D'Orville left Peking in 1661 and made their way through Tibet visiting at Lhasa. They carried scientific instruments with them. Accounts of their trip, probably the first European expedition to Tibet, have been preserved in the book by Athanasius Kirchner, "China Illustrata."

In 1703 Pope Clement XI. sent a missionary band of six Capuchins to Tibet. They arrived there safely in 1707 and were later re-inforced by other missionaries. In 1745 they were driven out by the Chinese

who were then masters of Lhasa. Soon after the arrival of the Capuchins, two Jesuits, Ippolito Desideri and Manuel Freyre reached the town of Dalai Lama. Father Desideri's account of their journey is preserved. It was found two decades ago and published in 1904 by the Geographical Society in Rome. Hedin refers to this account in a complimentary manner.

Capuchins in Tibet

The Capuchin Orazio della Penna in his famous "Alphabetum Tibetanum" also gives an account of his experiences and the results of his exploration in Tibet. He is entitled to the honor of having been the first to devote himself to the scientific study of the Tibetan language. Besides the books already mentioned, the accounts of Tibetan journeys written by the Capuchins Tranquillo de Apecchio and Beligatti are worthy of mention.

Sven Hedin writes of the latter:

"Beligatti as well as Desideri is a master of the art of depicting travels. In one respect he differs from the travellers of our own time; he rarely speaks of himself. When he journeyed to Lhasa through the valley of Bhutiakosi, across the Thang-la, he experienced, no doubt, many other adventures as well as the mountain sickness, but he kept them all to himself. They did not interest him. It was the knowledge of new countries and new men, their culture, their customs, and above all, their religious ideas and festivals, which Beligatti wished to preserve for the Western world. With keen eyes he observed everything and furnishes us a description of his travels, so exact and reliable that innumerable travellers of our own days might be happy if they had been able to fill their own volumes with material equally valuable. One who has travelled himself and who once had an opportunity to verify the accounts of the early Jesuits and Capuchins takes off his hat and willingly accords them admiration."

FR. THEODOSIUS:—Fr. John's paper leaves little to be supplemented as a summary of the great scientists of the Franciscan Order. The Conference appreciates the painstaking efforts of Fr. John and owes him a debt of gratitude for this valuable contribution to the history of the Order.

Tertiary Scientists

However, would it not be well to add a few names illustrious in science from the Third Order? This was suggested to the Author of the paper, who responded with his usual alacrity, and I beg leave to embody his answer here. Fr. John writes:

"Regarding the Tertiary Scientists I must say that historians are rather silent. I mentioned in my paper only one, Raymond Lullus, who is practically regarded as belonging to the First Order. About other Tertiary scientists I am not well informed, and hence I did not mention any at all. I shall, however, add the little I know.

"The poet Dante Alighieri (d. 1321) was a Tertiary. In his principal work, 'The Divine Comedy,' he travels under the guidance of Vergil through the upper and nether worlds, and hence takes occasion to discuss problems of mathematical and physical geography. In the 'Convito' we find many similar discussions of mathematical and physical geography as well as physics. The treatise 'De Aqua et Terra,' written about 1304, has been ascribed to Dante generally, although some late scholars dispute Dante's authorship. The matter is not yet settled so that we may safely attribute the work to Dante. In a genial way and with great scientific insight it refutes the old absurdity, repeated in a thousand variations during the Middle Ages, that earth and water are two eccentric spherical bodies (Sig. Guenther, 'Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften,' Leipzig, 1909, Vol. I., p. 84).

"The poet Francesco Petrarca (d. 1374) was a Tertiary. In his ascent of Mont Ventoux, undertaken without any practical reason, he manifests a scientific purpose and evinces a sense for the study of nature which was rare at that time (Guenther, l. c., p. 79).

"Christopher Columbus (d. 1506) was a Tertiary. He gave us in his 'Letters' the first description of America. He knew how to draw correct conclusions from the spherical form of the earth, and this was in his day a great achievement. This knowledge guided him in his discovery of America. In his description of America he evinces a keen interest in natural phenomena. He states with precision the

problems of climatic changes; he characterizes correctly the West Indies as being a remnant of a disrupted continent, and proved the declination of the magnet in the compass. His merits are not obscured by the fact that prior to his researches compasses had been known during the 15th century which had registered this declination (Guenther, l. c., p. 96).

"Louis Galvani (d. 1798) was received into the Third Order on May 26, 1779, by the Observants at Bologna and made his profession there on June 10, 1780 (Hilar. Paris., '*Liber tertii Ordinis*,' Geneva, 1888, p. 148).

"Alessandro Count Volta (d. 1827) and Galileo Galilei (d. 1642) were also members of the Third Order."

Thus far Father John. We thank him for having blazed this trail for future enterprising Friars who have the taste, leisure, and equipment at hand to penetrate into the hazy labyrinths of the history of Tertiary scientists. We are sure their search will be amply rewarded and their efforts will be appreciated by all those interested in the Third Order. A further list of brilliant Tertiary names may be found in Father Hilarion Duerk's "Report of the First National Third Order Convention," pp. 575ff.

FR. FELIX:—Fr. John's paper is a valuable object-lesson for studying the relation between science and religion. On this subject both scientists and theologians have engaged in hot controversy. But the diatribes of certain scientists against theology, and the anathemas of individual theologians against science seem rather absurd to the Catholic scholar who knows that truth can not be contrary to truth, and that science can therefore never contradict religion. It is true, there have been eminent scientists who believed that science and religion must ever be at war. Huxley wrote in his autobiographical sketch of 1894: "I have subordinated any reasonable or unreasonable ambition for scientific fame I may have permitted myself to entertain, to other ends: to the untiring opposition to that ecclesiastical spirit, that clericalism, which in England, as everywhere else and to whatever denomination it may belong, is the deadly enemy of science."

But the contradiction between science and religion is only apparent, and can be traced to a misunderstanding of the points at issue. "Though faith and science can never be in contradiction," says Orestes A. Brownson, "yet much that passes for faith may be in contradiction with science, and much that passes for science may be in contradiction with faith. This contradiction, indeed, affects neither what is really faith nor what is really science, but in minds not sufficiently instructed to draw sharply, on the one hand, the line between what is faith and what is only theological opinion, and, on the other, between what is science and what is only the opinion or conjecture of scientific men, it has the inevitable effect of creating, on the one side, a prejudice against science and, on the other, a prejudice against faith."

There would never be even a semblance of contradiction if each of the two departments of knowledge would confine itself to its own proper field. According to Newman, theology is the philosophy of the supernatural world, and science the philosophy of the natural world, and hence "theology and science, whether in their respective ideas, or again in their own actual fields, on the whole, are incommunicable, incapable of collision, and needing, at most, to be connected, never

to be reconciled." It has been said that St. Thomas made an alliance, not with Plato, but with Aristotle because Aristotle, unlike Plato, confined himself to human science, and therefore was secured from coming into collision with divine.

Whenever a scientific discovery is alleged to be opposed to faith, it is well to keep in mind the rule of Brownson: "Take all the facts on which the naturalists support their hypotheses, they establish nothing against faith. The facts really established either favor faith or are perfectly compatible with it; and if any are alleged that seem to militate against it, they are either not proved to be facts, or their true character is not fully ascertained, and no conclusion from them can be taken as truly scientific. . . . The sciences deal with facts and causes of the secondary order; and it is very certain that one may determine the quality of an acorn as food for swine without considering the first cause of the oak that bore it."

We may, then, rest assured that there can be no contrariety between the declarations of religion and the results of scientific inquiry. Ecclesiastical history shows that science has nothing to fear from the authority of the Church. The Church has always encouraged full freedom for the pursuit of scientific truth. The enemies of religion are fond of pointing their finger at the Middle Ages as having been the time when the Church held the human mind in bondage. But what are the historical facts? Let Newman give us the facts (Christianity and Scientific Investigation in "The Idea of a University"):

"Time went on; a new state of things, intellectual and social, came in; the Church was girt with temporal power; the preachers of St. Dominic were in the ascendant: now at length we may ask with curious interest, did the Church alter her ancient rule of action, and proscribe intellectual activity? Just the contrary; this is the very age of universities; it is the classical period of the Schoolmen; it is the splendid and palmary instance of the wise policy and large liberality of the Church, as regards philosophical inquiry.

"If there ever was a time when the intellect went wild, and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was there ever a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle, metaphysical spirit not scrutinize? What premiss was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? What whole was not analyzed? What complex idea was not elaborately traced out, and, as it were, finely painted for the contemplation of the mind, till it was spread out in all its minutest portions as perfectly and delicately as a frog's foot shows under the intense scrutiny of the microscope?

"Well, I repeat, here was something which came somewhat nearer to theology than physical research comes; Aristotle was a somewhat more serious foe then, beyond all mistake, than Francis Bacon has been since. Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No, not though that philosophy was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of inquiry with fire and sword; but she determined to put it down by 'argument,' she said: 'Two can play at that, and my argument is the better.' She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan Doctors, the greatest of them being St. Thomas, who in those medieval universities fought the battle of revelation with the weapons of heathenism. It was no matter

whose the weapon was; truth was truth all the world over. With the jawbone of an ass, with the skeleton philosophy of pagan Greece, did the Samson of the schools put to flight his thousand Philistines."

Keeping in mind this traditional policy of the Church the individual theologian, too, should be generous in his attitude towards science. His attitude should be that of the many Franciscans who have been eminent in science, or of other churchmen who were scientists such as: Copernicus; Basil Valentine, founder of modern chemistry; Linacre, scholar, physician and priest; Father Kircher, scientist, orientalist, collector; Bishop Stensen, anatomist and father of geology; Abbe Haüy, father of crystallography; Abbot Mendel, authority in biology; Albert the Great, philosopher, theologian, scientist; John XXI., philosopher, physician, pope; Guy de Chauliac, father of modern surgery; Regiomontanus, astronomer and bishop; and so on.

The theologian should therefore regard science as an ally in his search for truth. He should realize that the more a man is fitted intellectually and scientifically for the work which his vocation entails, the fuller a man he will be and the more apt to exert his moral and religious sense. To the scientific investigator the theologian may quote the statement of the great English scientist, William Thomson: "Do not be afraid of bold explorations in the realm of science. If you think strongly enough, you will be forced by science to the belief in God, which is the foundation of all religion." To the scientific agnostic he may quote Fabre's paradoxical profession of faith: "I do not believe in God, for I see Him in all things and everywhere."

In passing I should like to remark that the theologian may profitably use his influence to create a still wider interest in Fabre's works for they reflect the author's unshaken faith in Providence, his admiration and awe over the perfection and purposiveness of the minutest phenomena, a faith that is childlike in its trust and steadfastness. The world is wont to make much ado over the scientific atheist. Let us, on the contrary, call attention, in season and out of season, to the men of science who are also men of faith.

Dr. Robert A. Millikan, who is a distinguished physicist and who bears the distinction of being the first to succeed in isolating an electron, prepared a recently published statement declaring that there is no antagonism between science and religion. This statement was signed by forty noted men. Dr. Millikan refers to Newton, Faraday, Maxwell, Kelvin, and Raleigh in England, and to Pasteur in France as bearing out his contention. Among present-day scientists whom he considers religious, Millikan mentions John C. Merriam, President of the Carnegie Institute at Washington and America's foremost paleontologist; H. F. Osborn, Director of the American Museum of Natural History; Michael Pupin, Professor of electro-mechanics at Columbia University; John M. Coulter, Head of the Chicago University Department of Botany and dean of American botanists.

Men of science who are also men of faith may well liken theology to the stone pillars in our observatories. These pillars extend up into the building and thus assure a firm support for all the instruments of research and observation. That support remains firm and unshakable while the rest of the structure is subject to many vibrations. All scientists may avail themselves of the support for obtaining a broader and clearer outlook, but even if they do not see the pillars or do not even understand their need, they may never scorn them with impunity.

Science does not conflict with theology. Not only is its subject matter wholly distinct from that of theology, but the methods of the two subjects are altogether different: science is experimental, theology traditional; science is the richer, theology the more exact; science the bolder, theology the surer; science progressive, theology, in comparison, stationary; theology is loyal to the past, science has visions of the future.

Instead of fearing the hostility of the scientists, the professors of theology should familiarize themselves with the achievements of the natural sciences, and they would then find that nature is, as Francis Thompson puts it, "God's daughter who stretches her hand only to her Father's friends." Even Huxley confessed that science seemed to him "to teach in the highest and strongest manner the truth which is embodied in the Christian conception of the entire surrender to the will of God." Thoreau wrote: "My profession is always to be on the alert to find God in nature, to know His lurking places, to attend to all the oratorios, the operas in nature." Our preachers may be interested in this further remark of Thoreau: "Shall I not have words as fresh as my thoughts? Shall I use any other man's word?" John Muir finds nature to be a "Godful beauty;" and the "blessed mountains" he declared to be "so compactly filled with God's beauty, no petty personal hope or experience has room to be." High on the mountain he lies, "humbly prostrate before the vast display of God's power, and eager to offer self-denial and renunciation with eternal toil to learn any lesson in the divine manuscript."

Such ideas will send the thoughts of the Friar homing to the Seraphic Saint of old Assisi and his "little brothers, the birds."

FR. BERNARD:—The scholarly paper of Fr. John Lenhart has again brought to the attention of this Conference the question whether the Franciscan Educational Conference should rest satisfied with merely convening for a few days each year and publishing the results of its deliberations in the annual Report, or whether it should amplify its scope by editing the papers read in order to reach a wider public.

In connection with this thought, I should like to give expression to a chain of ideas which perhaps might not be entirely practicable at the present time, but which might engage the attention of some future meeting and thus lead to practical results.

At the Convention of the Catholic Educational Association a few days ago, a paper was read by Msgr. McMahon of New York dealing with the product of our seminaries—the junior clergy. Emphasis was laid on the fact that however good and efficient the junior clergy may be, they are deficient in that scholarly culture and trend of mind which characterize the clergy of other lands.

Would it be saying too much to affirm that this lack of scholarship is noticeable not only among our clergy but also among the American people as a whole? We are still a very young nation. We have so far been mainly occupied with the material side of life. The clergy of America have passed through what may be called the brick and mortar period of the Catholic constructive program.

But we are not going to rest there. The most hopeful sign of the present age is the dissatisfaction with our present status—a dissatisfaction constantly growing but balanced by a corresponding serious wish for betterment. Where such healthful dissatisfaction exists, we can cherish hopes of future growth and activity.

Coming back to the subject of publications, I would mention that while we Catholics of America have had our attention focused on the material rearing of our churches and the upbuilding of our parishes, the field of scholarly and scientific research work has been held with undisputed claim by our Protestant friends and by the liberal school of thought. Great centers of learning such as the universities of Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Johns Hopkins, etc., and institutions such as the Union Theological Seminary of New York, have gone into the field with the zest of youth and produced works of scholarly worth and lasting value.

It is time for us Catholics of America to get busy and claim what is ours by right of inheritance. It were useless in a movement of this sort to rely on the initiative of individuals.

The experience of history teaches us that such an enterprise can be successfully directed only by a group of learned and influential men who are bound together by the ties of a common ideal and brotherly love. Such a body in the Catholic Church of America to-day is pre-eminently the Franciscan Educational Conference.

It would perhaps not be out of place to give a brief sketch of the work which a learned and capable organization such as the Franciscan Educational Conference might be called upon to sponsor in the future.

There is, first of all, the subject of periodicals. Scholarly and scientific periodicals, especially in theology, are a need of the times. Perhaps it might be open for discussion whether such periodicals are really possible at present or not. We still remember that last year's Conference considered the launching of a historical periodical premature and consequently abandoned the plan. Mr. Arthur Preuss, of the "Fortnightly Review," did not agree with this view of the Conference, but judged that we had both the writers and a large enough following to make such a magazine a success.

However, whether the present time be opportune or not for editing such periodicals, we can not escape the thought that we Franciscans are not sufficiently prepared to begin such publications. We can not marshal our forces well enough to publish such a periodical at regular intervals. We are just beginning to know ourselves and to learn what power and strength lie hidden away in our various monasteries and houses of study throughout the country. When that knowledge will have become more perfect, we shall have to act.

In addition to a periodical, we should have a series of works embodying the results of original research work by our Friars, and also of translations made by them of the masterpieces in other languages. Again, this undertaking can not be left to the initiative of individual Friars. It must be guided and controlled by the Franciscan Educational Conference. A remarkable example of collective research work has been given us by the theology students of Cumberland, Md. If this body of Capuchin students could produce in four years so wonderful a book as "India and Its Missions," what might not the Friars of the New World do if their efforts were directed and whipped into form by the Franciscan Educational Conference?

Then again, take the example of Mr. Arthur Preuss. His accurate and scholarly translations of Pohle's "Dogmatic Theology" and Koch's "Moral Theology," can not but bring home to us the vast possibilities which lie open to the Franciscan scholars of this country if they unite on this question and determine on some definite line of work.

Even if we do not enter at once upon this broad field of action, we should at least make a start of some kind. It would be perfectly

legitimate, feasible, and safe to carry out the suggestion proposed at this meeting of inaugurating a series of monographs to be published at irregular intervals. We have material enough at hand right now to encourage us in making such a start. To mention but two monographs which might engage the serious attention of the Conference, we have the scholarly article of Fr. John M. Lenhart and the valuable paper of Fr. Alphonse Coan to inaugurate the series of "Franciscan Studies."

This series of monographs will give the Friars who are desirous of writing, an opportunity to work out some thesis in which they are interested and an opening to have their work published.

It would therefore seem to me that we are ready to act immediately on this suggestion. In the meantime we should give the subject of other publications serious thought, and thus we shall prepare the way for solving the problem at some future meeting.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada.

BOARD OF EDITORS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. FERDINAND GRUEN, O. F. M.

REV. ERMIN SCHNEIDER, O. F. M.

REV. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M., Ph. D.

REV. JOSEPH F. RHODE, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., S. S. L.

REV. SIXTUS LIGARIO, O. F. M.

REV. CYRIL PIONTEK, O. F. M., J. C. L.

REV. ROBERT MOORE, O. F. M.

REV. BEDE HESS, O. M. C., S. T. D.

REV. CYRIL KITA, O. M. C., Ph. D., S. T. D.

REV. THEODOSIUS FOLEY, O. M. Cap.

REV. FRANCIS LAING, O. M. Cap.

Publication Office, 54 Park Place, New York, N. Y.

Correspondence in regard to contributions should be sent to Editorial Office, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 2

JULY, 1924

ST. BONAVENTURE, THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR

His Life and Works

By LUDGER WEGEMER, O. F. M.

THE DOCTRINE OF ST. BONAVENTURE

Concerning Our Knowledge of God

By VINCENT MAYER, O. M. C.



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

NIHIL OBSTAT

THOMAS PLASSMANN, O. F. M.

Censor deputatus

IMPRIMATUR

✠ WILLIAM TURNER, D. D.

Bishop of Buffalo

Buffalo, N. Y., July 3, 1924.

ST. BONAVENTURE, THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

LUDGER WEGEMER, O. F. M.

THE thirteenth century, so truly called the greatest of centuries, was rich in great men and deeds. It produced eminent princes in Church and State, divinely inspired founders of religious orders, immortal doctors, heroic missionaries, and unsurpassed works of art. The more man steps back and permits

The Thirteenth Century

God to lead him, the greater will his acts be. This is the lesson taught by the thirteenth century, for it was the century of the Most High. Its great deeds were directed to Him; its great wars served the cause of God; its great princes were saints of God; its great thinkers were savants of God; its great poets sang His praises; its monuments of art were God's temples. *Credo*, I believe — represents the history of the thirteenth century. It was a time of faith. Faith animated men; faith guided their plans and works; faith gave them that supernatural idealism which was embodied in their edifices and which to this day draws our heart heavenward. Among the heroes of the thirteenth century, there is one who is distinguished for his activities in the most diverse fields: a prince in theology, second founder of his order, the ornament of the Sacred College, the soul of the Greek Union and of the second council of Lyons, amid the labors of which his mortal career draws to a close — St. Bonaventure, our Seraphic Doctor.¹

Bonaventure was born at Balneumregis, the modern Bagno-rea, in the vicinity of Viterbo, in 1221, of Giovanni di Fidanza and Maria Ritella. He died at Lyons in 1274.

Of Bonaventure's youth nothing is known except the incident related in his *Legend of St. Francis*, viz., that while still a child, he was preserved from death through the intercession of St.

The Student

Francis. But we have no evidence that this cure took place during the life-time of St. Francis, or that the name of Bonaventure originated in any prophetic words of the saint. A fanciful portrait of his youth might be sketched to harmonize with the holiness and learning

1) Léonard Lemmens, O. F. M., "Der Hl. Bonaventura," p. 1.

the way for his victory over the Neoplatonists. Hence he is called the father of scholastic philosophy, as Alexander of Hales is called the father of scholastic theology.⁵

Although Bonaventure's years of study and teaching fall within this period, still he studied and taught before Aristotelianism had gained the victory. Bonaventure was the last great representative of Christian Neoplatonism.

In the work of education, the teacher exerts, as a rule, the greatest influence on his scholars. Day after day he appears before them, to teach them by word and example. If he be a man of principle, a man of solid virtue and knowledge, he will inspire his scholars to follow in his footsteps. Bonaventure's foremost and most beloved teacher was the great Alexander of Hales, who was for him indeed a shining exemplar in every respect. His contemporaries laud his virtues. Thus John of Garland styles him "the pearl of chastity," and Salimbene calls him "the best cleric in the world." Bonaventure's other teachers were in all probability the celebrated Dominican exegete Hugo of St. Cher and the Franciscan John of La Rochelle.

So far we have spoken of the objective side of Bonaventure's student life; now we shall try by consulting his works to understand his personal attitude towards study.

According to Bonaventure, Holy Scripture must take the first place in theological studies. In his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*, he gives us his method for beginning the study of Scripture.⁶

Scripture Study

The disciple of Christ must study Scripture after the manner of little boys who first learn the ABC, then they form syllables, then they read, and finally they grasp the meaning of the sentence. We must study Holy Scripture after this same pattern. First we must memorize the text, then seek the literal meaning. But herewith we must not be content. For getting at the meaning of Scripture Bonaventure recommends a threefold means.

The first is Scripture itself. Holy Scripture as a whole is like a zither. One string alone will not produce a melody; all must be played and all must harmonize. Similarly one passage of Scripture depends on another; yes, often a thousand are con-

5) Lemmens, p. 25-26.

6) "Collatio XIX," Tomus V, p. 421.

nected with a single text. Hence in explaining any passage we must cite other passages, explaining the one by the others.

The second means is the study of the Fathers. We cannot acquire a deep understanding of Holy Scripture by ourselves, but must have recourse to those to whom God has given this knowledge. That Bonaventure followed this rule, is evident from certain of his commentaries which contain pages of passages and explanations taken from the Fathers. His celebrated *Apologia Pauperum* is a collection of texts culled from the Fathers. And which Fathers did he consult? Mainly the Latin: Saints Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, and especially Augustine. Seldom do we meet the Greek Fathers, excepting St. John Chrysostom, St. John of Damascus, and Dionysius the Areopagite. From the transition period (i. e., from the patristic to the scholastic age), he cites Venerable Bede, Rhabanus Maurus, Haymo of Halberstadt, and the two *Glossæ*. Bonaventure certainly did not read all the books which he cites; many quotations he took from the *summae*. Nevertheless, he knew the Fathers so well that he could pass a sound judgment on the value and peculiarities of each.

The third means for the study of Scripture is the knowledge of the sciences; for the real purpose, the proper value, and the true meaning of the sciences lies in this that they are to lead us to God and to disclose to us the meaning of His words.

This is a favorite idea of Bonaventure, and one which he often expresses in the sublimest language. In his *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam*⁷ he writes: "All the sciences are valuable in helping us to understand Scripture. In Scripture they find their purpose, by Scripture they are perfected, by Scripture they are directed so that they prove a help in obtaining eternal salvation. Wherefore our entire learning must be guided by Scripture."

The next branch which Bonaventure studied, was the *Sentences*. The *Sentences* was not an independent study. On the contrary, it was closely interwoven with Holy Scripture. Its purpose was to give deeper understanding of the truths contained in Scripture. The course of the *Sentences* gave a systematic scientific exposition of dogmatic and moral truths. It embraced dogma and morals, and those philosophical questions which theological speculation necessitated.

Study of the *Sentences*

7) Tomus V, p. 322.

Here a word might be said about the philosophical texts Bonaventure used, and how he prepared himself for his future activity as licentiate and magister regens.

Bonaventure regarded Augustine as the first philosopher and the greatest metaphysician. From Augustine he obtained his enthusiasm for Plato and his esteem for the noble Plotinus. Whereas Augustine knew Aristotle and the Peripatetic school solely from the works of the Neoplatonists, Alexander and Bonaventure were well acquainted with his works. Thus in the fourth discourse on the *Hexaemeron*, he gives us a brief and comprehensive characterization of the Stagyrte. He seldom mentions Aristotle by name, but simply calls him the "philosopher." Averroes goes under the name of the "commentator." Everything summed up, we get the following picture of Bonaventure's study of the *Sentences*: Alexander is master and guide, he laid the foundation on which Bonaventure continued to build. The main sources of Alexander, the works of Augustine and Aristotle, give him likewise light and knowledge. He drew from them to the same degree as his teacher. He always preferred Augustine; while he explained and supplemented Aristotle. He interpreted Aristotle in the sense of Augustine, and was aided herein by defective translations and pseudo-Aristotelian writings.

Having considered the different branches which occupied our student in his years of study, we might ask, with what zeal did Bonaventure study and what progress did he make? The answer we leave to his writings. They will supplement the picture of Bonaventure as student and confirm the words of the old chronicle, "that he progressed with a wonderful intellectual grasp in every branch."

In his *Collationes in Hexaemeron*,⁸ St. Bonaventure gives some helpful directions concerning the method of study.

Our study must be orderly. The first place belongs to Scripture, the second to the Fathers, the third to the *Sentences* of the Magistri, and the last to the secular sciences and philosophy.

Method of Study

He who wishes to learn, must seek knowledge at the source, i. e., in Holy Scripture. In doing this, however, he must be mindful of our Savior when He changed water into wine. He said not immediately "Let it be wine," nor did He make it of nothing. No, He

8) "Collatio XIX," Tomus V, p. 421.

commanded the servants to fill the water pots with water. The real reason for our Lord's action we cannot determine. Nevertheless, in a higher sense, we can explain it thus: The Holy Ghost does not give him the spiritual understanding who does not first fill his pitcher with water, i. e., who does not first fill his mind with the literal meaning of the Scriptures. Then only does God change the water into the wine of a higher, spiritual understanding. Hence good order demands that we study first the letter, then the spiritual signification of Scripture. After this we must examine the Fathers, the Magistri and the philosophers but guardedly and, as it were, passing, for our waters must not flow to the Dead Sea, but must return to their original source.

In the second place, our study must be persevering. Bonaventure finds desultory reading a great hindrance, for it betrays a restless spirit, which makes no progress, nor does it permit anything to take root in the memory. We learn to know a person minutely by looking at him often and studying him, not by a mere glance. So with Scripture. The first time we read it, everything is more or less dark. Repeated reading and study clear away the darkness.

In the third place, we must study with pleasure. God has proportioned both food and taste, so that both must correspond if the food is to be wholesome. He who finds the food distasteful, as the Israelites the garlic, experience but one taste. Spiritual men, however, find therein the sweetness of every taste.

Finally, our studies must remain within proper bounds, and must be prudent. We must be discreet and moderate, and not attempt a learning beyond our strength. The exact limit for every student is drawn by his talents. Beyond this he should not seek to go, nor should he remain below it.

Bonaventure concludes his directions with an illustration from Augustine. Those who do not carry on their studies in an orderly manner are like colts which gallop hither and thither, while the useful beast of burden plods securely on, and arrives at its destination, because it proceeds steadily and perseveringly.

Both time and place of Bonaventure's entrance into the Franciscan Order are uncertain. However, it seems more than probable that he entered in 1238 and that in the Roman Province.⁹

9) Tomus X, p. 43.

It is to be noted that the novitiate of the order developed but gradually. It was introduced by Honorius III, September 22, 1220. But for a long time there were no exact statutes determining how it was to be made. It consisted principally in this that profession could be made after a year.

What did Bonaventure do during his novitiate? He most probably continued his studies, as was then customary. This custom is apparent from the Chronicle of Fr. Jordanus, who tells us that Hermann von Weissensee during his novitiate preached in Thuringia, and from Roger Bacon who says that Alexander of Hales as a novice continued to lecture.¹⁰

Besides his regular course, Bonaventure had to study the rule and the Divine Office and to prepare himself for ordination. His *Regula Novitiorum* and an epistle¹¹ to a confrère give us a little insight into the practices of his novitiate. At the outset he declares that it is his intention to write down only what he himself practiced. He begins: "No one can serve God perfectly who tries not energetically to break the bonds of the world and rise above all earthly cares. We must never permit our heart to be disturbed by any created thing. Cares manifold and unduly sought, distract the spirit, disturb interior peace, bring the phantasy into disorder, and cause many a sorrow. Hence we will cast off the pressing burden of every earthly love and without delay or hindrance hasten to Him Who invites us, in Whom our souls find bountiful refreshment and that perfect peace which surpasseth all understanding." These words confirm what the old chronicle says in praise of the young religious: "As in wisdom so also in the grace of prayer did he continually grow. He converted every truth into a prayer and repeated it incessantly in ejaculations."

With Bonaventure prayer and study relieve each other. Prayer passes over into study, and study into prayer. His converse with God was so facile, his communion with Him so intimate, that scientific questions artlessly and spontaneously ended in a prayer. This practice and teaching permeate his *Regula Novitiorum*.¹² At first reading one might feel disappointed; one had

10) "Chronica Jordani" N. 11. "Opus minus Rog. Bacon," p. 326.

11) "Epistola continens viginti quinque memorialia," Tomus VIII, p. 494.

12) Tomus VIII, p. 475-490.

expected more. A closer examination, however, shows us that one thought animates the whole: The spiritual must ever and everywhere receive the preference. In every chapter this thought re-occurs in concrete applications. Herein lies the characteristic feature of Bonaventure's piety and learning. The aim of his resolution and determined endeavors was the reference of all things to God, the subordination of all thoughts and cares under the sole thought of God. Herein he succeeded wonderfully. This is confirmed by his writings; it is seen in the calm determination with which as superior he triumphed over the greatest obstacles; it showed itself in the serenity of his countenance, which, according to a contemporary, won everyone.¹³

In the years following his novitiate, Bonaventure received Holy Orders and celebrated his first holy Mass. Where this took place, with what zeal he prepared himself, with what fervor he began his priestly life, these are questions we cannot answer. His widely used *Præparatio ad Missam* shows what a sublime conception he had of holy Mass, of the priesthood and of its duties. With these few remarks, we advance another step in the life of our saint.

The famous University of Paris distinguished a twofold teachership in theology. After a five-year course, the student received the baccalaureate. As such he could lecture privately, i. e., under the supervision of a magister. Having lectured for a length of time to the satisfaction of the faculty, he received the degree of the licentiate from the chancellor of the university, i. e., the permission to lecture publicly. It depended on the faculty of the Magistri whether or not he should have a vote and seat in the academic senate.

Bonaventure lectured as early as 1245 in the convent school of the Friars.¹⁴ He received the licentiate in 1248, but the title of magister was unjustly denied him until 1257.

Bonaventure began his teaching career with the explanation of Holy Scripture. For it he had an unusual reverence. What he says of Scripture in the preface to the *Breviloquium* and in his lectures on the Hexaemeron, belongs to the sublimest which we possess on this subject. He descants on the width and length, the height and depth of Scripture. The breadth of Scripture he

13) Tomus X, p. 42.

14) "Kirchen-Lexicon," p. 1018.

finds in its parts. We divide philosophy into theoretical and practical. Scripture we cannot divide thus, for it is theoretical and practical at the same time. It teaches us the truths of faith which constitute the foundation for our practice. Scripture is divided from a different viewpoint. It wishes to lead us to virtue and keep us from sin. The object is attained either by love or by fear. Hence we have the Testament of Fear and the Testament of Love. In the first we have serfdom, in the second freedom; in the first the letter, in the second the spirit; in the first the type, in the second the reality; in the first the night with the Law and the prophets, the moon and the stars, in the second the day with Christ, the Sun. In each testament a fourfold means is used to lead men to their end. They receive laws, they are instructed, they hear of the example of others, while the prophets unite all these means. We have therefore, says Bonaventure, four kinds of books: Law books, doctrinal books, historical books, and prophetic books. This division corresponds with the vision of the Prophet Ezechiel. To him the lion represents the Majesty which gives laws; the man, the wise teacher; while the bull reminds him of the great force of example, and the eagle pictures to him the prophet soaring aloft and overlooking all things.

The length of Scripture consists in this that it encompasses all time. It begins with creation and ends with the last judgment. As no one can grasp the beauty of a poem unless he look over the entire composition, so no one can see the beauty in the arrangement and government of the universe, unless he view it in its entirety. Now, since no man has lived through the entire past and no one of himself can grasp the future, therefore, has the Spirit of God presented us with Holy Scripture, which in its entire length from Genesis to the Apocalypse encompasses the whole course of the government of the world.

The height of Scripture is seen in its sublime truths. It embraces the highest things on earth and above the earth; it is a ladder, which standing on earth reaches to heaven, and by which man ascends heavenward.

The depth of Scripture lies in its manifold signification. In other books and science only the words have a meaning; in Scripture, both words and subjects speak.¹⁵

15) Cfr. "Breviloquium," Tomus V, p. 202; "Collationes in Hexameron," Tomus V, p. 398.

Bonaventure has been criticised for neglecting in his exegesis the literal signification, seeking instead moral applications and allegorical accommodations. The purpose of Bonaventure's exegesis is not an exact philological, but a fruitful theological explanation. His intention was to edify, to be practical. For he says Holy Scripture has been given us "ut boni fiamus." On this principle all his commentaries are based. That he gained his end, no one who studies his exegetical works, will deny. For they are incomparably rich in devout thought and practical teachings, a storehouse for sermon and meditation.

Of his means for explaining Scripture we have learned above. The first is Scripture itself. An obscure passage must be illumined by a clearer one. In this Bonaventure was a master. A word reminded him of three, four or more passages containing the same or a similar thought enabling him to obtain astonishing ideas and interesting parallels. Herein consists the characteristic feature of his exegesis and the peculiar charm of his commentaries. At times his exegesis seems far-fetched and forced. We must remember that Bonaventure does not wish to prove, but, as he himself says, to sound all the strings of the zither, so that the full accord of heavenly melodies may re-echo in the soul.

Another feature of Bonaventure's exegesis (common to all scholastic exegesis) is, that he studied not only the individual verses, but sought the main idea and tried to show how it was carried through in the smallest detail. His beautiful schema of the Gospel of St. Luke will, if read carefully, show how deeply he delved into the study of this Gospel. We possess commentaries by Bonaventure on Ecclesiastes, the Book of Wisdom, and the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John.

About the year 1250, Bonaventure began to lecture on the *Sentences* of the Lombard. This commentary is a theological achievement of the first rank, and remains without doubt Bonaventure's greatest work. All his other writings are in some way subservient to it. It comprises four thousand pages in folio, and traverses the entire field of scholastic theology. Like the other medieval *summac*, it is divided into four books. In the first, second, and fourth, Bonaventure compares favorably with the best commentaries on the *Sentences*, while it is admitted that in the third he surpasses all others. Everywhere we can easily detect the principles which guided the speculation of our saint and

**Commentary
on the
*Sentences***

which form the characteristics of the teacher. The first impression we obtain is that which the chronicle notes, that "he made every truth a prayer to God and a praise of God."

Bonaventure enjoyed from the earliest times the title of "Doctor devotus;"¹⁶ John of Ragusa, O. P., calls him "Doctor devotissimus."¹⁷ The title is fully justified, for the sublimest and most fervent sentiments flow spontaneously from his pen. Herein consists the universally acknowledged distinction of his writings, that they not only enlighten the intellect, but inflame the heart with love — a distinction which has found expression in the title "Seraphic teacher." The ardor of his spirit was often the determining factor in doubts and mooted questions. He usually chose that opinion which seemed to be more in accordance with the majesty and glory of God. Thus in answer to the question, would Christ have become man if Adam had not sinned? he answers in the negative.

A second characteristic of his dialectics is his moderation and modesty. Bonaventure is ever tolerant and modest. As far as possible, he tries to unite the opinions of the scholastics; he analyses the truth of the different opinions, finally discarding that which seems to him untenable, but with the utmost consideration and care. He usually found something good in every opinion; where this was impossible, he commended at least the good intention. Often he prefers to declare himself ignorant, rather than condemn the opinion of another. He emphasizes strongly that one must not despise the opinion of another, nor examine it with a biased mind. For our perception is obscured if we do not view the opinion of another with a clear eye.¹⁸

A fundamental feature of Bonaventure's doctrine is conservatism. At the end of the third volume he writes: "Everywhere I have tried to follow the common opinion as the safer course. Where I could not determine which was the common opinion, I chose that which seemed to me preferable." Still more exactly does he determine his position in the beginning of his second volume: "Heretofore I have lectured on the common opinions of the magistri, especially on those of my Lector and Father, Alexander. I will continue in his footsteps, for it is not my intention to teach new doctrines." In fact, Bonaventure stands

16) Cfr. "Analecta Franciscana," Vol. I, pp. 258 and 260.

17) Sbaralea, "Supplementum," p. 145.

18) Tomus II, p. 1016.

on the shoulders of Alexander. His *Commentary* is often a reproduction of Alexander's *summa*, though he surpasses Alexander in acumen, fertility of imagination, and originality of expression.

We might ask why did Bonaventure follow so closely in the footsteps of his predecessors, especially of Alexander? This is explained by the fact that Bonaventure wrote his *Commentary* from his twenty-seventh to thirty-fifth year. In the beginning of his thirty-sixth year he was elected general of the Franciscan Order, after which all opportunity of re-writing his *Commentary* and utilizing the progress made by the scholastics, was cut off. Hence, even if Bonaventure had not had this liking for the opinions of his predecessors, he could, nevertheless, not have made deep researches because of the great amount of material when writing his *Commentary*.

Another point must be considered and stressed, if we wish to estimate duly the character and position of Bonaventure's doctrine when compared with that of Thomas. The fame of Thomas and the success of his system were established by his later works written in Italy about 1260 — his commentary on the works of Aristotle and his two *summae*. These works were made possible or at least essentially promoted by the previous labors of Blessed Albert and William Morbeke. The former paved the way and created for Thomas a most effective help in his Aristotelian philosophy. The latter did Thomas a still greater service by translating the works of Aristotle from the Greek into Latin, whereas previously the magistri had but an obscure and inaccurate translation from the Arabian. Thus Thomas could easily correct his predecessors and contemporaries. Thanks to his acumen, he understood how to utilize this advantage and so inaugurated a new period of Christian philosophy. Bonaventure, as we have noted, did not have that opportunity. This is the principal reason for the differences which exist between the doctrine of Thomas and of Bonaventure. In the main they coincide, both teach the "doctrina communis" and only in a very restricted sense can they be called the leaders of two different theological schools.¹⁹

Bonaventure must have been a very able and engaging teacher. Few scholastics have had so many eminent scholars as he.

19) Lemmens, 80-82.

Thomas, strange to say, never during his lifetime succeeded in forming within his own order a circle of truly eminent scholars.²⁰ Immediate scholars of Bonaventure were: the subtle Cardinal Matthew of Aquasparta; John Peccham, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury and well-known author of the *Correctorium Fratris Thomae*; William de Mara, the great Hebrew scholar and critic of Thomas; the saintly Bishop Walter of Brugge; John Olivi, the well-known Spiritual, who calls Bonaventure "the greatest teacher of our time and order;" William of Falgar, Bishop of Viviers; Alexander of Alessandria, Minister General; and the famous magister Richard of Middletown, all Franciscans. Also deserving of mention is Peter of Tarantaise, O. P., who later as Innocent V adorned the papal throne with his virtue and learning.

In the course of time, however, the disciples of Thomas became more numerous and influential. Thomas had this advantage, that he had based his speculation in his later works on a Peripatetic foundation, thus gaining in coherence and unity, whereas Bonaventure, who was more of an eclectic, had drawn upon different schools of philosophers. Still, our saint always had many friends and admirers. Nobody perhaps has paid him so true and fine a compliment as John Gerson: "If you ask me which teacher is to be preferred, I answer, Master Bonaventure. For his doctrine is sound, safe, just, pious and fervent. He avoids all singular opinions. While trying to illumine the intellect, he employs everything to elevate the spirit and arouse devotion. Hence many scholastics who are devoid of piety, neglect him, though no teaching is more sublime, more divine, more salutary, more pleasing. The more I study him, the more am I ashamed of my loquacity."²¹ Gerson praises especially the *Breviloquium* and the *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*: "They are incomparable, the sublimest theological works. For more than thirty years have I studied them and yet I must confess that I am just beginning to enjoy them." Scheeben says of the *Breviloquium*: "It is a casket of jewels, whose every word solves a great question and portrays the development of theological thought in the

20) Ehrle, "Archiv fuer Literatur and Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters," Vol. IV, p. 295.

21) Tomus X, p. 34.

briefest and clearest manner. It contains the quintessence of the theology of his time."²²

Sixtus V, in the Bull *Triumphantis ecclesiae*, in which he declared Bonaventure a doctor of the Church, sums up all these praises: "What is peculiar and remarkable in Bonaventure is that he was noted for his subtle explanation, his masterful utterance, and his skilful exposition; also that he possessed the gift of moving souls with a divine power. To the deepest erudition he united an equal amount of the most ardent piety, so that, while enlightening his readers, he also moves their hearts penetrating the inmost recesses of their souls."

The oft repeated phrase is well-known: "Thomas is the Christian Aristotle; Bonaventure, the second Augustine." But this difference must not be stressed, for the two complement each other in an admirable way: Thomas is the angel of the schools, Bonaventure the master of the practical life; Thomas enlightens the intellect, Bonaventure elevates the heart. Sixtus V justly places both side by side, and grants Bonaventure the same ecclesiastical honors as Pius V granted Thomas. "They are," he says, "the two olive trees and the two shining lights in the house of God, who by the plenitude of their love and the light of their erudition illumine the entire Church. By the special providence of God, they are similar to two stars appearing at the same time. During their earthly pilgrimage they were intimately united by the bond of a true friendship and by the intercourse of holy labors. With equal step did both hasten towards their heavenly fatherland, that both might at the same time enter the joys of heaven."

In conclusion, I would cite a very pregnant characterization of Bonaventure by Fr. Lawrence Costello, O. F. M. "The fundamental characteristic underlying the fervor and the love of the Seraphic Doctor, is his ever conscious realization of God's presence. This with him was not a feature of passing or variable emotion; it rested on the basis of philosophical conviction and of vivid, childlike faith. To Bonaventure in his system of thought, as in his spiritual ideals, God is constantly and emphatically the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, the Source and Center, by Whom and from Whom all things are. In this continual and abiding presence of God — the very spirit, as it is also

22) Scheeben, "Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik," p. 432.

the ideal, of monastic solitude — his soul, his entire being grew and blossomed, turning ever to the light and warmth of the Divine Beauty as the sunflower to the sun. Not only was this the source of his light and unction, it was also the guiding principle of his spiritual and mental life. Hence sprang that moderation of tone, the calm balancing of evidence, as in the presence of an impartial Judge. Hence that humility — his simultaneous knowledge of God and of himself — to which all arrogance and pretension are so alien. Hence too, that directness of aim — fastening on the essence of facts rather than on their accidental surroundings — which ensured at once a love of truth for truth's sake, and limpid simple utterance as its worthiest channel. In God's sight all men are brothers, so it became our saint to communicate his lights in the spirit of deference and self-effacement. Hence, finally, came that unflinching loyalty to our Lord's revelations, which implies aversion to curious searchings, singular views and novel innovations, which when not the result are often the occasion of heretical betrayal of the trust committed to our care."²³

It has been said that a man's writings are a reflection of his personality. Of the saints it is no less true than of other mortals that we gain from their written words, when such exist, a clearer conception of their character and a fuller understanding of their spirit than any biography written by another can give. This is very true of our saint. Details of his life are few, but his many beautiful writings paint a charming picture of his noble character and pure soul.

Bonaventure was a very prolific writer, for besides his theological works, he has left us many smaller writings, the importance of which demands our special consideration. We may divide them into two groups: ascetic and mystic works, and writings on the Franciscan Order.

St. Bonaventure is considered one of the best and most reliable teachers of asceticism. Some of his ascetical writings are masterpieces and have been zealously used by saints and spiritual directors. They possess a twofold characteristic: they are replete with unusual fervor, and are intensely practical. Their natural, convincing tone shows that the writer speaks from experience. Some of his writings are mere short sketches, which

**Ascetical and
Mystical
Writings**

23) Costello, O. F. M., "St. Bonaventure," p. 15-16.

demand the independent work of the reader. But even here we must admire his fruitful mind, which always treats the subject from a different viewpoint and offers new thought for our meditation. Bonaventure is especially a mystic. "Having scaled the difficult heights of speculation," says Leo XIII, "he treats of mystic theology with such perfection, that in the common opinion of the most learned he is *facile princeps* in that field." (*Acta Ord. Min.*, an. 1890, p. 177).

Premising these general remarks, we shall now consider in particular some of his principal works.

The *Soliloquium*. In writing this work Bonaventure was guided by a twofold purpose: he wanted to open up the treasures of the works on mystic theology, of which the thirteenth century can be so proud, to wider circles. He chose from the works of the Fathers, saints and learned men those passages which were the least difficult but still most useful and necessary for the spiritual life. He also wanted to move and lead simple souls to the highest activity of the spiritual life, to supernatural contemplation. The *Soliloquium* is written in the form of a dialogue carried on between the soul thirsting for truth and happiness, and the inner man, who by study and experience has become a master in the spiritual life.

Another precious opuscle, is the celebrated *De Sex Alis Seraphim*. It is an instruction for superiors. The fact that Fr. Claudius Aquaviva, the eminent general of the Jesuits, caused it to be printed and circulated throughout the provinces of the order gives added testimony to its great value.²⁴ The *Lignum Vitae* is a series of forty-eight devout meditations on the life of Christ. It occupies a foremost place among Bonaventure's ascetical works. It comprises but a few pages, but the rich contents, which fre-

24) The Rev. Sabinus Mollitor, O. F. M., has brought out an English translation of this classic of the spiritual life under the title, "The Virtues of a Religious Superior" (Herder). The Rev. Dominic Devas, O. F. M., has translated three works of St. Bonaventure: "Three Principal Questions," "De Sex Alis Seraphim," and "Memorabilia." Thomas Baker, London, is the publisher. The Rev. Fr. Wilfrid, O. F. M., has edited "The Holiness of Life," (Herder), which is St. Bonaventure's treatise, "De Perfectione Vitae ad Sorores," translated by the late Fr. Lawrence Costello, O. F. M. All friends of the Seraphic Doctor owe a debt of gratitude to Fr. Wilfrid for his introduction of thirty pages, in which he deals not merely with St. Bonaventure, but particularly with the ascetical works of the great writer. We hope that Fr. Wilfrid's high praises of these works will stimulate the Friars and others to make all these books accessible to English-speaking readers.—(Editor's Note).

quent reading and meditation unfold, give it lasting value. With it Bonaventure intended undoubtedly to inflame the hearts of all with love for the Crucified, and to point out the source whence he has drawn his beautiful teachings.

Only a small part of Bonaventure's writings is properly mystical. They are characterized by brevity and by a faithful adherence to the teaching of the Gospel. Perfecting the soul by uprooting vice and implanting virtue is his chief concern. The shortest and most complete summary of his mysticism is found in the *De Triplici Via*, in which he distinguishes the different stages of perfect charity. What the *Breviloquium* is to scholasticism, the *De Triplici Via* is to mysticism — a perfect compendium of all that is best in it.

Bonaventure lived in troublesome times, in days when the Order of Friars Minor was bitterly opposed by men of repute and learning. With a firm hand and a steady eye he wielded

In Defence of the Friars

his pen in the defence of the Order he loved so dearly. Even to this day his writings stand as monuments of his loyalty and learning. The mendicant orders, like all new institutions, encountered many difficulties. Older orders, and especially the secular clergy of Paris, followed with jealous care their rapid growth. The Friars attracted universal admiration. Their professors were the most brilliant, their lecture halls the best appointed, their audiences the most enthusiastic. They enjoyed the favor of the pope and of the king. They possessed neither money nor lands, yet they stood in need of nothing. They had renounced the pomp and glory of the world, yet the world ran eagerly after them. They were the least by profession, the greatest by repute. This appears to have been the chief cause of the opposition: jealousy at the success of the Mendicants, and a spirit of worldliness, to which their lives were a constant reproach.

The leader in this fight against the Mendicants was William of St. Amour, a doctor and professor of the university of Paris. He was a man of undoubted ability, but wanting in moderation and sound judgment. He may have meant well, but bias blinded him to the injustice of his conduct and the falseness of his views. Prominently associated with him were Odo of Douay, canon of Beauvais, John Belin, and John of Gectville, rector of the university. William's book on the *Perils of the Last Times*, his pamphlet on the *Robust Beggar*, and his lecture on the Publi-

can and the Pharisee, were violent onslaughts on the Mendicants. William endeavored to show that the mendicant form of life was unchristian and pernicious, and that those who professed it were outside the pale of salvation. Mendicancy, preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching publicly were the capital sins that consigned the Friars to reprobation. The book of William of St. Amour was condemned, he and his adherents were obliged to retract.²⁵ Bonaventure answered William in several public lectures which he later collected in his Treatise on *Evangelical Perfection*.²⁶

Of special importance is the question of poverty, which Bonaventure explains in three articles: perfect renunciation of property, begging, and manual labor. Bonaventure rightly begins with the renunciation of private and common property, for if this renunciation is allowed and an act of perfection, then we have the foundation for a mendicant life. He shows how for various reasons the followers of Christ can renounce all possession. In it he sees the full and unconditional execution of the divine counsel to renounce all and to follow Christ Who had not whereon to lay His head. This renunciation the saints praised and the popes approved. Reason itself commends it, for reason tells us that a man who has made such a perfect renunciation will rise more easily and quickly to the spiritual.

But poverty paves the way to evil. Bonaventure answers: Involuntary poverty and necessity may lead man to all kind of sin. Voluntary poverty makes a man capable of all good, frees him from many cares, and directs his heart heavenward. But Christ had money, and among his followers were women who served Him, while Judas carried the purse. Bonaventure concedes this and says: Christ wanted to give an example of perfection to all classes. In his conclusion he summarizes the whole in a few words: Whoever opposes perfect renunciation of temporal goods, opposes Christ; opposes the counsel of the Gospel; opposes the Apostles who said: "Behold we have left everything;" opposes the Holy Ghost Who inspired men with the thought; opposes the heavenly Father Who is the refuge of the poor; opposes heaven which has been promised to the poor in spirit. These thoughts offer a little insight into the rich contents

25) Costello, pp. 18 and 21.

26) Tomus V, p. 117.

of the lectures. At the same time we can easily imagine what an effect they had in the bitter fight, their noble temper rendering them peculiarly convincing.

Twelve years later the old university feud against the Friars broke out again. Pope Alexander IV addressed the following letter to King Louis and the French bishops: "Not without much bitterness of heart and trouble of mind have we learned that certain masters and doctors, with tongues sharp as swords, and the poison of asps on their lips, in the effort to defame and vex and destroy the innocent, have wickedly poured out their venom in slanders and injuries on our beloved sons, the brothers of the Order of Preachers and of Friars Minor. Lecturing, preaching and otherwise, they have dared to say that the latter are not in the way of salvation, that their mendicancy is neither salutary nor meritorious, since health permitting and other reasonable hindrances ceasing, they should work with their hands and not depend for necessary help upon others. Furthermore, they have asserted that the Mendicants may not preach nor hear confessions, even when authorized by the pope or the bishop, lest they encroach upon the rights of the parish priests; and many other things false and reprehensible have they uttered against them.

"Now these same orders for some time back have been approved by the Holy See as holy, of good and illustrious repute. And some of the brothers having reached their heavenly country, are inscribed in the catalogue of the saints and shine like suns in the Church of God, while by their brethren the light of holy doctrine is shed over the whole world, the Gospel of Christ is earnestly and efficaciously preached, while their right, sound counsel and salutary example prevail. Furthermore, as the aforesaid brothers are assiduously and continually engaged in the study of the Holy Scripture and the Word of God, in saying the Divine Office and in prayer, they are by no means indulging in idleness, but exercising themselves in a very good and noble pursuit, for wisdom is the noblest attainment. Moreover, when these brothers having left all things for God, beg the necessities of life, they imitate the Christ in His poverty and practice evangelical perfection. Hence it follows clearly that they are in the way of salvation, and by the observance of their rule merit eternal life. Furthermore, by commission or command of the

Roman Pontiff or the bishop of the diocese, they may lawfully preach and hear confessions.

"Therefore we strictly command all the doctors or masters who have dared to deny these things, publicly to retract and renounce the same, and to hold and proclaim the contrary. Should they refuse to do this they shall be proceeded against by suspension, excommunication and the perpetual deprivation of their benefices. Lay people transgressing in this matter are to be severely reprimanded."²⁷

The outbreak of this feud against the Friars, fostered by Gerard of Abbeville, was the occasion of the composition of the *Apologia Pauperum*²⁸ by Bonaventure. Without parading the poverty of the order, and without detracting the least from it, he sets forth its true foundation and obligation so adequately and carefully, that later doubts and questions found their solution and answer in this work. Pope Nicholas III, in his constitution *Exiit qui seminat*, took many important passages from the *Apologia*. Those who later on maintained that the interpretation of the Curia had forced the order from the rule, were referred to the lucid explanation of Bonaventure in his *Apologia Pauperum*.

Worthy of mention is Bonaventure's *Explanation of the Rule*, and an opuscle wherein he explains why the Friars preach and hear confessions,²⁹ also a number of letters which give us a special insight into his character. Last but not least, we must mention Bonaventure's *Legend or Life of St. Francis*. This is the last work in which he strove to promote the spiritual welfare of his brethren. The general chapter of Narbonne, May 22, 1260, besought Bonaventure to write a life of St. Francis. The importance of the task becomes apparent, when we consider that as far as the order could effect it, this life was to be the sole record of Francis which should come down to posterity. This purpose evidently underlay the demand for its composition; for, when it was finished and submitted to the general chapter of Pisa, it was officially approved and all other legends were formally proscribed. This measure has excited much hostile criticism. The truth seems to be that this decree was nothing more than another determined attempt to wipe out the old quarrels and start afresh. The chapter aimed

27) Wadding, Tomus IV, anno 1256, No. 31.

28) Cfr. "Catalogus Gonsalvinus," p. 699.

29) Tomus VIII, p. 375.

at promoting peace and harmony among the brethren, bringing about uniformity of thought and action in their common life. But this was impossible as long as the old legends, redolent of spiritualist and biased views, remained.

During the year 1261 Bonaventure was in Italy collecting material for his work. The better to come by first-hand information, "I visited," he tells us, "the scenes of the birth, life and death of Blessed Francis, and held studious converse with all who had enjoyed his intimacy, with such especially as had fuller knowledge of his holiness and were his chief disciples."³⁰ When these researches were completed, Bonaventure returned to Paris, to work up into an authentic record of Francis' life all the material, oral and written, he had come by during his sojourn in Italy. Every incident of any moment is faithfully recorded.

The graces bestowed upon Francis, the labors he undertook, the sufferings he bore, the virtues he practiced, the miracles he worked, all are graphically and sympathetically described. With what fervor of soul this task was undertaken and carried out, the episode of St. Thomas' visit, who found the holy author in ecstasy, well testifies.

In composing this legend Bonaventure had before him an ideal. He wished to present Francis as the chosen servant of God, raised up to be the founder of a great religious order. Hence his attention is fixed on the supernatural rather than on the natural element in Francis. He deals more with those aspects of Francis' life and character which bring him within practical reach of his spiritual children, rather than with those which lift him up into a sphere so high that ordinary soul dares not aspire to him. He distinguishes judiciously between what Francis recommended and practiced, and what he strictly enjoined upon his brethren. The conciliatory aim of the book is apparent. Yet Bonaventure is never betrayed into anything unworthy of a biographer. His facts are unassailable, nothing of importance is suppressed or distorted. The numerous editions and translations of this work give evidence of its popularity.

St. Bonaventure was a celebrated teacher and a prolific writer; but his renown as a preacher well nigh eclipsed his fame in those

30) *Tomus X*, p. 54.

capacities, as his contemporary and auditor, Blessed Francis of
The Fabiano, tells us.³¹ Bonaventure had conceived a
Preacher high idea of the ministry of preaching. Notwithstanding his manifold labors in other fields, this ministry ever held an especial place in his regard. He never neglected an opportunity to preach. He preached to the laity and to universities; to synods, consistories, and the Roman Curia; to Dominicans, Benedictines, Carthusians, and Poor Clares; to the Kings of France and of Navarra; before a conclave and before Popes Clement IV, Urban IV and Gregory XI.

If we compare Bonaventure's sermons with those of other great preachers, as St. Anthony or Berthold of Regensburg, we see at once that he was not what is called a popular preacher, a preacher for the people. In his sermons we do not find those graphic descriptions, those concrete applications which captivate the fancy of the people. In his sermons, heart and spirit speak and rejoice. He had such a knowledge of Scripture and such a facility in meditating on spiritual things, that deep thoughts and fervent words were never wanting.

In passing judgment on Bonaventure as a preacher, it must be noted that we have but meagre sketches, which give us no insight into the actual sermon. Abstracting from the few homilies, his sermons are scholastic in method. Their development is entirely determined and carried by Scripture. He often emphasizes that the sermon as the Word of God must be an interpretation of Scripture. For, as the Lord at the multiplication of the loaves, did not create new ones, but by prayer and blessing multiplied them, so likewise must the preacher not bring forward his own teachings; but the bread of doctrine contained in Scripture he must multiply in prayer, break in meditation and distribute in the sermon. Everywhere Bonaventure leans on the words of Scripture, on Biblical personages and narratives. From their interpretation he derives the richest material for his sermons. In his explanation, the allegorical prevails. Strange and forced interpretations occur, yet we also find astonishing and gripping thoughts. An attentive reading of his sermons edifies and fills us with enthusiasm. One surmises the ennobling effect which the spoken word had on his hearers, and one experiences the

31) Tomus IX, p. 3.

sweet power which the Word of God ever asserts over the human soul.³²

Bonaventure was about thirty-six years of age when he was elected general of the Franciscan Order. The office was then especially full of difficulties on account of dissensions within the order.

We may distinguish three different parties or groups in the order. The associates of St. Francis held fast to his first practices and ideals: poverty in the strictest form, life in hermitages,

**The
Minister
General**

manual labor, observance of the Testament of Francis. The Spirituals followed in their footsteps, but made a mistake by insisting that these points were obligatory and demanding that they be included in

the observance of the rule. A great part of the order, the Relaxati, went to the other extreme, seeking to introduce innovations and mitigations. In the middle stood the brethren who observed the rule faithfully. Their motto was: The rule full and entire, but nothing more. To this party, called "Brethren of the Community," Bonaventure adhered with heart and soul. On this standpoint of Bonaventure we must dwell somewhat at length, first, because many writers have misstated or clouded it, and secondly because his true position shows Bonaventure's lofty conception of the rule and the ideals of Francis.

Cardinal Ehrle writes thus: "Bonaventure's position was: the mitigated observance legitimately brought about through papal indults. Nowhere in his writings do we notice a disapproval of these indults or any effort to return to the first condition of the order." The indults given and accepted up to our time, mitigate indeed the early observance followed by Francis and his first associates, but not the rule approved by Honorius III. Whether the poverty thus mitigated by papal indults differed from the poverty practiced by Francis is not to the point; it does not contradict the rule. Thode says: "Bonaventure in practice favored the Spirituals, in theory the Brethren of the Community." This contradiction is excluded by the very character of Bonaventure.

Greater wrong has been done our saint by the statement that he had not a logically clear position as to Francis' ideal of poverty. Bonaventure knew exactly and revered the ideal poverty of Francis. But he likewise knew full well the opposition which

32) Cfr. Tomus IX.

would confront the ideal in real life. He distinguished clearly between that which Francis first desired and practiced with his first companions, and that which he laid down as the bounden duty of the order. The former he left to the choice of the individual, the latter he strictly demanded of every Friar Minor. This clear distinction constitutes Bonaventure's standpoint and great merit. But may we not say that Bonaventure obscured the ideal of Francis? No, not Bonaventure, but grim reality and human weakness obscured it.

Almost equally important is a second distinction made by St. Bonaventure regarding the interpretation of the rule. The question was: Must the rule be understood literally and so observed? Many vigorously maintained the affirmative, and we find both individuals and groups demanding the literal observance of the rule. Bonaventure argued thus: The rule is a law, and must be interpreted according to those rules which hold good for other laws. The following illustrates the point nicely. In the ninth chapter of the rule we read that only those brethren may preach who have been examined and approved by the general. Gregory IX extended this permission to the provincial chapters. This was, at first appearance, a change of the rule and the Quattuor Magistri seemed to take it as such. Bonaventure, on the contrary, accepted the papal brief without the least scruple. He says: The privilege does not contradict the intention of the rule, which simply means to prevent dangers which would follow if the unexamined were allowed to preach. That the rule in its entirety has been preserved is due greatly to Bonaventure. The bull *Quo elongati*, in which Gregory IX explains the intentions of his friend, has been called the preservation of the work of St. Francis. Bonaventure's administration and teaching are the commentary thereon.³³

We can still better understand Bonaventure's standpoint, as also the difficulties and controversies of the time, from his smaller writings on the order. Through them he has become the providential organizer of the order. We shall first consider his *Epistola de tribus Quaestionibus ad Magistrum Innominatum*.³⁴ Three questions were proposed to Bonaventure: Why do the brethren take money?

The Organizer

33) Lemmens, p. 157, 159, 160, 162, 163 passim.

34) Tomus VIII, p. 331-336.

What about the manual labor prescribed by the rule? How is the study of the sciences reconcilable with the rule?

The saint answers: You presuppose that the rule prescribes poverty, commends work, and forbids vanities. You condemn the acceptance of money, the possession of books and of houses. I do the same. But we do not agree in the accusation of the brethren. I do not maintain that no one in the order is guilty, but the order as such I defend. As to money: You certainly do not doubt that the poor, even if they have promised the strictest poverty, can accept alms. Now, a rich man can give them alms personally or through another. If he gives money to another to care for the needs of the brethren, he does not divest himself of its ownership in favor of the brethren, for certainly nobody desires to give them anything, or in a manner, which is contrary to their rule. Regarding books. The rule declares expressly that the brothers shall preach. Now, in order to preach they must study, and in order to study they must have books. Hence, as it is in harmony with the rule that the brothers preach, so also it is that they have books. Again you complain that the brethren accept the dignity of a magister. I condemn the pomp with which the magistri might surround themselves but the office I commend. I condemn the proud Friar Minor and declare him unworthy of such an office; the studious friar I praise, and hold that no one has more right to preach the Gospel than he, for he observes what he has promised.

Now a word on the study of philosophy. You say these useless disputes do not please you. I say the same. But we must be prudent in our zeal. We cannot harvest corn without chaff, nor can we garner divine words without human words. We must distinguish carefully. Many things seem useless to one, but important to another. We cannot do without the opinions of the philosophers, for only with their help can we decide many questions of the Faith. But, you object, these studies were unknown in the first years of the order. This must not seem strange, on the contrary, it should strengthen your confidence in the order. I at least must confess that this progress of the order convinced me that it is the work of God.

More lengthy are Bonaventure's *Determinationes Quaestionum*,³⁵ in which he treats with the utmost precision forty-nine questions. We shall touch on some of the more interesting.

35) Tomus VIII, p. 337-374.

The rule says nothing about the situation of the friaries. St. Francis founded his first houses outside of the cities, preferring especially secluded places. Francis' ideal was that the convents of the brothers should be poor and small, constructed of wood and clay. Bonaventure follows the golden mean. He defends the convents in the cities against the Zelantes, for thus, as he says, we can easily help the people, we obtain more easily the necessities of life, and are the better protected against robbers. As to the second point Bonaventure says: Where we can, we build houses of stone, for they are not easily destroyed by fire, nor do they soon become dilapidated by age. He advises the erection of large, airy and healthful convents, because the brethren soon take sick if fresh and invigorating air is wanting. We prefer, he contends, large houses because in these discipline is better preserved, recollection is greater, the Divine Office more elevating, the education of the novices easier. Bonaventure, however, condemns strongly all *sumptuositas aedificiorum*, and demands that the furniture and utensils be simple. In the erection of churches he demanded the utmost simplicity. The vaulting of the churches, with the exception of the main choir, was forbidden, likewise the erection of towers.

Thus did our saint, where the rule prescribed nothing, advocate a sensible, moderate progress and adaptation to circumstances. Herein he joins hands with the great Cardinal Hugolino, whose work he continued. Herein he shows greater foresight and independence than the Quattuor Magistri. They had declared that to provide for the future was not allowed, except in a case of necessity. Bonaventure says: The Gospel forbids the *sollicitudo in crastinum*.

From the foregoing we see that Bonaventure was broad-minded where the rule permitted freedom, but equally firm and faithful when any precept was called into question. After his term of seventeen years there existed no dispensation contrary to the rule.

How did Bonaventure acquit himself as general?

Shortly after his election Bonaventure wrote his first circular letter to the provincials of the order. He begins by acknowledg-

ing his unfitness for so high and important an office. Then he
Zeal for enumerates ten causes of laxity in the order. He
Religious says: "When I consider the causes which to
Discipline some extent darken the glory of our order, I see
 first of all the manifold business affairs, in which
 money, so inimical to the poverty of the order, is greedily sought,
 imprudently accepted and used. I see the idleness of many
 brothers, their useless travelling from place to place, a scandal
 rather than an edification to the people. I see the construction
 of costly and pretentious buildings, which disturbs the peace of
 the order, annoys our benefactors and often causes hard words
 to be said against us. I see the bestowal of offices on brothers
 who are untried, unmortified and incapable. Then there is the
 eager acceptance of legacies and the officious interference with
 obsequies to the great offence of the secular clergy. Finally,
 there is an increase of dangerous friendships, whence arise sus-
 picions, calumnies and scandals; expensive living, by which the
 brethren become a burden to the people. Though many are not
 guilty, yet the curse strikes all if the innocent do not oppose the
 guilty. In flame your zeal. Drive out the buyers and sellers
 from the heavenly Father's house. Awaken in all the brothers a
 desire for devout prayer. Limit the reception of candidates: for
 this statute I will have strictly observed. Root out these evil
 ways, though it be hard. The sublimity of our profession de-
 mands it, the calamities confronting us demand it, yes, St. Francis
 himself, the Blood of Jesus Christ, and God demand it."

He concludes: "Should I learn from the visitors, whom I
 desire to pay special attention to these matters, that my directions
 have been obeyed, I shall give thanks to God and to you. But
 if it should be otherwise, which God forbid, you may rest assured
 that my conscience will not permit me to allow the matter to
 pass unnoticed. Though it is not my intention to forge new
 chains for you, yet must I, in compliance with the dictates of my
 conscience, aim at the extirpation of abuses."³⁶

Every sentence bespeaks a man, a superior. He does not
 generalize his reprimands. Wisely and justly he emphasizes the
 fact that many lead a blameless life. The letter shows a firm
 will and a clear way to correct abuses. It states the program of
 a leader: to promote the good, to uproot the evil, to sustain the
 weak, to strengthen the strong.

36) *Tomus VIII*, p. 468.

Scarcely had Bonaventure sent out this circular when he was called to Italy to preside at the trial of John of Parma. John was accused of leaning toward the heretical teachings of Joachim of Flora set forth in his *Evangelium Acternum*. John esteemed Joachim, but some of the brethren with whom John was associated, exceeded the bounds of all moderation. They pretended to see in Joachim the precursor of St. Francis, and the realization of his prophecy in the order Francis established. Among the most extreme partisans of Joachim were two intimate friends of John, Gerard and Leonard. Both were found guilty of heresy and condemned. Then followed the trial of John, who went forth triumphant from the ordeal. Malicious tongues were silenced. On account of the circumstances connected with this trial, Bonaventure has been accused of cruelty and injustice. By whom? By Angelus Clarens, a Spiritual. His testimony, however, betrays too much the partisan, and we cannot use it as a basis for a sound verdict.³⁷

We must say a few words on Bonaventure's activity in other respects. Bonaventure held six general chapters. At the first—that of Narbonne, 1260—he placed before the assembled provincials a collection of all the statutes made and adopted by the different general chapters up to that time. This move to collect and sift the statutes of the order is another instance of Bonaventure's talent for organization. It forms the capstone in the first organization of the order.

Bonaventure had a tender devotion to Mary. At the chapter of Pisa he prescribed that at nightfall a bell should be rung and three Hail Marys recited in honor of the Annunciation, a pious custom, from which the Angelus seems to have originated. Gregory IX had ordained that every Friday after Complin a Marian antiphon be recited. Bonaventure extended it to all the days of the year, with the exception of the last three days of Holy Week. Every Saturday, a Mass was to be sung in honor of Mary. Then, the closing stanzas of all the hymns on feasts of the Blessed Virgin and within their octaves should be: "Gloria tibi Domine, Qui natus es de Virgine." As often as the name of Mary occurs, the brothers were to bow.

His love for St. Francis found expression in the insertion of his name in the *Confiteor*, and in the antiphon *Cælorum candor splenduit*.

37) "Analecta Bollandiana," Vol. 20, p. 252.

Much more might be said concerning Bonaventure's administration as general. We might speak of his many journeys, his care for the general house of study at Paris, his care for the missions, his relations to princes and kings, his relations to other religious orders, and to the secular clergy.

When we look over the seventeen years' administration of the saint, we meet many and great achievements, but also scandals and abuses. The last general chapter convened by Bonaventure obliged the provincials, both personally and through the guardians, to enforce the statutes more strictly, because the order had here and there fallen into disrepute. This seems strange at first, but not when we consider what Bonaventure tells us in his *De Sex Alis Seraphim*: "Zealous and lukewarm orders differ not in this that sins are not committed in the former; but in this that in the former the faults are punished and the failings amended." Bonaventure as general never grew weary of admonishing and punishing failing brethren, though with all charity and firmness. It is Bonaventure's glorious merit that decadence was staved off for many years, and that it did not taint the whole order. The middle party grew strong, and though weakened in the first part of the fourteenth century, it survived, arising again to great power under Saints Bernardine, Capistran, and James. Their intention and the scope of their reform was to renounce all dispensations and liberties contrary to the rule and to return to the practice of Bonaventure. Pope Leo X, in his bull *Ite et vos*, says: "Under the leadership of Bonaventure, God-fearing men have in the third hour with the help of the Blessed Trinity re-established the walls of the vineyard which in all places threatened to crumble."

The second great work of Bonaventure is this, that he brought the organization and development of the order to perfection. The adaptation of the organization to actual circumstances, he carried safely forward. He clarified and stabilized the conceptions of the brethren regarding the rule. He saved of St. Francis' ideal what could be saved; and to its foundation, the rule, he held steadfastly. His powerful personality put him in the position to solve differences while showing the order the path on which, true to its rule, it should accomplish much for Church and society. The importance of Bonaventure for the Franciscan Order can hardly be overestimated. Sixtus IV says of him in the bull of canonization: "Unus omnium post beatum Francis-

cum plurimum profuit." Bonaventure is justly styled the second founder of the Franciscan Order.³⁸

Bonaventure governed the order wisely and justly. Hence it was that the popes eagerly sought his services for Holy Mother Church. In 1265, by a bull in which he extols the piety, prudence and lofty character of Bonaventure, Clement IV appointed him to the archbishopric of York. But as soon as Bonaventure received the bull, he hastened to Perugia where his earnest pleading succeeded in persuading Clement to rescind the appointment.

The Cardinal
The successor of Clement IV was Gregory X, in whose election Bonaventure seems to have had some influence. Soon after his election to the papacy, Gregory decided to hold a general council at Lyons. His purpose was the union of the schismatic Greek Church, deliverance of the Holy Land, and restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. From the bishops he demanded a written report of what they thought needed reform. Besides this, eminent men were chosen as visitors. Bonaventure was appointed to visit the kingdom of Leon,³⁹ but for want of time he was unable to do so. In May, 1273, he was appointed cardinal-bishop of Albano receiving the papal bull in June. It read: "After much prayer and deliberation we have set our eyes on you whom God has adorned with so many virtues, and to the satisfaction of our brethren we make you bishop of Albano. At the same time we command you to obey in all humility, not to place any obstacles in the way, and to come to us without hesitation or delay."⁴⁰ Bonaventure who was in Paris, set out for Florence. Having reached the vicinity of the town, he lodged in a small convent of the order. Thither came the pope's envoys with the cardinal's insignia. According to an old tradition, they found the saint washing dishes.⁴¹ After a short stay in Florence, our saint set out for Lyons, perhaps in company with Gregory. Here the pope gave him another proof of his high esteem by personally consecrating him bishop.⁴²

38) Lemmens, p. 242, 243, 244. *passim*.

39) Bull "Dudum super generalis." (B. Fr., Vol. III, p. 197).

40) Bull "Nostrae promotionis auspiciis." (B. Fr., Vol. III, p. 205).

41) Wadding, *Ad an.* 1273, n. 12.

42) Glassberger ("Analecta Franciscana," Vol. II, p. 35).

The council of Lyons was opened May 7, 1274, after a three days' fast. That Bonaventure played a most important part in the council is admitted by all. He stands forth preëminently as the defender of the Mendicants and as the soul of the reunion of the Greeks. The mendicant orders had many and powerful adversaries. Many propositions concerning the regulars were submitted to the council, and the result was that many sweeping changes were made. "But," we read, "these decrees shall not affect the Dominicans and Friars Minor on account of their great labors for the entire Church."

Through the Friars Minor long negotiations had been carried on with the Greek Emperor, Michael Paleologus, and the Greek Church. Their efforts seemed for a time crowned with complete success. The emperor sent civil and ecclesiastical representatives to the council to express his adherence and that of the entire Greek Church to all the tenets of the Church of Rome. In the presence of the assembled council and amid great solemnity the envoys made a public profession of faith. For this temporary success great credit is due to Bonaventure. His learning and eloquence, his affability and piety, deeply impressed the Greeks. They showed their deep appreciation of his great ability by bestowing on him the name of Eutyches. His extraordinary gifts filled the whole council with admiration. The facility and precision of his diction, the prudence and moderation of his counsel, the breadth and depth of his learning, his skill in controversy, and his wonderful power of dispatching most weighty matters, made him the most prominent figure in the assembly. At the same time his humility and meekness, and the cheerful sweetness of his disposition won all hearts.

By special papal dispensation Bonaventure had for the time being retained the office of minister general of the order after his appointment to the see of Albano. His successor as minister general, Jerome of Ascoli, later Pope Nicholas IV, was elected at the general chapter at Lyons May 20, 1274, at which Bonaventure presided. With this event Bonaventure's official connection with the order ceased. It was almost coincident with his death. The council of Lyons was still in session, when Bonaventure was called to his reward. On July sixth the fourth general session was held. The reunion of the Greek Church was solemnly ratified. Bonaventure preached on the occasion.

His text was: "Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand on high, and look about towards the East and behold thy children gathered together from the rising to the setting of the sun by the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in the remembrance of God."

It was his last public utterance, the *Nunc dimittis* of the Church's zealous champion. He was even then standing on the brink of the grave. The echoes of eternity were already begin-

Death ning to sound in his ears and the everlasting years to unfold themselves before his gaze. As he heard the solemn strains of the grand *Te Deum* that marked the close of this great event, he must have felt that his work for God and for the Church was accomplished. Weakened by disease and worn out by the constant strain, his strength was rapidly failing.⁴³ Bonaventure returned home and a few days later passed to his reward. It was on a Sunday morning, the fifteenth of July, 1274. He was fifty-three years of age; thirty years he had worn the habit of St. Francis, and one year the purple. Wadding records an incident which illustrates our saint's absolute poverty. Though bishop and cardinal, his sole possession on his deathbed was his breviary. Even this he regarded not as his own, and directed that it be returned to the brethren.

The Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals⁴⁴ tells us of the effect which Bonaventure's death caused. "At this time, while the council was still in session, the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Cardinal Bonaventure of most venerable memory, was laid with the holy fathers, filling, as we may believe, the Church Triumphant with joy but afflicting the Church Militant with incredible grief at his departure. For Greeks and Latins, clergy and laity, followed his bier with bitter tears, lamenting the grievous loss of so great a personage."

Bonaventure was buried on the day of his death. Peter of Tarantaise, O. P., Bonaventure's pupil and friend, who was later Innocent V, preached the funeral oration. The pope assisted by the cardinals celebrated the Requiem — certainly one of the most solemn obsequies Church history records. In the next session of the council Gregory commanded that every priest all over the world should say a Mass for the repose of his soul. The next general chapter of the Dominicans prescribed the same for the Dominican Order.

43) Costello, p. 107.

44) "Analecta Franciscana," Vol. III, p. 356.

We have come to the end of Bonaventure's earthly pilgrimage. In conclusion, we shall add a word about the character of Bonaventure's sanctity. With Bonaventure the service of God, union with God, the relation and subordination of all things to God was paramount. This was ever his aim, the outstanding trait of his life and activity, the characteristic of his writings. Instead of severe penances, he recommends converse with God. Prayer it was that gave him that superior, serene determination which marks his administration.

The Outstanding Virtue

"He silenced everyone," says Angelus Clarenus, a Spiritual, "not by his sternness, not by draconic statutes, but by his imperturbable equanimity." In his work *De Sex Alis Seraphim*, he lays special emphasis on prayer, declaring that prayer perfects all the other qualities of a superior. We find his words verified in his own case. Converse with God, says Bonaventure, gives light. We find the popes making frequent reference to the great prudence and tact of Bonaventure; everything he undertook was a success. Prayer makes the heart of the superior humble. Once, when Bonaventure was on his way to the general chapter of Assisi, it happened that a poor, spiritually afflicted brother wished to speak to him. Bonaventure left his companions, and seating himself on the ground beside the brother, listened patiently and kindly to his long and tedious recital. Then he consoled him with much sympathy and compassion. To his companions, who expressed their disapproval of his action, Bonaventure said: "I could not do otherwise, I am the minister and servant, the poor brother is my lord and master. I often recall the words of the rule: Let the ministers receive the brothers charitably and kindly, and show themselves so familiar towards them that they may speak and act as masters with their servants." Hence it was that Bonaventure was so beloved a superior.

Finally it was his converse with God which gave his writings that mystical tendency, that fervent and devout temper which is so universally commended. Bonaventure's real self, in word and deed, is well expressed in the name which he bears in common with St. Francis: the Seraphic—the Seraph among teachers.

THE DOCTRINE OF ST. BONAVENTURE

CONCERNING OUR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

(*De Cognoscibilitate Dei*)

VINCENT MAYER, O. M. C.

THE Church has time and again urged her priests to study the works of the masters in theology, and there is real need of studying the great theologians, especially of the Middle Ages, at first hand. Strange doctrines are being bandied about as having been sponsored by St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, or Albert the Great. There is, for instance, the charge of Onto-

Did St. Bonaventure teach Ontologism?

logism brought against St. Bonaventure. Malebranche was the chief offender in this regard, and has misled many by his assertions. It cannot be denied that certain passages quoted

by Malebranche from the writings of the Seraphic Doctor bear some resemblance to Ontologism. However, a careful examination of the writings of St. Bonaventure completely dispel such an impression and refute the imputation. It may therefore be of interest and of practical utility to treat this subject more fully, for such a treatment of the matter will assist us in establishing the reliability of St. Bonaventure in other directions, and will arouse a deeper interest in his teachings. For the purpose of assisting the reader in appraising the doctrine of St. Bonaventure concerning our knowledge of God, and in refuting the assertion that the Seraphic Doctor had taught Ontologism, we shall first recall the main tenets of this ideological system.

Ontologism, proceeding along the principle of innate ideas, maintains that either all intellectual ideas and principles are innate in man (as Leibnitz asserted), or that at least the universal and absolute ideas (therefore in the very first place an idea of God), are in us antecedent to any experimental knowledge. According to this system we know or perceive God directly (*immediate*), and from this knowledge of God, which is our very first act of intellectual knowledge, all other knowledge depends and flows. (cfr. *Cath. Encycl.*, article on Ontologism). Such may be said to be in brief the fundamental doctrine of all Ontologists, though Malebranche, Ubaghs, Gioberti, Rosmini, Brownson, each one in his

Tenets of Ontologism

own way, sought to embellish the doctrine.

The S. Congregation of the Holy Office condemned as dangerous the following doctrines:

"Immediata Dei cognitio saltem habitualis est essentialis intellectui humano, ita ut sine ea nihil cognoscere possit; siquidem est ipsum lumen intellectuale."

"Esse illud, quod in omnibus et sine quo nihil intelligimus, est ipsum esse divinum." (Congr. S. Off., Sept. 18, 1861.)

"Esse indeterminatum quod procul dubio notum est omnibus intelligentiis est divinum illud quod homini in natura manifestatur." (Congr. S. Off., Dec. 14, 1887; cfr. Denziger, *Enchiridion*).

With these principles of Ontologism in mind, let us see whether any passages in the writings of the Seraphic Doctor fit in with them. However, it will be best first to ascertain St.

Teachings of St. Bonaventure Bonaventure's positive and certain doctrine concerning our knowledge of God. This doctrine we shall find in *Libri Sententiarum* where Bonaventure treats of the subject in strict scholastic form. His exposition of his own doctrine in these books must be taken as the criterion of his meaning in other places, especially in his more or less mystical writings, where the meaning may appear less clear and more doubtful.

In L. II., d. III., a. II., q. II. Bonaventure treats of the knowledge of God possessed by the angels. The Seraphic Doctor says very emphatically that the angels do not *naturally* know God as he is in Himself, according to His essence, but that their natural knowledge of God is "per speculum quamvis non in ænigmate." He gives as his reason, that when one sees God face to face, an "immediate" knowledge of God is the reward, in the possession of which the mind rests, and is happy and perfect. Now, says our Seraphic Doctor, this reward is obtained only through God's goodness. Therefore he draws this conclusion: the angels have not by virtue of their nature an immediate knowledge of God; for that which depends entirely upon the goodness of God, cannot be ascribed to the natural powers of any creature.

We may at once assume that since Bonaventure denies the angels this immediate knowledge of God, he will assuredly and *a fortiori* deny such knowledge in the case of man. Bonaventure actually does so in the second reason which he adduces: "The divine light is inaccessible to the powers of every created

nature on account of its preëminence" (II, d. 3, a. 3, q. 2). If therefore the immediate vision of God transcends the powers of all created natures, surely it is quite evident, that Bonaventure does not claim any knowledge of God on the part of creatures as natural other than a "mediate" knowledge. Or shall we assume that Bonaventure denies man all natural knowledge of God? There is no need to disprove such a ridiculous supposition.

We find a further proof that Bonaventure acknowledges only a mediate knowledge of God as natural in L. II, d. 23, a. 2, q. 3, where he speaks of the knowledge of God which man possessed in the state of innocence. He first stigmatizes as heretical the teaching which held that God is never seen *immediate* neither in this life nor in the next, then he goes on to say that the opinion which holds that God can be known as He is in Himself by those minds which have been cleansed (*purgatis mentibus*) not only in the life to come but also in the state of innocence and even in our ordinary state, though in different degree, is not quite so contrary to the truth as the first opinion, but not in accord with the teaching of the Saints. Bonaventure furthermore rejects the proposition that in the state of innocence God was known "*immediate, quamvis semiplene*."

Finally Bonaventure sets up as his own doctrine that only in the state of glory will God be seen "*immediate et in sua substantia*," so that then nothing will be obscure. In the state of innocence, however, and in the state of fallen nature God is seen by means of the mirror rendered obscure by the sin of the first man, and therefore we now see God *per speculum et in ænigmate*. Bonaventure understands the "*speculum*" as "*imago*," and "*ænigma*" as "*similitudo obscura et ad perspicendum difficilis*" (L. II, d. 23, a. 2, q. 3; cfr. Aug., *de Trin.*, c. 9, n. 12). This "*imago*" is in the language of the Seraphic Doctor the creature (I, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2). The meaning therefore comes to this: In the state of original innocence and in the state of fallen nature God is known through the creature; in the state of innocence more clearly than now. For our purpose it suffices that Bonaventure in no wise admits as "*natural*" any immediate knowledge of God.

What has been said so far may seem to be only remotely connected with our subject of Ontologism. However, it is helpful to consider the positive teaching of Bonaventure as given above. It might otherwise be argued that by asserting the mediate knowl-

edge of God Bonaventure did not exclude as impossible a natural "immediate" knowledge of the Deity. Now that we have seen that Bonaventure clearly states and defends the doctrine that to see God *immediate ut est in se* constitutes the knowledge of God *in patria*, and the reward in the life to come, we can feel perfectly certain that when Bonaventure proceeds to treat exhaustively of the mediate knowledge of God acquired by man, he is not merely treating one kind of this knowledge possible for the human intellect, but proposes this mediate knowledge as the only possible natural knowledge of God.

This question of the knowledge of God in the state of fallen nature is dealt with by our author in I, d. 3, p. 1, q. 1, 2 in words which are not open to misunderstanding: "Respondeo: Dicendum quod quia relucet causa in effectu, et sapientia artificis manifestatur in opere, ideo Deus, qui est artifex et causa creaturæ, per ipsam cognoscitur. Et ad hoc est duplex ratio, una est propter convenientiam, alia propter indigentiam, propter convenientiam quia omnis creatura magis ducit in Deum quam in aliquid aliud, propter indigentiam quia cum Deus tanquam lux summa spiritualis non potest cognosci ab intellectu quasi materiali, indiget anima cognoscere ipsum per creaturam." Surely no suspicion even of Ontologism can be attached to these clear words. God is known through the creature, and moreover, the soul requires ("indiget") to know Him through the creature. Ontologism denies the possibility of this knowledge without innate ideas of God or immediate intuition of God. According to Ontologism the process is from the knowledge of God to the knowledge of the creation, and without the knowledge of the first we cannot acquire any other knowledge, while Bonaventure says: "omnis creatura magis ducit in Deum quam in aliquid aliud."

We may, in passing, remark that no tendency to materialism need be feared in the expression quoted above to the effect that God, the supreme spiritual light, cannot be known by a *quasi material* intellect; in I, d. 37, p. 1, a. 2, q. 1, n. 4, Bonaventure explains its sense when he says there is nothing entirely spiritual except God alone.

One more passage will suffice to demonstrate the teaching of the Seraphic Doctor concerning the knowledge of God. He says, I, d. 3, a. 1, q. 3: "Cognoscere autem Deum per creaturam est

elevari a cognitione creaturæ ad cognitionem Dei quasi per scalam mediam. Et hoc est *proprie* viatorum”

In the face of these unequivocal words of the great theologian it might seem simply ridiculous for anyone to claim Bonaventure in support of Ontologism. Yet the claim is not exactly absurd though it rests upon a faulty and erroneous interpretation of his writings. Various isolated passages in St. Bonaventure's, *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum* have led Malebranche and others to wrong conclusions. If these men had studied the *Libri Sententiarum* they would most probably not have been led astray. The Seraphic Doctor is consistent and his teaching as found in the *Itinerarium* will, therefore, not contradict the doctrines laid down in the *Libri Sententiarum*. True, the *Itinerarium* was written later than the *Libri Sententiarum*, but on a subject of such importance Bonaventure would certainly not have altered his opinion without indicating the change expressly. Because the main difficulties are taken from the *Itinerarium* it will be advisable to consider this work a little more closely.

The *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum* was written in 1259 on the occasion of a prolonged visit of St. Bonaventure on Mt. Alverno. Meditating on the Stigmata of the Seraphic Father

The “Itinerarium St. Francis, Bonaventure felt himself urged
Mentis at Deum” to write this work. The very origin of the
work tells us that we are not to expect the
strict scholastic treatment of subjects; rather do we expect to
find a more or less mystical work. The author himself in the
prologue says: “I beg, therefore, that the intention of the writer
be kept in mind rather than the uncouth language; rather the
exciting of affections than the education of the intellect.”

The work, however, is not on this account devoid of theological and philosophical value. The book intends to depict the stages of contemplation unto the very highest degree, ecstasy. The author therefore demands of the reader that he be a “vir desideriorum,” humble and pious and endowed with the grace of God. All this must incline one to presume *a priori* that the author does not intend in such a work to treat of the *beginnings* of our knowledge of God, but that he presupposes such knowledge in his readers.

The “Itinerarium” is divided into seven chapters, (each chapter dealing with a degree of contemplation) which gradually but consistently increase and rise until the ecstatic stage is reached. As to the meaning

of contemplation Bonaventure enlightens us in his "Breviloquium," p. 88, c. 12, where he speaks of a threefold eye, the eye of flesh, the eye of reason, and the eye of contemplation. With the eye of the flesh man can see what is outside himself; with the eye of reason, the things which are within himself; with the eye of contemplation, those things which are above himself, God and the things that are in God. This eye of contemplation does not have perfect action except by glory ("per gloriam") which it loses by sin, but recovers by grace and faith. By means of these (grace and faith) the human mind is cleansed to contemplate heavenly things. Fallen man cannot attain to these heavenly things unless he first of all realizes and acknowledges his own defects and the darkening of his faculties. This man will not do unless he considers the ruin which is evident in human nature.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that when Bonaventure speaks of the degrees of contemplation he presupposes the knowledge of God and assumes this as proved elsewhere, and therefore intends to deal only with the contemplation of God, Who is already known to the human soul.

The seven degrees of contemplation are explained by the Seraphic Doctor in this manner: "*Primum gradum ascensionis collocemus in imo, ponendo totum istum mundum sensibilem nobis tamquam speculum per quod transeamus ad Deum opificem summum.*" "*A magnitudine enim speciei et creaturae cognoscibiliter poterit creator horum videri.*" Bonaventure elaborates this degree further, showing how the omnipotence, wisdom and goodness of God become apparent in the creature; how, too, the reflecting mind gains knowledge of God from the weight, number and mass of created things, from their origin and purpose, from their various degrees of life, and their transient and corruptible nature.

In expounding this first degree Bonaventure appears to have set forth the fundamental principles, the origins of our knowledge of God. But no one will deny that one may stand on this first rung of the ladder of contemplation long after one has acquired the first knowledge of God.

The second degree consists in this that we contemplate God not only "*per creaturas sed in creaturis,*" in as much as God is in them by his essence, his power ("*potentiam*") and presence. In connection with this degree Bonaventure explains how the creatures enter into our soul through our five senses. It may be of interest to quote his own original words: "*Haec autem sensibilia exteriora sunt quae primo ingrediuntur in animam per portas quinque sensuum; intrans, inquam, non per substantias sed per similitudines suas primo generatas in medio, et de medio in organo et de organo exteriori in interiori et de hoc in potentiam apprehensivam et sic generatio speciei in medio et de medio in organo, et conversio potentiae apprehensivae super illam facit apprehensionem omnium eorum quae exterius anima apprehendit.*"

From this Bonaventure draws a singular but clever conclusion, one moreover which sets the seal upon the mystical character of the whole book. He concludes that from the foregoing we can gain a knowledge of the eternal begetting of the son of God. For if the knowable created things beget a likeness, then assuredly will the eternal light produce an eternal likeness; and just as this likeness of creatures unites itself to the organ, so did the eternal likeness unite itself to an individual creature of a rational nature, and thus we can see a type and figure of the Incarnation even in the "*apprehensio mentis.*" We may here see how high the Saint soars in mystical speculation, yet this is but the second degree of contemplation. It is worthy of remark, too, how at one time the author proceeds in quite a philosophical style, and at

another without further ado rises to a height of speculative thought which transcends all merely philosophical deductions, such as the thought of the eternal generation and the Incarnation.

The third stage of contemplation is reached when man turns from the creatures that are outside himself and enters into himself, i. e., reflects upon himself, or as St. Bonaventure puts it, "*ut ad nos reintra-remus in mentem scilicet nostram, in qua divina relucet imago.*" But even here we must strive to see God "*per speculum.*" In the course of explaining this degree the author says that as the contemplation of the soul includes the past, the future and the present, it is a figure of God, the eternal. Furthermore, says the Saint, the spirit in as much as it understands the definition of a thing must know that which is above the defined. To explain this Bonaventure makes use of a distinction which will serve us well in the discussion of later passages. He says: "The intellect which analyses its knowledge and in this way comes to know the relative and finite as such, possesses implicitly the idea of the infinite and absolute; for," he argues, "how would the intellect know such a being to be defective and incomplete if it had no knowledge of a being without any defect?"

In a similar way he explains the different faculties and activities of the soul to show how all these lead to a higher degree of the knowledge of God, namely a knowledge of God as the eternal, immutable Being, the supreme Lawgiver, and the highest Good. It is of special interest to see how the Saint deduces a very high degree of contemplation from the action of the inferring intellect ("*intellectus illationis*"). Our intellect, says Bonaventure, only then truly perceives the intellect as a concluding intellect when it sees that a conclusion necessarily follows from the premises; and this the intellect can perceive not only "*in terminis necessariis,*" but also "*in contingentibus.*" The necessity of such a deduction does not follow from the existence of a thing in matter because this is contingent, nor from the existence of a thing in the soul because then it would be fictitious if it did not exist in reality; "*venit igitur ab exemplaritate in arte aeterna secundum quam res habent aptitudinem et habitudinem ad invicem secundum illius aeternae artis representationem.*" The light of any reasoning mind is lighted by that truth and strives to reach it . . . from which it is evident that our intellect is connected with (conjunctus) that eternal Truth itself, "*dum non nisi per illam docentem nihil verum potest certitudinaliter capere.*" Thou canst therefore, concludes Bonaventure, by means of thyself ("*per te*") see the Truth which teaches thee, if concupiscence and phantasms do not hinder thee, and place themselves like clouds between thee and the ray of truth. There would be no purpose in dwelling upon this any further here, as one would be obliged to enter upon the teaching of St. Augustine. The third degree of contemplation therefore consists in the knowledge of God "*per imaginem.*"

The fourth stage is the knowledge of God "*in imagine.*" Bonaventure begins the explanation of this degree by saying it is remarkable, though it has been shown how near God is to our minds, "*quod tam paucorum est in seipsis primum principium speculari.*" But the reason, he says, is evident. The soul so completely immersed in the things of sense cannot enter into herself as the image of God ("*non potest ad se tamquam ad Dei imaginem reintrare*"). Bonaventure does not assume that every man can know God in his own mind as in an image. The Saint demands that such a soul be endowed with the theological virtues, and he declares that none reaches this degree except it be given him to do so, for it consists in affective experience rather than in reasoning con-

sideration. To reach this degree and to know God in image, i. e., in one's own mind and soul as in the image of God, it is necessary that God dwell in that soul by the richest gifts of charity. A complete conversion of the soul is required for this degree, and this was accomplished by the Redemption, or rather is accomplished by applying the fruits of the Redemption. To secure this fourth degree Philosophy no longer suffices, there is needed a purification and illumination which is again divided into seven stages. In this fourth degree of contemplation we can contemplate God in ourselves by means of the reformed powers of the soul, a reformation brought about by gratuitous graces or virtues. In the course of the seven stages of purification the soul enters completely into herself, considers in herself the various orders of the angels and understands how God dwells in these and directs all their activities. Through this process of purification the soul is taken possession of by divine wisdom and becomes a house of God. The soul becomes friend, daughter, and bride of Christ. To say aught of the mystical character of this degree would be superfluous.

We shall here pass over the fifth degree of contemplation which deals mainly with the unity of God, i. e., unity of essence, as we shall later be obliged to refer to this degree in explaining some of the difficult passages which are used as arguments by Ontologists.

In the sixth degree Bonaventure tells us how we can contemplate the Trinity, proceeding from our conception of "good," just as we obtained our essential ideas of God proceeding from our conception of "being." Let it suffice with regard to this degree to say that Bonaventure draws his conclusions about the divine processions from the principle "*bonum est diffusivum sui*," and therefore God the highest Good must be so in the highest degree. The "*summa diffusio debet esse actualis, substantialis et hypostatica*." Thus we are led to the idea of the eternal generation of the Son and the eternal "spiratio" of the Holy Ghost.

The summit of contemplation is reached in the seventh chapter, in which the ecstatic state of mind ("*excessus mentalis*") is described. The soul that has reached this degree of contemplation enters upon a state of holy rest and turns with all its affections to God. In this stage man experiences (as far as he can) the sweetness of the words: "To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." In this stage of contemplation all merely intellectual activity ceases, and the highest affection takes its place and, as said above, is entirely directed to God. To secure this degree we pass with Christ Crucified from this world to the Father, and having attained this, we can exclaim, "*sufficit nobis*."

Thus end the seven stages of contemplation, and ends also the *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum*.

The purpose of this rather lengthy exposition of the various degrees was to make it clear with what great care one needs to determine where the mystical begins and ends, and where one is to accept a passage as a strictly philosophical statement of doctrine. Undoubtedly the extracts given above will suffice to convince the general reader that it would be grossly unscientific and unfair to accuse Bonaventure of an erroneous philosophical opinion on the strength of some apparently unfortunate expressions in this predominantly mystical work.

Thus forewarned let us at last examine more particularly a few doubtful passages, keeping in mind the admonition of St. Bonaventure himself "unde si quæ auctoritates id dicere inveniuntur, quod Deus in præsentī ab homine videtur et cernitur, non sunt intelligendæ quod videtur in sua essentia sed quod in aliquo effectu inferiori cognoscitur."

**Doubtful
Passages
Explained**

In chapter 5, n. 3 of the *Itinerarium* we read: "Volens igitur contemplari Dei invisibilia quoad essentiæ unitatem primo defigat adspectum in ipsum esse, et videat ipsum esse adeo in se certissimum quod non potest cogitari non esse . . . Cum autem *non esse* non cadit in intellectum nisi per *esse*, esse autem non cadit per aliud, quia omne quod intelligitur aut intelligitur ut non ens aut ens in potentia aut ut ens in actu. Si igitur non ens non potest intelligi nisi per ens, et ens in potentia non nisi per ens in actu; et *esse* nominat ipsum purum actum mentis, *esse* igitur est quod primo cadit in intellectu, et illud esse est quod est actus purus. Sed hoc non est esse particulare, quod est esse arctatum quia permixtum est cum potentia, nec esse analogum, quia minime habet de actu, eo quod minime est. Restat igitur quod illud esse est esse divinum."

This certainly sounds dangerous. Apparently 'the above passage comes to this: That which first impresses our intellect is the idea of "being," and this being is the divine being. It is an opinion which Rosmini or Malebranche would have written with the greatest pleasure, as expressing the purest Ontologism. In the mouth of Bonaventure this sentence means nothing of the sort, as we shall see from the following.

Does not the clear declaration of our author that a mediate knowledge of God is the only natural knowledge of man, and that the immediate knowledge of God is naturally impossible to man in "statu viæ," weigh more heavily than a difficult passage? Would anyone claim that we should be justified in setting aside the logical philosophical doctrine expounded in the *Libri Sententiarum* and setting up instead a difficult passage in the *Itinerarium* as the real doctrine of St. Bonaventure in this serious question of man's knowledge of God? Assuredly no—just as little as we base our theological knowledge upon the wording of books of devotion; though by no means would we wish to give the impression that we excuse a devotional or mystical writer if he teaches philosophical errors in pursuing an ascetical or mystical purpose.

We must, however, acknowledge that the ascetical or mystical character of a work permits of a greater latitude in the terminology of such a book.

Moreover, with regard to the above difficult passage we may not forget that it occurs in the explanation of the fifth degree of contemplation. Now as we have repeatedly seen it is far more than merely probable that the first knowledge of God is taken for granted even in the *first* degree and therefore there is surely no demonstration of that first knowledge to be supposed in Bonaventure's explanation of the fifth stage of contemplation, since the Saint begins with the words, "*volens contemplari*," contemplation supposes the knowledge of the object of one's contemplation ("*objectum contemplationis*"). Besides, Bonaventure adds, "*volens contemplari Dei invisibilia quoad essentiae unitatem*." Can there be the slightest doubt that Bonaventure does not intend to demonstrate here the *first* knowledge which man has of God?

These considerations alone would suffice to convince anyone that no ontologistic taint attaches to the words of the Seraphic Doctor. However, the matter can be made doubly sure.

There is no room for doubt that Bonaventure does not mistake the idea of universal being for the idea of the absolute and infinite being; and that he does not put the latter in the place of the former. In the passage under consideration Bonaventure does not speak at all of universal indeterminate being. He speaks of "being" which cannot even be thought as "not being." Surely we should not go so far as to suggest that the great Doctor of the Church puts this forward as a definition of the first idea of indeterminate being?

Consequently it is clear that Bonaventure does not say our first idea of being is the idea of divine being, and thus Ontologism is excluded from this passage. One might easily strengthen this assertion by adding the well-founded supposition that in this passage there is no mention of the *apprehending* intellect, but the author is speaking of the activity of the intellect which analyses its knowledge and reflects upon it. This assumption is founded on the fact that even in the third degree Bonaventure speaks of the intellect in this sense. It is only for this aspect of our intellect that Bonaventure asserts the need of the idea of the Absolute, etc., in order that the intellect understand the relative as such.

This again disposes of the suspicion of Ontologism in this passage of our author.

Finally it is to be noted that no one outside of the ranks of the Ontologists has ever interpreted this passage in an ontologicistic sense, or suggested that Bonaventure taught this erroneous doctrine.

Wherefore from all these arguments we can safely draw the conclusion that the orthodoxy of the Seraphic Doctor is safe beyond any shadow of doubt, even though a positive explanation of the passage may remain somewhat difficult.

However, the following is offered as the very probable meaning of the passage which has been engaging our attention: "Volens igitur contemplari Dei invisibilia quoad essentiae unitatem primo defigat adspectum in ipsum esse (non in esse universalissimum) et videat ipsum adeo in se certissimum quod non potest cogitari non esse, . . . esse igitur (illud ipsum esse) est quod primo (ordine intentionis) cadit in intellectum (plene resolvablem cognitionem suam), et illud esse est quod est purus actus (excludens omne non-esse). Sed hoc non est esse particulare, quod est esse arctatum, quia permixtum est cum potentia (ipsum esse autem nullam continet potentiam), nec esse analogum, quia minime habet de actu eo quod minima est (ipsum autem esse non potest *cogitari* non esse). Restat igitur quod illud esse (ipsum esse) est esse divinum."

This means, therefore, that when our intellect contemplates the unity of the essence of God, it must first of all direct its attention to the idea of "being itself" (the ipsum esse), which idea, however, the reflecting intellect has acquired *a posteriori*, without being conscious of the fact that this idea is the idea of the divine being. St. Bonaventure then applies this idea of the "ipsum esse" to the various ways of being, the analogous and particular being, and by the method of exclusion he comes to the conclusion that this "ipsum esse" is, and must be, the divine being . . . This is in no wise Ontologism.

However, the objection might be raised, by what right is the assertion made that Bonaventure considers this idea of the ipsum esse to be "a posteriori?" Without entering upon a lengthy discussion of this question, it would seem to suffice to say that as Bonaventure identifies this idea of the "ipsum esse" with the "esse divinum," and declares clearly that the "esse divinum" can be known only *a posteriori* and is, therefore, not inborn. De-

spite the fact that Bonaventure says "et hoc esse est quod primo cadit in intellectu," this expression can be understood in so many ways that it is certainly not necessary to jump at once to an ontologistic conclusion. Let us repeat again that reference is made here to the reflecting intellect, and only for the activity of this intellect does Bonaventure require the idea of "being" before that of "not being." As soon as this intellect has the idea of being, it goes back logically step by step until it arrives at that idea of being which has no trace of non-being, in other words the *actus purus*; in the order of intensity there is the *first* idea in the reflecting intellect.

This conclusion appears fully justified and completes our consideration of this difficulty.

In the *Itinerarium* there follows immediately a second passage, which recalls Ontologistic principles: "Mira igitur est cæcitas intellectus, qui non considerat illud quod prius videt et sine quo nihil potest cognoscere. Sed sicut oculus intentus in varias colorum differentias, lucem, per quam videt cetera, non videt, et si videt, non advertit; sic oculus mentis nostræ intentus in entia particularia et universalia, ipsum esse extra omne genus, licet primo occurrat menti et per ipsum alia, tamen non advertit."

However, even this passage cannot be used effectively against the orthodoxy of St. Bonaventure. The negative arguments used in connection with the previous difficulty hold good also in this case. A positive satisfactory explanation of the passage is not at all impossible.

We have seen that Bonaventure speaks of the intellect which analyses its knowledge logically and seeks to arrive at the beginnings and foundations of that knowledge. We may rightly suppose this in explaining this passage, which therefore may be rendered according to its sense as follows: It is remarkable how blind our intellect is, which on the one hand by analysing its knowledge has found that the first idea, the fundamental idea, is the idea of the divine being, on the other hand does not contemplate this being, or realize that logically it cannot know anything without this fundamental idea. The reason why the intellect does not realize this is, according to Bonaventure, the fact that the eye of our mind directs itself too much to generalities and to individual (particular) beings, creatures, and therefore is not consciously aware of that being which lies outside all species, though this being is really the first idea of being which meets the

reflecting mind in the order of intensity; and only through this idea of the perfect being does the intellect deduce the ideas of a dependent, imperfect being.

For the purpose of disposing of this difficulty more completely it will be necessary to refer back to a passage in the third degree of contemplation, which may have attracted the attention of the reader at the time. Bonaventure said: "Omnis igitur vere ratiocinantis lumen accenditur ab illa veritate æterna ea ad ipsam nititur pervenire. Ex quo manifeste apparet quod conjunctus sit intellectus noster ipsi æternæ veritati, dum non nisi per illam docentem nihil verum potest certitudinaliter capere (intellectus)." Bonaventure adds: "Videre igitur per te potes veritatem quæ te docet si te concupiscentiæ et phantasmata non impédiant."

This is apparently but a different way of expressing the same idea contained in the above words: "mira est igitur cæcitas intellectus qui non considerat illud, quod prius videt et sine quo nihil potest cognoscere," and "ipsum esse extra omne genus licet primo occurrat menti et per ipsum alia, tamen non advertit."

It would be interesting, but it would lead us too far afield to follow this idea how the light of our intellect is lighted at the eternal light, eternal truth, and how we can know nothing with certitude except eternal truth teaches us. Bonaventure speaks of this in *Quæstiones disputatæ de scientia Christi*, q. 4 and explains that only then do we know anything *certitudinaliter* when we contemplate it in "*rationibus æternis, in arte æterna et in ipsa veritate.*" He warns the reader against the assumption that God can be seen "in via," and says there is a vast difference between the knowledge which is partial and in riddle ("ex parte et in ænigmate,") and this is the knowledge we have in this life, and that knowledge which is perfect and clear. There are few, says Bonaventure, who reach those eternal reasons in this way, very few who know that they have found them; few will believe this, because it is difficult for the intellect *which is not yet raised to the contemplation* of eternal things to realize, that it should have God thus present and near, though St. Paul says: "that He is not far from each of us." Thus again is Ontologism excluded, since Bonaventure allows this knowledge of the "*rationes æternæ*" only in the case of the few whose minds raise themselves to the contemplation of eternal things, and even their knowledge is "ex parte et in ænigmate."

The positive explanation of this passage is materially facilitated by the words of our author where he says that God, as the Light and as the Eternal Truth, is the "ratio movens" of our intellect. But *ratio aeterna* does not of itself alone impel the intellect towards knowledge, it does so in conjunction with "the truth of principles;" and therefore it does not follow, says Bonaventure, that the *ratio aeterna* is known *secundum se* but as reflected in its principles . . . and thus in a certain way the *ratio aeterna* is the most certain truth known to our intellect because the intellect cannot think of it as non-existing, and this cannot be said of any created truth.

The meaning of St. Bonaventure is this: We could not know anything with certitude by means of those principles which are, so to say, imprinted on our minds, if those principles were not founded and grounded in eternal truth, of which, however, they are only a reflection.

Bonaventure says (*Hexaem. serm. 2*): The unchangeable principles of the intellect have their roots in the eternal light. He gives this as the reason: The noble character of knowledge itself and the dignity of the one possessing knowledge demand that in the case of certain knowledge our mind should in some way reach those unchangeable rules and reasons. The nobility of knowledge demands it because knowledge cannot be certain unless you have, on the part of the thing to be known, unchangeableness, and on the part of the one who acquires knowledge, infallibility. Now since these properties are not to be found either in the nature of things to be known or in the nature of the one gaining knowledge, it is necessary in the case of human knowledge to have recourse to the supreme art (*ars suprema*), to eternal light and truth. Consequently since things have "being" in the mind of man and in their own proper genus and in the external art it is not sufficient if the intellect is to have knowledge with certitude that it should realize the truth of things according to that being which they have in the mind, nor according to that being which they have in their own proper genus, because in both these cases things are mutable, unless the mind in some way touches them as they are "in arte aeterna."

"Concedendum est igitur quod in omni certitudinali cognitione rationes illæ cognoscendi a cognoscente attinguntur licet aliter a viatore, et aliter a comprehendente"

If all this is applied to the difficulty we are considering, we shall more readily understand the meaning of the passage. The expression concerning the blindness of our intellect which does not consider that which it perceives first and without which it cannot know anything, is easily understood, as Bonaventure is speaking of knowledge with certitude and does not admit this knowledge unless one perceives the relative truths, to some degree at least, as founded in the eternal absolute truth.

This same consideration will explain the other passages quoted, and we must simply bear in mind that the author is not speaking of the first activity, or the first knowledge of our intellect, but of the analysing and reflecting activity, and that Bonaventure bewails the fact that eternal truth which is the ratio movens of this intellectual activity is not, as it should be, the object of the knowledge of the reflecting and contemplating intellect of man.

We believe that what has been said is sufficient to show that the difficulties quoted from the writings of Bonaventure can be solved satisfactorily without imputing any trace of Ontologism to the Seraphic Doctor. Though we concede that our positive explanation of these difficult and doubtful sentences of the *Itinerarium* is not compelling, still numerous other reasons militate against any such imputation, as we have seen. All theologians who have made a study of the works of Bonaventure are unanimous on this point, that no appearance even of Ontologism can reasonably be imputed to the Seraphic Doctor. Billot in speaking of these difficult passages of the *Itinerarium* without further ado simply refers to the positive doctrine of St. Bonaventure as found in the *Libri Sententiarum*. While Billot's method of explanation and refutation is not the best possible, it evidences that this eminent theologian was convinced that no erroneous meaning attaches to the words of the *Itinerarium*.

Schwane in his *History of Dogma*, I, p. 110 ff., says that Bonaventure was not out of touch with the system of Plato, but that in the principal doctrines concerning our knowledge of God he agrees entirely with all the scholastics. Schiffini expresses himself in the same sense, that no philosophical error can be connected with these passages of the *Itinerarium*. Stateczny, O. F. M., (*Historia Philosophiae*), who made a special study of the teachings of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and Scotus, says with reference to our question that Bonaventure

availed himself of philosophy, not of his own choice, but merely through sheer force of circumstances, and at that only for the purpose of diffusing charity among men, and of demonstrating to them in a natural way the infinite goodness of God. This Franciscan writer also avers that in reading Bonaventure's books, one feels that the syllogisms act as bars, from behind which a heart is beating in strong affection.

We can heartily endorse this opinion especially with reference to the *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum*.

Apart from refuting the unfounded accusation made against the Seraphic Doctor that he favored Ontologism, these few pages purposed to arouse interest in the writings of the great Franciscan Theologian. If this purpose has been achieved in some little degree, the writer will be content, even though the readers may not agree with him in his exposition of the doctrine of St. Bonaventure concerning our knowledge of God.



FRANCISCAN STUDIES

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada.

BOARD OF EDITORS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. FERDINAND GRUEN, O. F. M.

REV. ERMIN SCHNEIDER, O. F. M.

REV. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M., Ph. D.

REV. JOSEPH F. RHODE, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., S. S. L.

REV. SIXTUS LIGARIO, O. F. M.

REV. CYRIL PIONTEK, O. F. M., J. C. D.

REV. ROBERT MOORE, O. F. M.

REV. BEDE HESS, O. M. C., S. T. D.

REV. CYRIL KITA, O. M. C., Ph. D., S. T. D.

REV. THEODOSIUS FOLEY, O. M. Cap.

REV. FRANCIS LAING, O. M. Cap.

Publication Office, 54 Park Place, New York, N. Y.

Correspondence in regard to contributions should be sent to Editorial Office, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 3

AUGUST, 1925

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRANCISCAN SCHOOL

DUNS SCOTUS AND ST. THOMAS

NOTE ON THE "FORMAL DISTINCTION" OF SCOTUS

NOTE ON THE "FORMA CORPOREITATIS" OF SCOTUS

BY

BERARD VOGT, O. F. M.



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

NIHIL OBSTAT
THOMAS PLASSMANN, O. F. M.
Censor deputatus

IMPRIMATUR
✠ WILLIAM TURNER, D. D.
Bishop of Buffalo

Buffalo, N. Y., August 10, 1925

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRANCISCAN SCHOOL

THE ideal which St. Francis set himself to realize was the renewal of the Christian life of his time. He would lead men back to the principles of the Gospel by setting the example of a life according to the Gospels, illustrating in his own person the mode of life and activity of Christ and His Apostles. In this spirit, as Father Holzapfel tells us,¹ the first Brothers endeavored to win back the masses to Christ by coming down to the level of the people, by service in the hospitals, by charity and poverty, and by sermons of simple, apostolic exhortation.

How the Friars Came to Take Up Higher Studies

Soon, however, as the numbers and activities of the Friars expanded, it became apparent that a more thorough educational equipment was required to meet the problems of the day. Trained preachers, well-versed in the science of theology, were needed to meet the attacks of the heretics then threatening the Western Church, and to enlighten the faithful concerning the true Christian doctrine. Houses of study in which this thorough training might be acquired, were therefore founded, St. Francis himself appointing St. Anthony of Padua as first Lector of Theology at Bologna. But as Roger Bacon says: "*Studium theologiæ omnem sapientiam desiderat humanam*,"² the proper study of theology implies a thorough general education, a knowledge also of matters belonging to philosophy and the profane sciences.

If we add to this the fact that the popes, just then highly interested in a reform of ecclesiastical studies and in elevating the educational standards of the clergy, strongly urged and approved studies in the two newly founded Mendicant Orders, we can readily understand why the Franciscans, though not originally founded for the pursuit of a higher educational mission,

¹ Fr. H. Holzapfel, O. F. M., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg, 1909, p. 270.

² *Compendium Philosophiæ*, c. 5. Ed. Brewer, London, 1859, p. 426.

came to take up the scientific vocation and to found flourishing houses of study at Paris and Oxford, the two eminent centers of knowledge as understood in the 13th Century, and how together with the Dominicans they soon became the representative leaders of science at these two Universities.

The Franciscans came to Paris in 1219 or early in 1220, and to Oxford in 1224. Just then the western world of thought was passing through a period of transition. Scholastic philosophy, as is well known, rests upon Greek foundations. It is, in large measure, the adaptation and development, under the guidance of Christian principles, of the philosophical doctrines of Plato and Aristotle.

**Conditions in the World
of Thought at the
Time of Their Arrival
at Paris and Oxford**

Up to the 13th Century Plato's views held full sway. The earlier centuries knew Aristotle only as a master of logic. In fact, of all his writings, they possessed merely the first part of his Logic, in a translation of Boethius. It was only in the second half of the 12th Century that the entire Organon became known, whereas the metaphysics, physics, and the "de Anima," which formed the very groundwork of Aristotelian philosophy, were entirely unknown at this period. Even of Plato's works these earlier Scholastics knew directly only the *Timæus* translated by Chalcidius.

As a matter of fact, the early Middle Ages did not cultivate philosophy as a separate science in the sense in which it became a distinct and important systematic discipline in the Schools from the middle of the 13th Century onwards. Up to this time the official program of studies had embraced the seven liberal arts, constituting profane knowledge, and theology as the sacred knowledge of revealed truth. Of these seven liberal arts only one, dialectics, approaches in nature the modern discipline of philosophy, and even this was at first preponderantly a grammatical science, though in the course of time, when discussing the problem of the Universals, it took up and developed the implied problems belonging to psychology and metaphysics. Consequently most of the philosophical opinions of the time must be sought in a theological setting. It was in the domain of theology that they had their origin, for in and with theology the leading problems of philosophy had to be discussed, in order to

find a rational basis for the interpretation, discussion and development of the revealed truths.

Now the theology of the early Middle Ages is preeminently Augustinian, so much so that St. Augustine has been called the "Cor Ecclesiæ." Down to the middle of the 13th Century theology bears practically the exclusive impress of the personality of St. Augustine, who created it. But the philosophical views of St. Augustine were, with certain reservations and adaptations, Platonic. This Platonism is consequently found to be the speculative basis of his theology. Furthermore, as Father of theology, St. Augustine, in great part, necessarily inspired the earlier Scholasticism also. In fact, his influence on Scholastic thought was distinctly preponderant down to the 13th Century, Augustinian Platonism completely overshadowing Aristotelianism.

But in the opening decades of the 13th Century the western world of thought was introduced to the hitherto unknown complete works of Aristotle, his physical, metaphysical and ethical opera. Gradually the Stagirite with his theory of being, its principles, categories and causes, his views on potency and act, matter and form, generation, corruption, space, time, and movement, his conception of the soul, its faculties and activities, his teaching on the ethical virtues, and man as a social being, replaced Plato as "the Philosopher." All this, of course, did not take place without a struggle between the supporters of the old and those of the new views. Witnesses to the intensity of this rivalry are the ecclesiastical censures placed upon the works of Aristotle and even upon some of the new theories of St. Thomas. The real meaning of these temporary censures may be gathered from any manual on the history of philosophy. For several decades it remained uncertain which of the two princes of Greek thought would eventually predominate. During this period of transition some philosophers attached themselves more closely to the founder of the Academy, and others to the founder of the Lyceum, and were in consequence known as Platonists or Aristotelians.

Now the earlier Franciscans, as is well known, belonged to this Platonic-Augustinian wing of the Scholastics, whereas the Dominicans under the leadership of Albert the Great and St. Thomas, espoused the new Aristotelian views. To the query why did the Franciscans remain attached to the Platonic-Au-

gustinian views, we reply with Fr. Felder:³ That in the first place the Sentences of Peter Lombard are saturated with Augustinian views. Now it was Alexander of Hales, who introduced these Sentences as the official text-book of the Schools and with them he adopted their Augustinism as the rational basis of his *Summa*, and the philosophical doctrine of his school and his order.

Then again, St. Augustine allots to mysticism a favorite place in his theology. In fact the entire mysticism of the Middle Ages rests upon foundations received from St. Augustine; and Platonic idealism furnishes an excellent basis for mysticism, whereas Aristotle as then known and interpreted through Arabian sources, with his rationalistic naturalism seemed to endanger not merely the basis of mysticism but even that of faith. But the high esteem in which mystical tendencies were held within the order during the first decades of its existence is a matter of history.

Thirdly, there are the intrinsic reasons substantiating many of the views of Plato.

And finally, the first teachers of the Franciscans, the men who either personally or through their pupils definitely influenced and shaped the course of studies in the Franciscan Order, Alexander of Hales at Paris and Grossetête at Oxford, were men who had been trained in the Augustinian and pre-Aristotelian days. Whereas, with the Dominicans it was only Albert the Great and St. Thomas, the champions of the new philosophy, who towards the middle of the century inspired the Dominican course of studies.

We must not, however, misunderstand this sweeping classification. Perhaps it would be better to say that the Franciscans gave the preference to Platonic-Augustinism. For, though they espoused Plato's views, as modified and adapted by St. Augustine, in the leading doctrines which constitute the difference between his system and that of Aristotle, they at the same time studied Aristotle also and highly esteemed him, freely supplementing and developing their own synthesis with Aristotelian elements. In many ways they even tried to reconcile and combine the two, as when for example, they conceived the relation

³ Fr. H. Felder, O. M. Cap., *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien im Franziskanerorden*, Freiburg, 1904, p. 473. We are likewise partly indebted to Father Felder for several preceding minor points.

of body and soul as one of matter and form, and at the same time held the soul itself to be composed of matter and form.

It was, in fact, the Franciscans, both at Paris and at Oxford, who first introduced the new doctrines of Aristotle into their speculative treatment of theology. It is well known that Alexander of Hales at Paris represents the first successful attempt to apply the philosophy of Aristotle to theology and to render it fruitful for theological speculation. He was the first to utilize the complete works of Aristotle in his speculative interpretation of dogma, contained in that monumental *Summa* of which Father De Martigne says in his "La Scholastique et les Traditions Franciscaines," that it gave to Scholasticism "son manuel, sa methode d'enseignement, et le plan definitif de ses sommes theologiques." And at Oxford it was Robert Grossetête, the first teacher of the Franciscans, and his Franciscan pupil Adam Marsh, who first utilized the new Greek wisdom and its dialectic methods in their theological discussions and teachings.⁴

But, to understand the main doctrinal differences between the old and the new philosophical currents battling for the upper hand during this period of transition, a brief sketch of the historical background may be found helpful. It is not, however, our intention to give an exhaustive exposition of the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle and St. Augustine. They are sufficiently well-known, and may be gleaned from current histories of philosophy.⁵ The philosophies of Plato and Aristotle were attempts to build up a complete philosophical synthesis based upon preceeding Greek speculation. The foundation of Plato's idealistic system is his theory of ideas, and this in turn is but the result of his personal interpretation of the Socratic theory of induction. Socrates had taught that knowledge through concepts is the only true knowledge. Now Plato's fundamental assumption is the validity or objectivity of our ideas. And since the world of phenomena does not and can not contain this object of our conceptions in as much as everything found therein is contingent, particular, changing, while Being as we conceive it has necessity,

⁴ Fr. H. Felder, O. M. Cap., op. cit., pp. 457-459.

⁵ Cf. Turner, *History of Philosophy*, Boston, 1903, and De Wulf, *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, New York, 1909.

universality, immutability, it follows, he argues, that the reality represented in the concept or idea, exists above the world of sense in a separate world of ideas, and that the material realities of this concrete world are but faint imitations of and participations in this ideal world. For Plato this separate world of ideas is the center of all reality; from it he descends to explain the particular world of phenomena and its problems.

The naturalistic Aristotle, on the other hand, maintains that the individual concrete world alone has real existence, the universal, as such, existing only in the thinking mind as the fruit of the latter's abstractive activities. Aristotle begins with the individual and ascends to the universal. Concrete experience, for Aristotle, is the true source of all our knowledge, intellectual as well as sensible; whereas, for Plato, it was merely the occasion of this knowledge; the sight of the individual occasioning the soul's reminiscence of the corresponding idea which it had beheld in a former, happier state of existence.

Again, in Plato's separate world of ideas, the idea of the good holds the central place; it is the final cause of the universe towards which all others tend; and it is the formal cause from which all others derive their intelligibility and reality. And in this concrete world, matter, for Plato, is that in which things are made (space), whereas for Aristotle it is that out of which things are made.

Finally, with regard to the relationship existing between body and soul, Plato conceived body and soul as two complete substances, in extrinsic coerced union, whereas according to Aristotle's biological conception they are two partial co-principles, constituting one complete substance after the manner of the matter and form union.

St. Augustine, who knew Plato chiefly through New-Platonic sources, adopted most of his theories, adjusting them to Christian theism. Thus in Plato's philosophy the idea of the Good holds the central place, while for Augustine it is the idea of God; and the Isolated Ideas of Plato are changed into the exemplary ideas of things in the divine mind.

While rejecting, of course, Plato's airy idealism St. Augustine nevertheless retained many of the derived and implicitly correlated theories. He adopted Plato's view of the soul as a separate, independent substance, rejecting Aristotle's entelechy view. The soul is the true human personality. Both body and

soul, according to St. Augustine, preserve their own complete substantiality, the soul making use of the body and governing it. But there are, not three souls as Plato taught, but only one, whose activities are not really distinct from its substance. Its three faculties are the memory, the understanding and the will, with the primacy belonging to the will because all other faculties are under its command, and it alone is free. Perception and knowledge are not therefore, as in the Aristotelian psychology, one unique psychophysical process, but rather an activity of the soul alone within the organ, there being no causal co-operative influence of the organ. In contradiction to the Aristotelian theory of abstraction and under the influence of Platonic inspiration, truth is conceived as a reality revealing itself to man, but as objective and superior to him. By inner reflective intuition the soul beholds the eternal verities, the highest laws of thought, of the true, the good, and the beautiful. Truth is consequently not a product of thought, elaborated in the mind by abstraction, but a reality, an ideal one of course, beheld as such. St. Augustine calls God the sun of the soul, the light of the intellect in which we see the immutable truth of things. He speaks of the *ratio superior quae intendit aeternis conspiciendis*, and of the *ratio inferior quae intendit temporalibus*. These passages played a great historical rôle in the Middle Ages under the name of the Divine Illumination Theory. They were often wrongly interpreted ontologically, as if our intellect directly contemplated immutable truths in the Divine Essence, while St. Augustine merely meant that God created the intellect as a finite participation of the infinite intellect and that He is the ultimate foundation of all truth.

St. Augustine admits the matter and form theory. In places matter is conceived by him as a chaotic mass brought forth from nothingness by an act of the Creator, but in his Confessions, he refers to it as an undetermined something incapable of existence without a form. In this matter God has deposited active forces, corresponding to the exemplary ideas, in the eternal knowledge, of material essences. These are the *rationes seminales*, or seminal principles, whose successive generations in the bosom of matter when circumstances are favorable (*acceptis opportunitatibus*) produce the different species of corporeal beings.

We shall now be prepared for a brief enumeration of the more important Platonic-Augustinian theories characterizing the

earlier Scholastic traditions, which the first Franciscan School espoused. There is in the first place, the predominance of the notion of the good as compared with that of the true, and the corresponding primacy of the will over the intelligence in God and man. Then there is the substantial independence of the soul in regard to the body, its individuality independent of its union with the body, and the identity of the soul with its faculties. Again, the "active" character of the soul's representative processes or in other words the absence of causal activity in the object of cognition and in consequence the special illumination theory, or the necessity of a direct illuminating act of God in certain of our intellectual processes. And finally the theory of the *rationales seminales*, or of germinal principles in primal matter, in all things accounting for the changes and evolution taking place therein. Besides these, there are the minimal, yet positive, actuality of primal matter apart from all "informing" influences of a substantial form; the hylemorphic composition of immaterial, spiritual substances; the plurality of forms in natural beings, especially in man, and the impossibility of an eternal creation. Nor were these theories understood and explained by all in the same way. They were expounded with varying shades of meaning, from one individual Schoolman to another, and suffered modifications in progressive attempts of adaptation to Aristotle.⁶

A brief survey of the principal characteristic traditional teachings of the two main representative leaders of the earlier Franciscan School, Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure, may aid us to visualize more fully the historical facts we are endeavoring to make clear.

The Principal Representatives of the Earlier Franciscan School

As in the case of all similar *Summae* of the 13th Century, so too Alexander's philosophical system must be sought for in his theological *Summa*. He was the first to make use of practically all the works of Aristotle, and of those of his Arabian commentators, especially Avicenna. To him likewise we owe the application of dialectics to dogma, and the inauguration of an important new scientific method in teaching. First he states the reasons for and against a view, the arguments being drawn from Grecian, Arabian and Jewish sources, in addition to the

6 Cf. De Wulf, op. cit., p. 266.

traditional ones. Then he goes on to discuss the answer to be given to the proposed question and the arguments advanced on either side. This triple division of the question into the *pro*, the *contra*, and the *resolutio* outlines the plan which St. Thomas and all the other great Summists followed thereafter.

In metaphysics Alexander admits the validity of St. Anselm's ontological arguments and quotes also the argument of St. Augustine from the need of an absolute truth. He maintains moreover that God alone is *actus purus*, pure actuality, and that every creatural being, even the spiritual being, is composed of matter and form, that is of potency and act. This fundamental theory of the hylomorphic composition of all contingent beings and its companion theory of the plurality of forms is ever afterwards characteristic of the whole Franciscan School, with the partial exception of John de la Rochelle.

Matter is not formless, but on the contrary contains all forms potentially; and eternal creation is impossible.

In ethics he defines virtue in the Aristotelian and not in the Augustinian sense.

In psychology Alexander stresses the independence of the soul in regard to the body. He also adopts the traditional Augustinian division of the mind into the *ratio* which has for its object the knowledge of the corporeal world, the *intellectus* which has for its object the knowledge of created spiritual substances, and the *intelligentia* which has for its object the knowledge of the *rationes aeternae* and of the first principles. The external world we know by the combined activity of the active and passive intellect (Aristotelian element), whereas our knowledge of the suprasensible world and of all higher spiritual truth, is dependent upon a special divine illumination (Augustinian element). As we see, alongside of Augustinian principles he adopts the Aristotelian doctrine of the active and passive intellect. This is likewise the reason why in the problem of Universals he teaches that they exist *ante rem* in the mind of God, and *in re* as essences in things which the active intellect abstracts. He thus reaches the conclusion of moderate realism, a conclusion which his predecessors of the 12th Century did not attain so clearly because they argued the question chiefly as dialecticians, whereas Alexander argues as a metaphysician and a psychologist. Concerning his view of the soul we may remark in general that the soul, as a substance may be viewed from a two-fold view-

point; namely, as a self-subsisting spirit and as the form of the body. Aristotle's definition of the soul is too exclusively biological. It views and defines the soul too exclusively from the point of view of the informing rôle it plays to the body and thus stresses its dependence upon the body too much. For this reason, many Scholastics, among them Alexander of Hales, preferred the more metaphysical and less biological Platonic-Augustinian definition which stressed the independent character of the soul as a spirit, and thus brought into bolder relief the self-subsisting personal character of the soul, its independence and immortality. Plato defines the soul, in his *Timaeus*, as an incorporeal rational substance, endowed with immanent movement. And St. Augustine defines it as a "rational substance destined to direct the body."⁷

Alexander's great pupil, St. Bonaventure, adopted and perfected the system of his teacher, so that together with him he is commonly reckoned as the head of the earlier Franciscan School. He surpasses Alexander in acumen and originality of expression. We find with him the same set of characteristic traditional views, though he borrowed not a little from Aristotle in addition.

Identifying the two pairs of correlatives, potency and act, matter and form, he taught that all creatures are composed of matter and form and that consequently the angels are not pure *formae subsistentes*, as St. Thomas held, there being no form without matter.⁸

Primary matter is not merely an indeterminate reality. It is not purely passive, but contains within its bosom certain principles, concreated with it, called *rationales seminales*. These co-operate with the extrinsic agent in the production of the effect, in fact they are, in an imperfect and undeveloped state, the various essential forms with which this matter is destined to be united. Whereas, St. Thomas accounts for the production of created substances by the potency of the matter acted upon by various natural agencies.

The substantial form is not essentially one; beings admit of a plurality of forms. St. Bonaventure does not reject the

7 Fr. H. Spettmann, O. F. M., *Die Psychologie des Joannes Pecham*, Muenster, 1919, pp. 6-7; *Comment. in Timaeum* (ed Wrobel) c. 226. p. 263; St. Augustine, *De quantitate animae*. c. 136 (P. L 32, 1048 n. 22)

8 In II Sent., dist. III, P. I, Art. I.

formula, *unius perfectibilis, una sola est perfectio*, but he holds that besides the substantial form which as *forma completiva* gives a being its ultimate specific perfection, there are subordinate forms which are the principles of the inferior perfections of that being.

And the principle of individuation, that which constitutes and differentiates the plural individuals of a given species, is neither the matter alone nor the form alone, but both together; nor is there a real distinction between the specific and individual essence.

Another point in which St. Bonaventure defends the views of the earlier Scholastics is that which concerns the possibility of creation from eternity. He maintains that an eternal creation implies a contradiction; and that reason can demonstrate that the world was not created *ab aeterno*.

But he does not accept the theory of special illumination in the sense in which some of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors held it to be something distinct from God's ordinary cooperation with the creature. The celebrated Augustinian texts to the effect that all knowledge takes place *ratione lucis increatae*, or *rationibus aeternis*, and that God is present by his truth to all intelligences, he explains by saying that this illumination consists in the Divine resemblance imprinted on our intelligences by the creative act, and in the immediate concursus of the First Cause in every exercise of thought. Nor is he an ontologist inasmuch as God's presence by His truth and our seeing of truth, *ratione lucis increatae* or *rationibus aeternis* is interpreted by him to mean simply that the Divine ideas are the objective foundation of all truth and certitude.⁹

In psychology he enumerates memory, intelligence and will as faculties of the soul, and holds with St. Augustine that the will is the noblest of our faculties.

As a mystic St. Bonaventure easily surpassed all the other Scholastics; he is the purest and highest incarnation of theological mysticism produced by the 13th Century. If St. Thomas represents the love of theology, then St. Bonaventure represents the theology of love.

For the rest his teaching does not differ in essential points from the common teaching of the Schoolmen.

⁹ De Wulf, op. cit., p. 286.

Prominent among the disciples of St. Bonaventure and representative of the earlier Franciscan traditions were: Matthew of Aquasparta, Master at Paris and Bologna, later General of the Order and Cardinal, a deep, sober and clear thinker and a writer of exceptional talent.

John Peckham, who taught at Paris and at Oxford and was later made Archbishop of Canterbury, whose "Quæstiones de Anima" have recently been edited by Fr. H. Spettmann, O. F. M.

Besides these we may mention Peter John Olivi, best known because of his teaching about the plurality of substantial forms; William De La Mare, who wrote "Commentaries on the Sentences;" Alexander of Alexandria, who wrote a compendium of St. Bonaventure's "Commentaries on the Sentences;" Walter of Bruges, Bishop of Poitiers, likewise author of "Commentaries" and "Questions;" and Richard of Middletown, the last important representative of the earlier Franciscan School and its greatest master during the interval between St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus. He wrote "Commentaries on the Sentences," "Quaestiones Disputatae," and "Quodlibeta." Though a loyal disciple of St. Bonaventure in most points, he rejects the doctrine of the *rationes seminales*.

The Franciscan traditions just described had existed for over a half a century when a new and conspicuous leader appeared, viz., the Ven. John Duns Scotus. It is customary in some quarters to speak of the earlier Franciscan School and of the later Franciscan or Scotistic School as if they represented two totally different movements of thought, and as though Duns Scotus gave the studies of the Order a distinctly new orientation. Fr. Minges,¹⁰ Fr. Bertoni,¹¹ and others, prefer to view this Scotistic School as a continuation and development of the earlier Franciscan traditions. For while it is true that Scotus was a real pathfinder by bringing into vogue a fuller peripateticism *sui generis*, which neither follows Aristotle blindly nor always interprets him in the sense of St. Thomas, and by introducing a wealth of new ideas as the contributions of his own genius, it is likewise true that he retained in

10 Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XIII, p. 610-b.

11 Fr. Bertoni, O. F. M., *Le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot*, Levanto, 1917, pp. 437-438.

important points the earlier doctrines. These latter constitute the element of continuity between the two schools.

To some of these older doctrines his genius gave a personal stamp and coloring. Thus he gives a new variation to the old Franciscan teaching that all created beings, inclusive of spiritual substances, are composed of matter and form. With characteristic subtleness Scotus distinguishes between a *materia primo prima*, *secundo prima*, and *tertio prima*. *Materia primo prima* is the potency aspect or contingency element of created substances. Though undetermined by any form it nevertheless has reality inasmuch as it constitutes the term of God's creative activity. Of course, matter does not exist in this state in *rerum natura*, but only as *materia secundo prima*, that is, as determined by a substantial form and endowed with quantity. This determined matter is the subject of the substantial changes going on in nature, and corresponds to the *materia prima* of St. Thomas. Whereas, *materia tertio prima*, corresponding to the *materia secunda* of St. Thomas, is the subject of accidental changes. The *materia primo prima* just described is the homogeneous element which all created beings spiritual as well as corporeal, possess in common. Just as *haecceitas* is the ultimate real aspect of these beings, so contingency is their primordial positive aspect.

In the last analysis this doctrine of the matter and form composition of all created substances is based on Aristotle, who had originally evolved his concept of matter in a logico-grammatical way from an analysis of change or becoming. It meant for him that which exists in *potentia* and as yet has no form, or at least not a given determined form, but has only the capacity or aptitude to receive these forms; consequently that which in union with those forms constitutes the new reality. A concept of matter thus generally formulated could likewise be applied to spiritual substances, inasmuch as these also are compounded of *potentia* and *actus*, and Aristotle himself, though he originally derived and abstracted his concept of matter from the corporeal world and primarily applies it there, *de facto* extended it to the realm of purely mathematical and ideal entities. St. Augustine, who received it through Neo-Platonic sources, understood it thus, and in this sense it was transmitted by him, as also later on by the Arabians and Jews (especially the "*Fons Vitae*" of Avicbron), the other channels through which Greek phil-

osophy reached the Occident, to the Middle Ages.¹² In fact, the *materia prima* concept was hardly more than designated by Aristotle. It was St. Thomas who developed and applied it thoroughly, interpreting it in his well-known differing opinion as necessarily including quantity.

Scotus likewise retained the old doctrine of plurality of forms, and its implied wider notions of the nature of the form. Every form is a principle of intrinsic determination, but there may be plural forms found in one individual, subordinated of course, to one highest form which gives the being its final and specific nature. A subordinate substantial form may determine its given matter; the compound resulting can in turn serve as potential or material co-principle for a higher substantial form. It is worthy of note that this old Franciscan doctrine is again finding favor today with modern Scholastics, who maintain that the ultimate material constituents of the human body, the chemical elements, remain substantirally unaltered in their passage into, through and out of the cycle of man's vegetative life; that they retain their elemental substantial forms while they are assumed into a higher nature by becoming part of the human personality.¹³

The best known application of this doctrine by Scotus is his postulate of the *forma corporeitatis* in living beings, or corporeal form constituting the organism as such, which in turn is the potential material co-principle capable of receiving the vital form. (See note on the "Forma Corporeitatis," p. 43)

In his theory concerning the principle of individuation Scotus also approaches closely the opinion of St. Bonaventure. St. Thomas held it to be the *materia signata*; hence to be identical only with the material co-principle of compound substances, for St. Bonaventure it is neither matter alone, nor form alone, but both together; whilst for Scotus it is a special positive aspect of the concrete human nature, its *haecceitas*, being that positive character found therein, in virtue of which a given thing is not merely "a realization" but this particular representative" of its type. Viewed in the abstract, and formulated in terms of metaphysical thought, this *haecceitas* would have to be conceived as a *differentia individua* added to the essential human nature;

12 Fr. Spettmann, op. cit., pp. 10-12; Baeumker, *Die Materie*, pp. 217, 291.

13 Coffey, *Ontology*, London, 1914, pp. 258-59.

and if individuality is constituted by this *hacceitas*, it follows that also in purely spiritual natures plural individuals may be found.

Again, other points of resemblance with the older traditions are found in a number of distinctions. Scotus likewise rejects the real distinction between essence and existence, and between the soul and its faculties, which is defended by St. Thomas.

And finally, there is, as with St. Augustine, the primacy of honor given to the will over the intellect, and the pre-eminence attributed to it in our psychic life, in a word, the voluntarism of Scotus. Of course, there is no question here of epistemological primacy, as with Kant, nor the question as to which of the two must ultimately determine the true. It is rather a question of relative excellence, that is, which of the two is the higher, nobler, superior faculty. Scotus, with his practical Roman cast of mind, gave the pre-eminence to the will, whilst the Greek temperament of Thomas, with its high esteem for knowledge, contemplation, rational intuition, attributed the superior rôle in our psychic life to the intellect.

This difference of relative appreciation reveals itself also in the way in which the two philosophers conceive human liberty. With Thomas the intellect, perceiving the limited character of all finite good, contains the ultimate reason and is the ultimate cause of liberty; the will is merely its subject or bearer. Whereas with Scotus the will is both the ultimate ground and subject of liberty; it determines itself, the knowledge of the good being merely a *conditio sine qua non*. Even in the presence of the absolute good presented by the intellect, the will is not necessitated and retains its power of self-determination, i. e., it can refrain from acting. Scotus does not defend an extreme "indeterminism" as though the choice of the will were wholly unguided by motives and totally arbitrary; he admits the influence upon its decisions of circumstances, habits, temperament, but he denies that they can have a necessitating influence; ultimately the will must determine itself.

On the other hand, Scotus emphatically rejects the earlier Franciscan doctrine concerning the *rationales seminales*; he admits *rationales seminales* in the proper sense only in living beings, as the seminal principles of their reproductive powers. Whereas in matter, or purely material being we may, according to him, speak of *rationes seminales* only in an improper sense,

in as much as there can be produced in them by natural agencies, predisposing qualities leading to the eduction of new forms.¹⁴ He is also opposed to the special illumination theory in any form, and in the question concerning the possibility of eternal creation he inclines to the opinion of St. Thomas.

Of his personal innovations and contributions to mediaeval philosophy, the best known and most famous is undoubtedly his "Formal Distinction." It is said to be the characteristic element of his philosophy the key to the understanding of his system. (See note on the "Formal Distinction" of Scotus, page 38). In the opinion of his opponents this formalism makes and mars his system. According to some modern Scotists, this formal distinction agrees substantially with the virtual distinction of the Thomists but the traditional opinion holds it to be a new distinction *sui generis*, midway between the virtual and the real. Scotus employs this formal distinction: in theodicy, between the attributes of God and the Divine Nature; in cosmology, between the plural forms; and in psychology, between the soul and its powers.

Other new contributions are his conception of theology as primarily a practical science of conduct and morals; his teaching on the univocity of being as attributed to God and the creature; his placing of personality into incommunicability; his defence of morally indifferent acts; his theory that the metaphysical essence of God consists in radical infinity; and his teaching that the intellect has an immediate direct apprehension of the individual reality, preceding its universal knowledge. According to Scotus an individual reality first appears to the intellect as a thing whereupon follows the gradual intuition of the mind into the specific nature or essence of that thing. For the rest his doctrine of abstraction and moderate realism agrees with the common Scholastic teaching, as also his system, viewed as a whole, is fundamentally a statement of the general Scholastic synthesis.

We have limited ourselves on purpose to philosophical considerations, else we might have spoken of the leadership of Sco-

¹⁴ Ox. II d. 18, n. 8 and n. 11. Paris Edition, Vol. XIII, p. 93, b. s., and p. 95-b.

tus in theology and his many characteristically Franciscan contributions in this important field.¹⁵

Since the days of Duns Scotus, Franciscan scholars and teachers have in their vast majority¹⁶ rallied loyally and enthusiastically around his standard, though the Order as such has never prescribed Scotism as its official doctrine, if we except the ordinations of several general chapters during the seventeenth century. Of the long line of devoted disciples and erudite commentators of Scotus, constituting the genuine Scotistic School and maintaining its illustrious traditions, we will merely mention a few leading names in each succeeding century.

Among the immediate disciples of Scotus we find Francis Mayron, said to have introduced the "Actus Sorbonicus" into the University of Paris; Antonius Andreæ, who is supposed to have written several treatises attributed to his master, John of Basoles, one of Scotus' favorite pupils; Bishop Peter of Aquila, called Scotellus, because of his faithful adherence to Scotus.

During the fifteenth century we have Nicholas of Orbelli, whose *Commentary on the Sentences* ran through many editions; William Vorilong, a celebrated theologian; Bl. Angelus of Chiavasso, who wrote a renowned *Summa* which was publicly burned by Luther with the "Corpus Juris Canonici."

In the sixteenth century we may mention Paul Scriptor, who taught at Paris and Tübingen; Anthony Trombetta, Archbishop of Athens; Francis Lychetus, General of the Order, a renowned commentator of the "Opus Oxeniense."

The seventeenth century represents the most glorious period of Scotism, its Golden Age, when according to the testimony of Caramuel:¹⁷ "Scoti Schola numerosior est aliis simul sumptis." We mention Guido Bartolucci; Philip Faber; Luke Wadding, founder of the Irish College of St. Isidore at Rome, who published the complete works of Scotus (twelve volumes, Lyons, 1639); the celebrated Mastrius, who wrote a well-known course of philosophy *ad mentum Scoti*; his collaborator and friend Bonaventure Belluti; John Poncius, whose commentary was published by Wadding in his edition of Scotus.

¹⁵ Concerning these contributions vide Fr. Minges, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XIII, pp. 610-613.

¹⁶ St. Bonaventure, too, was ever held in high esteem within the Order, and in every century had zealous disciples.

¹⁷ Theol. Fund. I. II disp. 10.

In the eighteenth century we have principally Claude Frassen, for thirty years a celebrated professor at the Sorbonne, who wrote the "Scotus Academicus," (last edition, Rome, 1900); Jerome of Montefortino, author of "Duns Scoti Summa Theologica juxta ordinem Summae Angelicae Doctoris" (last edition, Rome, 1900-1903); Kilian Katzenberger.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an eclipse of Scholasticism which also enveloped Scotism. The causes are well known. We meet with few treatises *secundum mentem Scoti*.

With the powerful return to Scholastic thought in recent years, a revival in Scotistic studies is promisingly announcing itself, as can be convincingly seen in the concluding pages of Fr. Bertoni's recent book, "Le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot," where complete bibliographical references may be found to the principal Neo-Scotistic authors and their works. e. g., P. P. Partenius Minges; Deodat Marie, Marianio Fernandez Garcia; Seraphin Belmont; Dorothee Cornelisse, O. F. M.; and P. Raymond and P. Symphorien, O. M. Cap.

The Neo-Scholastic revival has thus far, for obvious reasons, been practically identical with the Neo-Thomistic revival. Nevertheless, the scant consideration given to Scotus in the current Catholic manuals of Philosophy is a real matter of surprise. He is misquoted and misconstrued, mentioned merely as an upholder of opinions which find no favor, and ignored on those points which he succeeded in expounding and defending masterfully. There may be more than one reason for this partial treatment and the prejudiced and erroneous views which have so long passed unchallenged from author to author and from book to book. But the main reason is a misunderstanding of his real teaching and personality.

Franciscan scholars have begun to realize that they themselves are in a measure to blame. How many able and searching monographs have appeared since the revival of Scholastic philosophy on the teaching of St. Thomas, illuminating practically every phase of his philosophy? And how few are the monographs on Scotus! If we wish Scotus to be again generally appreciated as he deserves, we must furnish these special studies, setting forth his doctrines and re-stating them in terms of modern thought.

And so the modern Neo-Scotists are busily at work furnishing these special historical and critical studies, going back to Scotus himself and showing from his original writings, his sane views and personality. They would restore the true historical portrait of the master wherever later ignorance or perversions, principally in the decadent days of Scholasticism, with its unenlightened friends and foes, have distorted the real features. For the rest, their temper is not a polemical one directed against the Thomists. Their endeavor is rather by positive critical work to bring out the permanent values which lie embedded in the tomes of Scotus, to restate them and apply them to the needs of our time, and thus, while effectively clearing their leader, to contribute at the same time to the still nobler cause of truth and Catholic philosophy.



DUNS SCOTUS AND ST. THOMAS

THE history of Philosophy tells us of great leaders and striking personalities in the world of thought who by their profound and comprehensive grasp of the problems of life, and their keen insight into the nature of man and the meaning of things have inspired and influenced the subsequent history of reflective human thought; of exceptional men who by the eminent power of their minds have become enduring centers of intellectual attraction which continued to cause other men to move in their orbit as enthusiastic and loyal admirers.

To this small privileged group of leaders belongs also Duns Scotus. And so we find that from the thirteenth century onward the Subtle Doctor had in every age an important following both inside and outside the Franciscan Order, with special Scotistic Chairs at various Universities. The Cistercian Caranuel¹ writes towards the end of the seventeenth century: "Scoti schola numerosior est aliis simul sumptis." But the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an eclipse of Scholasticism, and with it of Scotism and Thomism; semi-rationalism, traditionalism, ontologism, etc., occupied the public Catholic field. During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, a return to Scholastic thought set in, which has culminated in the present powerful Neo-Scholastic movement.

For obvious reasons the Neo-Scholastic revival has largely meant Neo-Thomistic revival. What is, however, a matter of surprise is the scant consideration Scotus receives in the current Catholic manuals of philosophy. There may be more than one reason for this partial treatment and the prejudiced and erroneous views concerning his personality and teaching found therein. But the main reason is a misunderstanding of his real teaching. And Franciscan scholars are beginning to realize that for this they themselves are in a measure to blame:

How many able and searching monographs have appeared since the revival of Scholastic philosophy on the teaching of St. Thomas illuminating practically every phase of his philos-

¹ Theol. Fund. I. II. disp. 10.

ophy. And how few are the monographs on Scotus. If we wish Scotus to be generally appreciated as he deserves, we must furnish these special studies, setting forth his doctrines and restating them in terms of modern thought. For the up-to-date text books, historical as well as systematic, are based upon the latest monographs.

As matters stand, we find Scotus characterized in current manuals as wanting in that synthetic power which St. Thomas possessed in so preeminent a degree, and as being an envious critic, a demolisher of systems, a mere dialectician who plunged into a pathless ocean of metaphysical speculations which he confused, while exploring, by his excessive subtleties.

Now the system of St. Thomas is undoubtedly² one of the most masterly presentations of Scholastic thought by reason of its doctrinal solidarity, its perfect coordination of the great leading ideas, and the harmonious unification of the minor elements, Scotus, who died suddenly, as a comparatively young man, was not permitted to synthesize his doctrines at leisure into a like imposing and carefully polished *Summa*. Many of his views have come down to us only as "Reportata" or lecture notes. But the elements are all there, complete and properly adjusted, and can easily be fitted into an organic whole, and hence it is unfair to classify him as a thinker of the second order. Had Scotus not possessed constructive powers, and were his teaching not a rounded system, he could never have become the founder of a celebrated school. As De Wulf puts it: "Scotus had all the qualities of a founder of a school; his philosophy was consistent and his innovations organized and well thought out."³

Nor was Scotus merely the envious critic⁴ and demolisher of systems. He was far from being obsessed by a mania for destruction, and from finding an unholy complacency amid accumulated ruins. The Subtle Doctor knew that as a consequence of the limitations of individual human powers of intuition,

2 Cf. De Wulf. *History of Medieval Philosophy*, New York, 1909. p. 344.

3 De Wulf, *ibid.*, p. 433. Cf. also De Wulf, "Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages," Princeton, 1922 p. 109.

4 H. Hurter, S. J., in his *Nomenclator Literarius* (Tomus IV, 1899, p. 367) says of Scotus that he maintained his differing opinions "absque studio et ira, tranquille et solius veritatis inquirendae vel determinandae ratione habita; adversarium, praesertim Sanctum Thomam vix unquam nominat; unde certo solidum et accuratum Theologiae studium haud parvum promovit et dilatavit."

legitimate criticism has an important function to perform. But he also realized that for the same reason it cannot be the mission of the individual thinker to rebuild entirely anew, but at most to contribute his stone toward the edifice of human knowledge.⁵ In particular, it is too naive and altogether too convenient an explanation of the antithesis between the two great teachers Thomas and Scotus to assert that it arose from a "wish on the part of Brother John to contradict whatever Brother Thomas had taught."

The thirteenth century marked the culmination of Scholasticism.⁶ Facing all the problems that confront a complete philosophy or analysis of life, it gave them characteristic solutions, all harmonized into one grand and imposing synthesis. Its leading principles, those great underlying organic doctrines which may be said to constitute the Scholastic system and to distinguish it from other great synthetic systems, were accepted by all Scholastics. But at the same time the leading thinkers of the thirteenth century impressed the stamp of their personality and individual genius upon the form in which they gave concrete expression to that one dominant general synthesis, proving thus, as Turner says,⁷ that the unanimity with which the greatest of the Schoolmen advocated the fundamental principles of Scholasticism was compatible with a considerable degree of variety as to the details of method and doctrine. Each concrete synthesis had its own peculiar physiognomy.

Thus also the antithesis between St. Thomas and Scotus is an antithesis rising out of the difference in the mental temperaments of the two men, the difference between the intellectualist and the voluntarist, or again, the intellectualist and the formal realist. Wm. James says somewhere: "If we take the whole history of philosophy, the systems reduce themselves to a few main types which, under all the technical verbiage in which the ingenious intellect of man envelopes them, are just so many visions, modes of feelings the whole push, and seeing the whole drift of life, forced on one by one's total character and experi-

5 "In processu generationis humanae semper crevit notitia veritatis." IV, d. 1, q. 3 n. 8: apud P. Berton: "Le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot." Levanto 1917 p. 130. This work contains complete bibliographical references to the neo-Scotistic authors and their works.

6 Cf. De Wulf, op. cit., p. 265.

7 Hist. of Philosophy, p. 397. Boston, 1903.

ence, and on the whole preferred as one's best working attitude."⁸ Exaggerated meanings may be read into these words, but they also contain their soul of truth.

Owing to their different mental temperaments, Thomas and Scotus differ radically at times. But oftentimes, too, they merely appear to differ whilst they are *de facto* in substantial agreement, because they approach the same problem from different angles, Thomas giving the subjective aspect, and Scotus the objective view, the one with his virtual distinction stating the same solution in the terms of the subjective mental factors of the problem, the other with his formal distinction in the terms of the objective real factor. Both views are in reality complementary and not exclusive, each aiding the mind in its endeavor to grasp the various moments, modalities (*formalitates*), or real aspects of the complex reality it contemplates. In this case it remains the undiminished merit of both thinkers, just as it is the independent value of both systems, that each throws new light on distinct aspects of truth. For the passage from the subjective to the objective helps our perspective.

The great individual constructive thinkers of the golden age of Scholastic thought were followed by the schools in which, as these schools gradually degenerated, capable men wasted their creative powers in the ingenious elaboration of dialectic subtleties, because their principal concern was no longer the development of the problems handed down to them or the task of meeting the new difficulties arising, but the defence and triumph of their chosen school. Thomas and Scotus as thinkers do not represent merely a sum of doctrines; they are, what Clement Baeumker⁹ says of St. Augustine, characteristic personalities with boldly outlined peculiarities, due not to wilful, self-sufficient isolation, but to the fact that both with warm hearts and penetrating minds lived in personal inner experience the ultimate problems and gave them, in their honest endeavor to fathom and reach the truth, each his own characteristic solution. But the later Thomistic and Scotistic schools in large measure represent merely a sum of doctrines, a closed system of thought, whose defenders, starting with a commonly accepted principle or definition, vied to outdo each other in dialectic skill and in ever increasing fineness of multiplied distinctions (according to

⁸ *A Pluralistic Universe*, pp. 20-21.

⁹ *Die Europaeische Philosophie des Mittelalters*, p. 315.

the well-known scheme: *definire, dividere, demonstrare*), until not infrequently the plain simple problem became dissolved into an impalpable mist of idle subtleties, the mind losing itself in empty dialectic play, the discussion degenerating into inane logomachies. Both schools are equally at fault in this matter in their eagerness to accentuate the differences of the two great masters and to prove their own superiority. Both are equally to blame for the final downfall of Scholasticism which succumbed, as De Wulf¹⁰ tells us, for want of men, not for want of ideas. And both are equally responsible for the bad name attaching to, and the contempt so long heaped, upon everything Scholastic in non-Catholic circles, wherein Scholastic philosophy is supposed to be essentially what these later schools frequently made it to be by abuse, and at times even by a culpable ignorance and distortion of the real teaching of their own masters¹¹—a wild dance of unintelligible speculations in the air.

And in similar manner many of the traditional prejudices against Scotus found in current Catholic manuals of philosophy are due to the fact that their Scotus is not the real Scotus as he lived and thought, but a fictitious Scotus of some of the later Scotists, as caricatured into the bargain by their opponents so as to make an easier target for the shafts of their dialectic. The Scotus of these text books is frequently not the historical philosopher of the thirteenth century, but, if the Subtle Doctor at all, the falsified Scotus of the later schools. Those who know will be reminded more than once, when coming across these so-called references to Scotus, of the warning of De Wulf:¹² "We ought therefore to distinguish between the philosophy of Scotus and Scotism." And hence the slogan of the neo-Scotists: "Back to Scotus." We do not wish to be understood as though these Franciscan scholars were no longer proud of the glorious page in the history of their Order recording the deeds and triumphs of the genuine Scotist school, or forgetful of the debt and gratitude they owe to the long line of devoted disciples and erudite commentators of Scotus, disdainful of the light and aid which may be derived from their labors and expositions. Certainly not. But they wish to undo the harm wrought by the

10 Op. cit., p. 505.

11 Op. cit., pp. 414 and 486, on the causes of the decay of Scholastic Philosophy. Cf. Turner, op. cit., pp. 398-399; and De Wulf, op. cit. pp. 413 ff.

12 Op. cit. p. 433.

misguided and unenlightened zeal of some of the followers of Scotus, and to restore the true historical portrait wherever later ignorance, innovations, and perversions, especially in the decadent days of Scholastic philosophy, have distorted the real features and thus transmitted to our day false and prejudiced notions concerning this deserving champion of medieval thought. The modern neo-Scotists realize that if they wish to succeed in removing these prejudicers, they must furnish the special studies or monographs mentioned above; that they must go to Scotus himself and show from his original writings, his sane views and personality. And that it will not suffice merely to adduce quotations and syllogisms, but up-to-date complete historical and critical studies are required.

Every intellectually active age has its own predominant problems and preoccupations, and of the thirteenth century Windelband¹³ says that it witnessed "an adjustment and arrangement of world-moving thoughts upon the largest and most imposing scale history has known." The reason for this intense intellectual activity is to be found in the introduction of the Western world at this period to the rich and hitherto unknown treasures of Arabian, Jewish, and Byzantine philosophy, and especially to the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle, whom the older Scholastics had known practically only as a master of Logic. From the Arabians, for instance, with whose genius and thought the Schoolmen now came into real contact for the first time, they received a number of neo-Platonic notions, a large contribution of scientific data and a number of interpretations of Aristotle; while Aristotle with his theory of being, its categories, principles and causes, his views on potency and act, matter and form, generation and corruption, space, time and movement, his conceptions of the soul, its faculties and activities, his teaching on the ethical virtues and man as a social being, gradually replaced Plato as "the Philosopher." The West thus became suddenly inundated with an immense volume of new philosophical material which deeply stirred the souls of men, especially of the intellectual elite, provoking discussion and controversy, directing attention to new problems and suggesting novel solutions of old ones. And out of it all, with much sifting, correcting, completing, and final incorporation into the gen-

13. *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 311.

eral Scholastic frame, rose the great synthetic constructive efforts of the thirteenth century.¹⁴

If we wish really to understand an age, we must through careful historical studies enter into the milieu and spirit of that age, so that we come to feel at home in its intellectual and cultural atmosphere, familiar with its life and tendencies. We must know intimately the pulse and heart-beat of that age, be able to see the world through its eyes, and possess a sympathetic understanding of its analysis of life, of the live issues of the day, and of how life's great problems presented themselves to its thoughtful men.

Now the intellectual temperament of the thirteenth century is metaphysical. It was an age which was preoccupied with the metaphysical aspect of things and viewed all problems predominantly from the transcendental point of view; whereas the modern mind has the empiric temperament. It no longer views and approaches its problems preferably from their abstract, universal, synthetic side; the analytic, concrete, individual moments of things arrest our attention and appeal more to us. This difference in mode of thought must be remembered if we wish to understand and interpret correctly the outlook on life of that former age.

Then, too, there is the peculiar vernacular in which the thinkers of the thirteenth century clothed their thought. Metaphysical thinking is the speculation of the abstract mind, the impersonal mind detached from time and space. It contemplates the order of reality under its universal aspects, according to the forms in which it presents itself to abstract thought, and consequently it must necessarily find expression in conceptual terms. This is the reason why medieval thought chose the dialectic garb for its medium of expression, why it brought the art of dialectics to such perfection. But if we forget these facts, if we reify and personify these abstractions, thus making things of thoughts (an error into which these Scholastics themselves occasionally lapsed), and interpret their abstract formulas as though they were the direct expressions of concrete things standing as such immediately for reality, we must of necessity misjudge the views of these Scholastic authors and arrive at absurd conclusions.

14 Cf. De Wulf, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-253.

Because of this double difference in mode of thought and mode of expression between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, it will not do simply to bring quotations if we desire to convey a correct impression of the minds of these medieval thinkers. Wherever the literal face value of these quotations might prove misleading to the mentality of our age, their words must be interpreted, the special point of view and idiom and cultural implications explained, the whole recast if necessary, and restated in terms of modern thought.

Now if we had a sufficient number of these special studies on Scotus, taking up his doctrine point by point, studies written in this historical spirit and satisfying on their technical side all the critical requirements of modern scholarship, we should soon have the satisfaction of seeing expunged from the current manuals of philosophy all those prejudicial passages on the Subtle Doctor, which have so long passed unchallenged from author to author, from book to book. And to this vindication of Scotus Franciscan scholars would consecrate their efforts. For the rest, their temper is not a polemical one directed against the Thomists. Their endeavor is rather by positive critical work to bring out the permanent values which lie embedded in the tomes of Scotus, to restate them and apply them to the needs of our time, and thus, while effectively clearing their leader, to contribute at the same time to the still nobler cause of truth and of Catholic philosophy.

The meaning of life, the ultimate how and why of things has ever occupied the human mind. The history of philosophy tells us that under changing forms the same fundamental questions have troubled every succeeding age. Reflective thought has always striven after a complete grasp of the order and meaning of the Universe. Solution after solution has been offered; in our own day men have tried system after system, Idealism and Materialism, neo-Kantism and neo-Hegelianism, Monism and Evolutionism, Positivism, and Pragmatism, and many minor "isms," and yet Rudolph Eucken,¹⁵ who certainly ought to know the intellectual needs of our time, speaks of the painful acuteness with which the old eternal problems clamor for solution to-day.

¹⁵ *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Philosophie und Lebensanschauung*, p. 157.

The realization of these intellectual needs of our time and of the absence of a modern philosophy adequate to all the results of science, has inspired within Catholic circles a movement of considerable power, the neo-Scholastic movement. It is the belief of the advocates of this modern Scholastic philosophy that they can offer the sound philosophy demanded. The great historical system of the philosophy of the Scholastics, which alone, amid the incessant endeavors of the many systems during the last three hundred years to investigate the innermost mysteries of reality, has been able to stand without essential modifications in its organic doctrine, is such, they maintain, that it can serve as an excellent basis and principle of unification for all the results of philosophical speculation reached by the various sciences of modern times.

Its solutions of life's fundamental problems are sound because it avoids alike the false empiricism of the Positivists and the false idealism of the Pantheists, the two tendencies which in last analysis are responsible for all the unsatisfactory systems of the day. Of course there is no question of an intention to lead back the modern mind to the outlook of the Middle Ages, or to regard the old Scholastic philosophy as a boundary setting limits to personal activities of thought, as an ideal which we must in no way modify or attempt to surpass.¹⁶ Neo-Scholasticism means precisely the development of the Scholasticism of the Middle Ages; not merely its resuscitation, but rather a restatement in our own day of this *philosophia perennis*.¹⁷ In a word, neo-Scholastic philosophy would accommodate the old Scholastic system to the thought of our own day by living contact with the natural sciences and the contemporary philosophies, believing firmly that, having thus organically incorporated the findings of modern science and speculation, wedded happily "*nova et vetera*," new truths to old, adapted those medieval principles to our own present needs, a comparison of its own solution with those of other contemporary philosophies would show that its conception of the world and of life is such that it cannot but interest every loyal and unprejudiced mind; moreover, that, if we could only bring home these facts sufficiently to the sincere inquiring minds of our day, this rejuvenated and

16. Cf. Card. Mercier, *A Manual of Modern Schol. Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.

17 Cf. De Wulf, *The Cath. Encyclopedia*, Vol. X, p. 746.

completed Scholastic synthesis would once more bid fair to win back and hold that hegemony of thought which was its glory in the Middle Ages.

Already these hopes have been partially realized. Neo-Scholasticism has become the philosophy of modern Catholic thought, and compelled attention outside of Catholic circles. Among non-Catholics many leaders of thought, e. g., Boutroux, Paulsen, Eucken, Seeberg, have frankly acknowledged that its methods and doctrines deserve to be examined anew and that it will have to be reckoned with in the future. Eucken calls it the coming rival of Kantianism and characterizes the conflict between the two as a "clash of two worlds."¹⁸

Thus far, for obvious reasons, neo-Scholastic revival has been largely identical with neo-Thomistic revival. But, as we saw above, the synthesis of St. Thomas, masterful as it is, was not the only legitimate synthesis of thirteenth-century thought. Like all fertile periods in human thought, this century was rich in men of genius. If we wish therefore to have anything like a complete look into that busy mental world which, as scholars come to realize more and more, was by no means a dark age, but an enlightened age of great intellectual activity and of vast creative enterprise in the world of speculation, then we must give due attention also to the other schools. De Wulf himself protests against the attempt to identify neo-Scholasticism exclusively with neo-Thomism: "Thomism is too narrow a term; the system is too large and comprehensive to be expressed by the name of any single exponent."¹⁹ And though in his *History of Medieval Philosophy* he sets forth the common Scholastic system in conjunction with his exposition of St. Thomas' own personal teaching, he expressly states that it is for didactic reasons, "and not as giving him any undue monopoly of philosophical genius or knowledge."²⁰

Again, no man of broad culture and tolerant mind will contend that it is given to one single individual, however gifted we may conceive him to have been, to see all truth in the clearest manner and to find the happiest formula for every aspect of it. And admittedly the thirteenth century was an age of great men, of great individual constructive thinkers. These

18 Cf. *Scholasticism Old and New*, De Wulf-Coffey, p. 261.

19 *Cath. Encyclopedia*, Vol. X, p. 746.

20 *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

men also had their visions of truth, their intuitions of genius, each according to his predominant bent and temperament. St. Thomas, who himself broke with many a tradition of earlier Scholasticism, and who, though bold and thorough in his advocacy of his new theories, was at the same time moderate and tolerant even in the midst of heated controversy,²¹ would, we are sure, be the last to deny the just claims urged in behalf of other thinkers.

Now of all the great thinkers of the thirteenth century none approaches nearer in mental temperament to the modern mind, to the empiric mentality of our age, than the "critical" Scotus, whose much misunderstood and much maligned "formalism" or "formal realism," which is said to make and mar his system, is naught else than the fact that Scotus was powerfully impressed by the objective, real moments of problems. Because of this realistic temperament of his mind all problems revealed themselves to his penetrating vision primarily under their objective aspects, whereas the intellectualistic Thomas saw and felt the same problems under their subjective aspects and so formulated them in the terms of their subjective elements or factors.

This is also the reason why Scotus gives us a more genetic account of knowledge as a natural process. Thomas treats it more from the speculative point of view. Thus, for instance, Thomas tells us that the intellect knows directly only the universal, and Scotus answers that the intellect's direct knowledge of the individual must precede that of the universal if it is to abstract its universal from the concrete individual.²² In general, this real point of view gives to the views of Scotus everywhere a more psychological coloring.

We have here the real key to the understanding of the philosophical personality of Scotus and of its relation to that of Thomas. For in the last analysis it is again this same ultimate subtle difference in temperament or mental attitude that is accountable for the intellectualism of Thomas with its primacy of the intellect in psychology and ethics and for the voluntarism of Scotus with its insistence upon the fundamental rôle played by the will, just as centuries before it had caused Greek thought to make knowledge, contemplation, rational intuition, reason

²¹ De Wulf, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

²² Cf. Oxon I, d. 3, qu. 2, n. 24, Paris Edit. vol. IX. p. 49.

higher than the will, and Roman thought to emphasize the real, practical side in its appreciation of things. If we may use the expression we would say that Thomas possesses the Greek cast of mind and Scotus the Roman cast of mind, and so, to mention but one instance, Thomas makes eternal happiness consist in the vision of God, whereas Scotus puts it into a state of the will, love, as superior to contemplation.

These characteristics, then, make Scotus stand nearer to the modern mind with its realistic and practical tendencies than any other medieval thinker, besides revealing a wealth of new aspects of truth and new horizons not contained in the philosophy of Thomas. All of which means that modern seekers after truth might be led to the great temple of Scholastic thought to worship there in sincere conviction through the vestibule of Scotistic formulas, who, but for that kinship of temperament and of viewing things, would never have found their way into that temple.

We have limited ourselves on purpose to philosophical considerations; else we might have shown the same characteristic difference in turn of mind, in Scotus the theologian, and spoken of his lasting contributions to theology.²³ Thus the theoretical difficulties of the relation between the dogmas of Original Sin the Immaculate Conception, which puzzled St. Thomas, were solved by Scotus by his practical preredemption theory (*"redemptio anticipata praevisis meritis"*), and his distinction of nature and time. By nature Mary was a daughter of Adam and a child of sin prior to being sanctified; but in the order of time her soul was created and sanctified in the same instant and was thus preserved from all stain of sin. Again, St. Thomas makes mortal sin, as an offence against God, intrinsically and simply infinite; whereas Scotus, having regard for its human side, makes it only extrinsically infinite and Christ need not have become man in order to redeem us; consequently, that He nevertheless did so proves all the more His great love for us. In his Christology in general St. Thomas stresses the divine element and Scotus brings also that human element nearer to us which the Church herself has brought so near to us in her devotion to the Sacred Heart.²⁴

²³ Concerning these contributions see P. Mingès, *Cath. Encyclopedia*, XIII, 610-613.

²⁴ Cf. P. Mingès, *Franziskanische Studien*, 1914, p. 163.

It is to be regretted that the Patres Editores of Quaracchi, after finishing their monumental work on St. Bonaventure, next took up the editing of Alexander of Hales. (The first volume of this new critical edition is just off the press.) For one of the main reasons deterring scholars from occupying themselves more with Scotus is to be found in the unwieldy tomes through which alone he is at present accessible, namely the non-critical reprint by Vives at Paris in 1891 of Fr. Luke Wadding's edition of Scotus (Lyons, 1639). From the point of view of the neo-Scotistic movement, the great desideratum is a critical edition of Scotus similar to those of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure whose modern typographical arrangements and copious editorial notes and indices make the minds of these two great doctors easy of access.

The thought might suggest itself: "What about neo-Scotistic tendencies in the face of the recent strong official recommendations of St. Thomas?" Well, if we wish to convince ourselves of how utterly unfounded the accusations of non-Catholic writers are that during the Middle Ages there existed no true liberty of thought, the Church dogmatizing even in matters of pure philosophy and prescribing one orthodox form for all, if we desire to realize the sacred esteem in which the Church held human liberty in all matters of pure speculation, and the vast liberty of opinion she actually sanctioned, knowing well that, owing to the limitations of individual human intuition, genuine rivalry is a healthy sign of mental life and the means of advancing the cause of truth, then we can do so in no better way than by a look into the works of Scotus. The last of the great masters of the thirteenth century, he is by his historical position the witness to this liberty. Coming after so many men of intellectual power and being himself gifted with remarkable keenness of mind, he in his turn discusses all their theories. Owing to his custom of introducing the various opinions by making the opponents dispute among themselves and then giving his own view in the end, he permits us to assist at the interesting spectacle of these medieval tournaments, and thus to see for ourselves the true spirit of liberty and tolerance which characterized the discussions and the mental atmosphere of that day. Has the mind of the Church changed in this matter? In Scotus' own case we have a positive instance of her solicitude for this liberty of thought, when she forbade some of his

opponents, who were evidently more zealous than enlightened, to censure any point of his doctrines as heretical.²⁵ We may here also mention the official approbations of Scotus by Popes Alexander VI, Clement VII, St. Pius V, Clement VIII, Paul V, Urban VIII, Alexander VII, Innocent X, Innocent XI, Innocent XII, Benedict XIV, Pius VII, and Leo XIII. Upon antecedent grounds alone, then, we should be able to form our judgment concerning the thoroughly ecclesiastical spirit of these Scotistic tendencies, even if we had not the express declaration of Pope Pius X in his letter of April 2nd., 1904, to the Minister General of the Friars Minor, highly praising and recommending the ardor displayed within the Order in the study of the illustrious masters of the Franciscan School. We mention these facts only because of false impressions abroad in some circles, as if the doctrines of Scotus were to-day merely tolerated by the Church, and as though they represented a less correct form of ecclesiastical spirit and teaching.

St. Thomas and Duns Scotus are by an ample margin the two stars of first magnitude illuminating the medieval philosophical empyrean; but far from believing that the lustre of the one must darken that of the other, we ourselves have always regarded them as two Dioscuri, "divine sons of Zeus," the twin stars which on account of the difference in the angles of their perspective offer the most fruitful parallax to the modern observer desirous of exploring the distant realms of medieval thought.

²⁵ Cf. Decree of S. Cong. of Inquisition 1620, by express order of Pope Paul V: "Quidquid Scoti esse constaret, intactum, inviolatumque perseveret." At the same time ecclesiastical censors were forbidden to prohibit the printing of anything "quod certo constaret ex Scoto depromptum esse."



NOTE ON THE "FORMAL DISTINCTION" OF SCOTUS

Some one once remarked that the difficulty in the problem of distinctions results from the endeavour of the mind to think and to express what reality is apart from thought and independently of its consideration by the mind, whereas we can become aware of and know reality only in and through our mental activities. As a matter of fact, in the last analysis, there exist in the universe only the thinking mind and the reality it contemplates; which would seem, at first sight, to point to three possible variations of distinctions, namely, the real, the purely mental, and an intermediate one, partly objective in nature and partly subjective, to which both reality and mind contribute simultaneously.

We have a real distinction when independently of any consideration by the mind and in the real order of nature there is a plurality of things of which one is not the other. Thus the distinction between a table and a chair is a real distinction "*inter rem et rem*." But to be thus really distinct it is not necessary that these things exist separately. They may be real parts of a being which is substantially one but physically compounded, as for instance, body and soul are really distinct physical parts of the one human individual, since independently of any mental consideration the one is not the other; which proves that in nature itself there is between them a distinction "*inter rem et rem*," or a real distinction.

On the other hand we have a mental or logical distinction when there are in the mind several different concepts of one and the same thing. It depends for its existence upon our act of cognition, and is therefore found when we employ two different concepts to represent the same object. Thus when we conceive man as a rational being we have two concepts referring to one and the same formal as well as material object, one of them being a more explicit statement of the other. Such a distinction is called a purely mental distinction, or a "*distinctio rationis*"

rationcinantis," because it results from the activity of our mind representing the content of a given idea more clearly and explicitly to itself, interpreting it to itself as it were, in order to grasp its full meaning. This distinction is therefore exclusively the product of the mind's need and endeavour to realize more clearly an idea by expressing the same intrinsic content more explicitly to itself.

The third, or intermediate distinction, commonly called the virtual, is defined as "a mental distinction with a foundation in reality." Here the two concepts have the same material object, but not the same formal object. That is, they regard one and the same being, but view it under different aspects. An example would be the soul viewed as simple and as spiritual. We have here two concepts of the one thing but they differ intrinsically in formal content, both helping to give us our complete idea of the soul's nature, and each bringing before us in an explicit manner a different real aspect.

The reason why the mind thus represents one and the same physical reality by plural concepts is found partly in the perfection of the object whose single physical entity is virtually equivalent to several distinct entities; and partly in the imperfection of our mind which cannot grasp this single entity wholly by one concept, but must express it bit by bit, by many true but inadequate concepts. The things of nature are complex realities compounded of different moments of perfection, or intrinsic modes constituting so many positive aspects of their being. And virtual distinctions are the outcome of the mind's relative incapacity when confronted with this wealth of perfections belonging to an object. In its endeavour to gain a complete knowledge of this complex reality the mind must avail itself of plural concepts, each expressing a distinct perfection or different aspect of what is objectively *in rerum natura* one individual being. Thus man, whom the senses perceive as this single individual, is apprehended by the mind as a corporal substance endowed with life, sensation, and thought.

Two factors are consequently found in the virtual distinction. The first, an objective one, on the part of the reality which, though one, is yet made up of distinct real moments of perfection, on intrinsic modes. And the other, a subjective one, on the part of the mind which cannot grasp this wealth of perfections by means of one concept. In as much, then, as we

have plural concepts referring to but one reality of nature, we may call the virtual distinction a mental distinction; but, in as much as antecedently to the cognitive activity of the mind, and independently thereof, there exist in the one reality these distinct real moments, or intrinsic modes or positive aspects as the foundation and motive of our plural concepts, the virtual distinction is not a purely mental distinction, but partakes also of the nature of a real distinction. This double character is expressed in the very definition "*Distinctio virtualis est distinctio rationis, sed cum fundamento in re.*"

Now, in the opinion of some of the best known modern Scotistic scholars,¹ the virtual distinction, as just explained, coincides in substance with the formal distinction of Scotus. The difference between the two consists merely in this, that the one defines the same intermediate distinction from the subjective angle, or primarily in the terms of its subjective factor; and the other formulates it from the objective viewpoint, or primarily in the terms of its objective factor, as can be seen from a comparison of the respective definitions: "*Distinctio virtualis est distinctio rationis, sed cum fundamento in re,*" and "*Distinctio formalis est distinctio a parte rei seu ex natura rei, sed non simpliciter realis*"—"realis secundum quid" as Scotus also puts it).²

According to this opinion, St. Thomas and Duns Scotus, with their fine and penetrating minds, both analyzed the dual mixed facts implied in this intermediate distinction accurately and completely. But because of the well-known difference in mental temperament St. Thomas, the Intellectualist, saw and felt the distinction primarily as a mental distinction, and so defined it as a "distinctio rationis," admitting however that it has an antecedent and independent foundation in reality, whereas Scotus, with his more realistic temperament³ was more powerfully impressed by the objective factor and so emphasized the fact that it is a "distinctio a parte rei;" adding however that it

1 Cf. P. Gabriel Casanova, "Cursus Philosophicus," Madrid, 1894, Vol. I. p. 197, seq...

P. Alexandre Bertoni, "Le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot," Levanti, 1917. p. 167-8.

Parthenius Minges "Compendium Theologiae Dogmaticae Specialis," Ratisbon, 1921, Vol. I. p. 44, seq..

2 Rep. I. d. 45. qu. 2. N. 5-9, Paris Edit. Vol. XXII. 500b, 502 seq..

3 Cf. "Duns Scotus and St. Thomas."

was not simply a real distinction between thing and thing, but only a distinction between a *res* and its *realitates*, that is between a thing and its intrinsic modes ("formalitates"), and consequently admitting that it is a mental distinction in so far as we have two mental concepts representing one thing of nature. What the one philosopher puts "in recto" the other puts "in obliquo," and vice versa. We do not say that they used the exact set formulas we employ, but that they expounded these ideas.

But other modern Scotists of equal scholarly attainments, for instance, Cornelisse,⁴ adhering to the traditional view of their school, maintain that the formal distinction differs "toto coelo" from the virtual distinction, just as many Thomists give to the virtual distinction a more pronouncedly and exclusively mental character.

These Thomists maintain that in the virtual distinction the mind considers the same thing from different standpoints and thus multiplies concepts of one thing, that is, we apprehend the same reality as in its undivided unity equivalent to many perfections which the mind can grasp as mentally distinct aspects, but which are merely distinguishable and not actually distinct in the thing, independently of the mind. The reality of itself offers to the mind a ground for drawing the distinctions, but it contains no actual distinction of any kind.

In diametrically opposed fashion the Scotists just mentioned would give to the formal distinction a more pronouncedly and exclusively real character, maintaining that it is not a mental distinction at all, but one found objectively in the reality, inasmuch as the plural moments of perfection, or intrinsic modes, or different positive aspects exist as such in the thing antecedently to and independently of the operation of the mind. They exist "a parte rei" and are actual "ex natura rei." This would give us four different kinds of distinctions, and place the formal one midway between the virtual and the real.

But whatever may be the reader's position on this vexing and difficult problem of distinctions which comes so close to the very heart of the age-old problem of knowledge concerning the relation between reality as revealed to the intellect and reality as revealed to sense, and however honestly he may differ from

⁴ P. D. Cornelisse, "Tractatus De deo Uno Et Trino." Quaracchi, 1912, p. 197. seq..

these two Scotistic positions, the writer hopes to have succeeded in making clear that neither of them is "an inconceivable hybrid which eludes every attempt of the mind to grasp it," as Pohle calls it, nor, as Fr. Rickaby claims, an "enigma, which its proposers have no right to force upon our acceptance;" but that both are tangible presentations of inherently probable and consequently legitimate positions of keen minds who lived this ultimate problem in personal inner experience and sincerely endeavoured to fathom and to reach the truth.



NOTE ON THE "FORMA CORPOREITATIS" OF SCOTUS

THE medieval schoolmen as is well-known held the matter and form theory in the problem concerning the ultimate constitution of bodies. According to them all material substances consist of an inner union of two realities or co-principles, a primary matter capable of being indifferently one substance or another, and a substantial form determining it to be a special kind of substance, a given specific thing. And the many changes which we observe going on in nature round about us, take place because the primary matter, the passive indeterminate principle common to all corporeal substances, successively receives different determinations or substantial forms.

Originally this theory had been propounded by Aristotle. As a work of art, a statue for instance, becomes what it is because a plastic determinable material, the marble, receives within itself a determined form, similarly, making allowance for the inadequacy of analogies, Aristotle viewed every object of nature as the inner product of a passive determinable matter and a specific form causing that matter to become this determined thing. Living beings, too, are thus conceived by him as compounds of a material principle, the body, and a specific form, the soul.

Accordingly, the Scholastics distinguished three different substantial forms: (a) the elementary form, which together with primary matter constituted the four elements—fire, earth, air and water; (b) the form of the compound, called by them "mixtum," for although they were unfamiliar with modern chemical notions the Schoolmen had their own cosmological theory, according to which the four elements by combining in various ways formed the multitudinous physical compounds of nature; (c) the vital form, which by its immanent union with the body makes the latter a living being.

The compounds, then, resulting from the various combinations of the four original elements, might be inorganic

compounds constituting the members of the mineral world: or they might be organic compounds constituting the various organisms of the living world. It is here that the "*forma corporeitatis*" of Scotus comes in. In the latter case Scotus called the form of the compound a "*forma corporeitatis*," not infrequently substituting the term "*forma organica*."¹ He conceived the nature of the "*forma corporeitatis*" to be that of a substantial form whose function it was, while giving material being to the physical compound, to constitute the same an organism capable of receiving the vital form.

Such a conception is opposed to the Thomistic view concerning the unicity of the substantial form. St. Thomas maintains that a material substance can have but one substantial form, for otherwise it would belong simultaneously to two distinct species; moreover, plural substantial forms are incompatible with real unity of being. He therefore holds that in the inorganic compounds of nature, the "*forma mixti*" or new substantial form replaces the elemental forms, uniting itself directly to the primary matter of the combining elements; and likewise, that in living beings the soul, as substantial form of the body, directly unites with the "*materia prima*" of the combining primordial elements constituting the organism on its material side, replacing every previous form.

This principle of the unicity of the substantial form, introduced by St. Thomas, constitutes the metaphysical background against which the problem of the "*forma corporeitatis*" was fought out. In fact it was the real issue involved in the hotly debated question as to whether the soul was also the "*forma constitutiva corporis*" or merely its "*forma vivificativa*," a question which deeply stirred the academic circles of Paris and Oxford during the closing decades of the thirteenth century.

In agreement with the common earlier thirteenth century Scholastic opinion, and the traditions of the entire Franciscan school, Scotus maintains the possibility of plural substantial forms in one composite substance, provided they be subordinated to one another, and the compatibility of these plural forms with the real unity of the resultant being.²

¹ Ox. III. d2. qu. 3. n4. Paris Edit. vol. XIV. p. 152a. He also calls it "*Forma Carnis*" e. g. Rep. IV. d. 44. qu. I. N. 6-7; XXIV. 533a; and "*Forma Mixtionis*" e. g. Ox. IV. d. 11. qu. 3. N. 38. XVII. 415 b.

² Ox. IV. d. 11. qu. 3. N. 46. XVII. 429a.

Of course, Scotus admits the Thomistic or rather scholastic axioms, "Forma dat esse," and "Unius perfectibilis una sola est perfectio": but they do not present insurmountable speculative difficulties to him. For the substantial form, as he interpreted the matter and form theory of Aristotle, gives existence merely to the *new compound* arising, not to the material co-principle which as a substantial co-principle and physical reality, must have its own existence. (According to St. Thomas primal matter has its own real essence, but receives its existence from the form.) And if unitary existence can result from two actually existing co-principles, what difference then, as far as the possibility of real unity is concerned, whether the material co-principle to be determined by a new form be primary matter directly, or already a compound of matter and form? Nor would this constitute the resultant *new compound* simultaneously in two distinct species. What results is the *one* new higher being. Expressed somewhat differently: There can evidently be but one highest form which gives a being its ultimate, specific nature and existence; but this is not incompatible with subordinate substantial forms as principles of inferior perfection. After a given form has determined a given matter, the compound resulting, if thus destined by the "economy of nature," can in turn serve as a potential principle for a higher substantial form, and be raised by it to participation in a higher mode of being.

It may not be without interest to mention that modern Scholastics trained in chemical analysis and synthesis and biological research, are again returning to this view of plural substantial forms, and hold that the ultimate material constituents of the body remain substantially unaltered in their passage into and through and out of the cycle of man's vegetative life; that they retain their elemental substantial forms, while they assume a new *nature* by becoming parts of the one organic whole.³

Certainly, this is not exactly the "forma corporeitatis" theory, but the champions of the new "nature" theory agree with it in claiming that from the union of a plurality of substantial principles or forms, each persisting in its existence, there can arise one higher complete nature, which will be one being

³ Coffey, *Ontology*, Longmans, 1914, p. 258-268.

simply and really, "*unum ens per se et simpliciter*," and not merely an aggregate of beings in accidental unity. They agree moreover in maintaining that there are actually plural substantial forms in man.

As these modern Scholastics hold that in the light of biological science we must admit in man, along with the soul as his vital principle, the presence of the distinct and substantially unaltered material elements as concomitant and subordinate facts, so Scotus claimed that the organization of the elements represents a distinct concomitant and subordinate, but real, constituent factor of man's complete living nature. And being a distinct real fact, it has its formative principle which he called "*forma corporeitatis*." As he saw things, the organism is a definite structure (*mixtio*); and it is precisely this organization which furnishes us with a physical basis of life, for the immediate subject capable of and actually receiving the soul is not matter simply, but organized matter.

Scotus goes still farther. Biology recognizes not only distinct types of organisms, but distinguishes also in one and the same organism between its different organs, it even speaks of its tissues as differing in kind. So Scotus also, while holding one organic form for the whole organism, postulates as probable, subordinate "*formæ corporeitatis*" for its different organs or heterogeneous parts; because, he says, they manifest differing proper structures. As he puts it; "*omne organum habet determinatam mixtionem*,"⁴

As a matter of fact both St. Thomas and Scotus shared in common the scientific conceptions of their times which regarded the human body as a physical unit in the sense of a true compound or "*mixtum*," that is, in general as a mass of flesh. And both held that in this "*mixtum*" the forms of the elements combining to constitute it had been replaced by that of the compound. The difference between the two consists in this that with St. Thomas this "*forma mixti*" or carnal-coporeal form of the human body is in turn replaced by the vital form or soul. This explains why the Thomists had to postulate the eduction of the "*forma cadaverica*," a substantial form giving physical being and existence to the human body after the departure of the soul. It likewise brings out the meaning of the most widely

⁴ 4 Rep. IV. d. 43. qu. 2. N. 8. XXIV. 491a.

known of the arguments advanced by Scotus in defence of his position, namely, his assertion of the existence of the "forma corporeitatis" because after man's death, that is, after the departure of the soul or vital form, we have according to the plain evidence of facts the same human body or material reality we had before; that consequently the soul is not the material form of the human body.⁵

According to Scotus, the human body as a material reality possesses its own material form giving it the corporeal nature and the physical properties going with it. And the soul is not the "forma constitutiva corporis," but merely its "forma vivificativa seu informativa." With St. Thomas the soul, replacing every previous form and assuming its functions, unites itself directly to "materia prima;" with Scotus the "forma corporeitatis" has the double function of giving to the human body its physical being as a corporeal reality, and its existence as an organic reality thus constituting it the immediate physical basis or potential material co-principle capable of receiving the soul.

Today, Scholastic philosophers no longer regard the human body as a unit in the sense of a massive compound, but as a sum of material constituents, in life in immanent union with and under the formal dynamic control of the soul. Substituting the modern biological notions concerning the nature of the body for the medieval, it will become apparent that the old "forma corporeitatis" dispute is *substantially* identical with the new "nature theory" problem. The same fundamental problem which troubled the minds of the medieval schoolmen under a new name is exercising the mind of worshippers at the shrine of reflective thought today, the question concerning the nature of the mysterious bond linking two worlds, the material body and the spiritual soul in true unity of being:

"Granted that the soul is the immanent formal principle which by its union with the body constitutes the human individual, does this necessitate that it be also the material form of the body with its complex constituents, giving to this body its physical being as a material substance, or does the body as a material reality possess its own existence in this union?"

That which Scotus defended basing himself upon such aids of observation and speculation as his day afforded him, is de-

5 Ox. IV. d. 11. qu. 3. N. 54. XVII. 436a.

fended today by the champions of the new "nature theory" in the name of the facts brought to light by the physical and biological sciences of our day, and is denied, then as now, by Thomists in the name of the asserted metaphysical implications of the principle of the "unicity of the substantial form."

In conclusion, the "forma corporeitatis" presents us with one more instance of how the old medieval phrases and theories, though at first sight, they may appear strange to us and foreign to our modern modes of thought, upon deeper acquaintance and penetration of their historical envelopments quite generally reveal to us inquiries and movements of thought which are in reality identical with the very motives underlying the living problems of our own day.

*FR. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M.,
ST. BONAVENTURE'S SEMINARY,
ST. BONAVENTURE, N. Y.*



FRANCISCAN STUDIES

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada.

BOARD OF EDITORS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. FERDINAND GRUEN, O. F. M.

REV. ERMIN SCHNEIDER, O. F. M.

REV. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M., Ph. D.

REV. JOSEPH F. RHODE, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., S. S. L.

REV. SIXTUS LIGARIO, O. F. M.

REV. CYRIL PIONTEK, O. F. M., J. C. D.

REV. ROBERT MOORE, O. F. M.

REV. BEDE HESS, O. M. C., S. T. D.

REV. CYRIL KITA, O. M. C., Ph. D., S. T. D.

REV. THEODOSIUS FOLEY, O. M. Cap.

REV. FRANCIS LAING, O. M. Cap.

Publication Office, 54 Park Place, New York, N. Y.

Correspondence in regard to contributions should be sent to Editorial Office, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 4

APRIL, 1926

VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

His Life and Works

By EDWIN DORZWEILER, O. M. Cap., M. A.

THE DOCTRINE OF VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

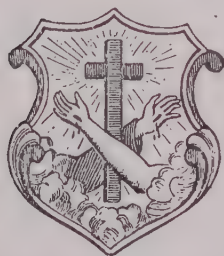
Concerning the Causality of the Sacraments

By RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. M. C., S. T. D.

THE TEACHING OF VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

Concerning the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady

By VINCENT MAYER, O. M. C.



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

NIHIL OBSTAT
FRANCIS J. KALUZNY,
Censor Librorum

IMPRIMATUR
✠ WILLIAM TURNER, D. D.
Bishop of Buffalo

Buffalo, N. Y., April 29, 1926

VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

EDWIN DORZWEILER, O. M. CAP., A. M.

JOHN Duns Scotus is the great Franciscan whose influence on philosophy and theology continues to this day. He lived and taught at Oxford, Paris, and Cologne, and wrote a number of works. An Oxford document¹ yields this bit of information: on July 26, 1300, the Provincial of the English Franciscan province requested the Bishop of Lincoln to confer the faculty of hearing confession upon twenty-two of his subjects. In the list submitted by the Provincial we read, in the sixteenth place, the name of "Johannes Douns." The jurisdiction was granted to eight only; Scotus was among those to whom it was denied.

Another important document makes mention of Duns. It is a letter of Gonsalvus de Vallebona, General of the Order, addressed to the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in Paris, and bearing the date of November 18 (XIV Kal. Dec.), 1304.² The Guardian is asked to present two Friars of the English Province to the University of Paris for the doctor's degree. The letter continues to speak of Scotus in this wise: "dilectum in Christo patrem Johannem Scotum, de cuius vita laudabili, scientia excellenti ingenioque subtilissimo aliisque insignibus conditionibus suis partim experientia longa, partim fama quae ubique divulgata est, informatum sum ad plenum, dilectioni vestrae assigno, etc."

The illustrious teacher died at Cologne, November 8, 1308. A tablet containing the names of the deceased brethren at Cologne bears the inscription: "D. P. Fr. Johannes Scotus, sacrae theologiae professor, doctor subtilis nominatus, quondam lector Coloniae, qui obiit anno 1308, VI Idus Novembris."³

According to Wadding⁴ and Hugo Cavellus⁵ the Subtle Doctor was born in 1274. This is, however, scarcely tenable. In

1 A. Wood, "Antiquities of the City of Oxford," 1890, II, 389.

2 Petrus Rodulphius, "Historiarum seraphicae religionis lib. tres," Venedis, 1589, f. 325v; Wadding, "Annales Min. ad ann. 1304," n. 32; Denifle, "Chart. Univ. Paris.," II, 117; Little, "The Grey Friars in Oxford," Oxford, 1892, 38.

3 Wadding, "Vita Scoti, Opera Omnia Scoti," I, §34.

4 "Vita Scoti," beginning of Scoti... in I et II Sent. quaestiones, Antwerp, 1620.

5 Ehrle, "Archiv fuer Litt. u. KG," etc., VI, 129 Annot.

1300 Scotus was recommended by his Provincial as a candidate for the jurisdiction of hearing confession. Now the Constitution of the Order of 1292 prescribed⁶ that no Friar be authorized to hear confession before he had completed his thirtieth year. Accordingly Scotus must have been at least thirty years old at the time, and hence was born not later than 1270. When Seeberg⁷ thinks that Scotus was born between 1265-1270, he is still safeguarding the old traditions which tell us that the Subtle Doctor died young.

England, Scotland, and Ireland contend for the honor of having produced Duns Scotus. Hubert Klug, O. M. Cap.,⁸ cites a number of good reasons in favor of Scotland, and Cardinal Ehrle and A. Callebaut, O. F. M.,⁹ hold the same opinion. Cardinal Ehrle warns against concluding to the birthplace from the name Duns or Douns. He claims that "Johannes de Duns" is very rare in the early MSS., while this form of designation was the ordinary one in those days.

The childhood and education of the Franciscan Master are wrapped in darkness. William of Ware¹⁰ is commonly regarded as the teacher of Duns. However, Father Pelster, S. J., has shown that this is by no means certain.¹¹ Nor have we any record of when and where Scotus entered the Order of St. Francis. Scotus lived and taught at Oxford. On the strength of an old codex Pelster concludes that Scotus left England for Paris not later than the autumn of 1302, and that he remained at the University of Paris till 1304, in which year he was presented as a candidate for the doctorate. Recently A. Callebaut, O. F. M., has advanced the novel opinion that Scotus studied at Paris from about 1293-1296. He has chiefly two reasons for his opinion. Gonsalvus de Vallebona states in the letter quoted above that he was fully acquainted with Scotus from an "experientia longa." Where did he make this acquaintance? At the University of Paris, for it has been ascertained that Gonsalvus taught there during the last decade of the 13th century. The presence of Scotus in Paris at this time is further

6 "Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus," Leipzig, 1900, 38.

7 "Franziskanische Studien," II, 1915, 377-385.

8 "Archiv. Franc. Hist." X, 1917, 3-16; XIII, 1920, 78-88.

9 De Wulf, "Histoire de la philosophie medievale," 1912, 450; Ueberweg-Baumgartner, "Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie der patristischen und scholastischen Zeit," Berlin, 1915, 515.

10 "Franziskanische Studien," X, 1923, 2 ss.

11 "Archiv. Franc. Hist.," XVII, 1924, 3-12.

made probable, if not certain, by a statute of the University prescribing that no one be allowed lecture on the Sentences who had not completed nine years in the study of theology, in the case of mendicants, four years at the University of Paris and five in the schools of the Order. And we know that Scotus taught at Paris in 1302. Thus new light is thrown on the letter of Gonsalvus. Contrary to common opinion Pelster holds that Scotus did not go from Paris to Cologne, but returned to his province in England to complete his chief work, the *Opus Oxoniense*. In 1308 Scotus was sent to Cologne. There he died in the same year in the odor of sanctity.

A complete edition of the works of Scotus, in 12 folio volumes, was first published by Wadding at Lyons. The commentaries of Lycetus, Cavellus, Poncius, and Hiquaeus were included. In 1891-1895 a reprint of Wadding's edition appeared at Paris, in 26 volumes 4to. Not all the writings ascribed to Scotus in these editions are authentic. The following are certainly authentic: *Opus Oxoniense*, *Reportata Parisiensia*, *De Primo Principio*, *Quodlibeta*, *Quaestiones super XII Libros Metaphysicos Aristotelis*. The following are not authentic: *De Rerum Principio*, *Theoremata*, *De Perfectione Statuum*, *Conclusiones Metaphysicae*, *Grammatica Speculativa*, *Meteorologicorum Libri IV*, *Expositio in VIII Libros Physicorum*. The rest are either spurious or doubtful.

A critical edition of the works of Scotus is the desideratum of all who are interested in medieval learning. The fulfilment of this great need is only a question of time. The Most Rev. Bernardine Klumper, O. F. M., Minister General of the Order, has pledged himself and the Friars Minor to the speedy inception of this labor of love, and will entrust the task to the scholarly Fathers of Quaracchi.

We have but scant knowledge of the life of Duns Scotus. Contemporaneous sources do not speak of him, and much of what we read in the accounts of him in later centuries can hardly be credited. In the absence of definite information legends grew up around his name and supplied what a devoted following found lacking.¹²

And few writers have disclosed themselves less in their works than the Subtle Doctor. The only manifestation of self

¹² The "Vita del B. Giovanni Duns Scoto, Dottore Sottile e Marliano," 1921, xiv 399 pp., by Egidio M. Giusto, O. F. M., does not pretend to be a critical biography. It is a collection of material which later writers might use to advantage for constructing something more definite.

with Scotus is the knight clad in mail *cap-a-pie* doing battle for Truth. He commands a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and the Fathers, the philosophers and theologians of his time and former times, and is fully acquainted with the sciences of physics, astronomy, and mathematics. But his peculiar greatness lies in the keenness of his mind which enabled him to pursue, with a safe and unfaltering step, a train of thought through a maze of reasons and objections.

The system of Scotistic thought once flourished at all the centres of European learning; it has been revived in our day and promises to minister again, from the richness of its lore, to the sciences of philosophy and theology.



THE DOCTRINE OF VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

CONCERNING THE CAUSALITY OF THE SACRAMENTS

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. M. C., S. T. D.

IN accordance with the Council of Trent¹ all theologians agree that the sacraments produce their effect, provided the recipient place no obstacle (*obex*) in the way, i. e., "*ex opere operato*"². This primary effect of the sacrament is sanctifying

Sacramentum,

Res, Res et

Sacramentum

and sacramental grace; the secondary effect in three of the Sacraments is the character.³

The Scholastics distinguish between the *sacramentum*, the *res*, and the *res et sacramentum*.

By the *sacramentum* they mean the external sign, i. e., the *materia et forma* of the Sacrament, e. g., in Baptism, the pouring of the water and the words: "I baptize thee, etc."; by the *res* they mean grace; and by the *res et sacramentum*, the character.

This primary and secondary effect is produced *ex opere operato*, that is, irrespective of the dignity of the minister conferring the Sacrament or of the degree of devotion of the

Physical, Moral

or Juridical

Influence

recipient. But just *how* do the Sacraments produce this effect *ex opere operato*—in other words, what kind of influence does the outward sign (the *sacramentum* in the sense of

the Scholastics) exert on grace (the *res*) and the *res et sacramentum* (character) in producing the same? Is this influence physical and immediate, e. g., the power of steam or electricity in producing motion; or moral and mediate as, e. g., that exercised by the beggar, who through his pleadings obtains an alms; or conventional, intentional or juridical ("*imperative*," "*exigitive*," as e. g., the currency bill which "*certifies* that there has been deposited in the Treasury of the United States of America one silver dollar *payable to the bearer on demand*," or the deed of a house which denotes the title of possession on the part of the owner, or the bestowal of a certain dignity through the conferring of a seal of office?

1 Sess. VII. Can. 6, 7, 8.

2 Cf. among others, Franzelin. "Tractatus de Sacr." Th. 7; Pesch. "De Sac." p. 46.

3 Cf. Pesch, "Prael. Dog." VII, p. 42-89.

The Thomistic School, following Cajetan⁴, Bellarmine,⁵ Suarez,⁶ Gregorius de Valentia,⁷ Ripalda,⁸ among the earlier theologians, and Schätzler,⁹ Oswald,¹⁰ and Buceroni,¹¹ among the modern theologians, teach or at least favor the physical causality of the Sacraments.¹²

The Scotistic School together with such eminent theologians as Melchior Canus,¹⁴ Vasquez,¹⁵ Cardinal de Lugo,¹⁶ Lessius,¹⁷ and especially Card. Franzelin¹⁸ propound and defend the moral causality.¹⁹

The third manner of producing an effect, i. e., conventionally, intentionally, or juridically by means of what are termed *signa practica* as in the examples of the dollar bill, deed and seal above stated as a theory for explaining the *modus causandi sacramentorum* or the *causalitas sacramentorum*, was proposed and defended especially by Billot,²⁰ Lehmkuhl,²¹ and Müller.²²

There is a fourth theory concerning the efficacy of the Sacraments, viz: that the Sacraments do not really produce grace, but are only *conditiones* or *causae sine quibus non* as, e. g., light is a condition for correct writing or proper working; or Baptism is a *conditio sine qua non necessitate medi* of one's entrance into the Kingdom of God;²³ or sorrow is a requisite for the remission of sin. This theory was proposed by some of the earlier Scholastics such as Durandus²⁴ and Petrus Alliaco.²⁵ St. Bonaventure²⁶ is included among these by some authors.²⁷

4 In 3 p. q. 62 a.1 et 4.

5 1. 2. c. 11.

6 Disp. 9. s. 2. n. 14.

7 T. 4. disp. 3. q. 3. p. 1.

8 De ente supernaturali, 1. 2. disp. 40 s. 3. n. 13.

9 "Die Wirksamkeit der Sakramente." p. 222.

10 "Die Sakramente." 1. Bd. 1 Th. §. 4.

11 De causal. Sac. §. 11.

12 Cf. Mueller—de Sac. in Gen. Opus. Manus. Innsbruck. p. 154.

13 Cf. Mueller l. c.; Hurter, Compend. theol. Dog. III p. 222. sqq.

14 Relect. de Sacram. in genere p. 4. concl. 6.

15 In 3 p. q. 62. a. 4. vel d. 132. c. 5.

16 De. Sac. d. 4. s. 4.

17 In 3. q. 62. a. 4.

18 De Sac. th. 10, I.

19 Cf. Mueller l. c. p. 170 sqq.

20 De Sac. th. 7.

21 Kirchenlexikon X, 2. 1502-1504.

22 Diss. Mscr. De. Sac. N. L.

23 John III 3.

24 In 4 d. q. 4.

25 In 4, d. 1. q. 1. c. 1.

26 In 4, d. 1. q. 4.

27 Cf. Mueller l. c. p. 162-163; Hurter l. c. p. 222.

Of these four theories the last named is unanimously rejected by present day theologians on the following grounds. It virtually denies a real efficacious influence of the *sacramentum* on the *res*; it fails to distinguish sufficiently the efficacy of the sacramentals of the Old Law from the Sacraments of the New; and finally, seems to conflict with the doctrine of the Council of Trent concerning the efficacy of the Sacraments *ex opere operato*, for a *conditio sine qua non* is defined as: "*id quod requiritur, ut causa agat, quin actione sua effectum causae producat*"²⁸ and hence, as St. Thomas rightly concludes in arguing against this theory, the Sacrament would be only "*causa per accidens*," as, e. g., a house which is white merely because a white man chanced to paint it.²⁹

What was the doctrine of the two great Scholastics, Thomas of Aquin and Duns Scotus, concerning the efficacy of the Sacraments? St. Thomas, as is quite often the case in other

Doctrine of St. Thomas

questions, is quoted by each of the defenders of the first three theories. Hurter says on this point: "*Quod S. Thomam attinet, alii aliter eum interpretantur teste Lugo*³⁰ *etiam inter ipsos Thomistas.*"³¹ Pesch says: "*Utrum vero S. Thomas in posterioribus Scriptis moralem tantum an etiam physicam sacramentorum causalitatem docuerit, non convēnit inter doctores.*"³²

The same applies to Scotus. Suarez claims the Doctor Subtilis held the Sacraments are merely *conditiones sine quibus non*; likewise Dom. Sotus,³³ Reinhold,³⁴ and Tanquery.³⁵ Vasquez,³⁶

Doctrine of Scotus

although inclined to agree with Suarez, nevertheless claims that Scotus' doctrine is to be distinguished from that of Durandus,³⁷ Occam, and Gabriel Biel. Sasse is of the opinion that Scotus held the moral causality,³⁸ whereas Hurter leaves the question open.³⁹ So

28 Cf. Reinstadler, "Elementa Phil. Scholast." p. 346.

29 "Sed hoc non videtur sufficere ad solvende dicta sanctorum. Causa enim sine qua non, si nihil omnino faciat ad inducendum effectum vel disponendo vel meliorando quantum ad rationem causandi, nihil habebit supra causas per accidens; sicut album est causa domus, si aedificator sit albus." (In 4 d. 1. q. 1 a. 4.) cf. Summa III q. 62 a. 1. and 6.

30 Disp. 4. s. 5. n. 98 ss.

31 L. c. 227.

32 L. c. p. 66.

33 In 4 dist. 1. q. 3. a. 1.

34 L. c.

35 Syn. Theol. Dogm. II 217.

36 In III Sent. S. Thom. disp. 131 c. 1.

37 Cf. Pesch, I. s. 58, 2.

38 De Sac. I. p. 79.

39 Theol. Dogm. Comp. III, p. 221. "Ad eam opinionem (sci. moralem) accedere videtur."

does Pesch.⁴⁰ All agree that Scotus rejected the physical causality.

The purpose of the present essay is: First, to show that Scotus taught a real *efficacia sacramentorum*; secondly, to refute the assertion of those who claim that Scotus taught the Sacraments are merely "*conditiones sine quibus non*;" and thirdly, to propose a theory which to us seems the most probable and harmonious with his own words as contained not in the one or other passage but in all of his authentic works taken as a whole.

It must not seem superficial to prove that Scotus was in agreement with the Church, especially with the later teaching of the Council of Trent, and taught a real *causalitas sacramentorum*; for although this is not the main purpose of our work, it is too closely connected with it to be omitted. This infallible teaching of Mother Church must be our guide in examining every opinion that attempts to explain the *modus causandi sacramentorum*. If the theory is in harmony with the teaching of the Church, it can be considered at least probable, provided, of course, it is not encumbered by other difficulties. If, on the other hand, it is opposed to her teaching, it must *a priori* be rejected as unsound and unsafe. Hence, if Scotus expounded a theory which cannot be considered consistent with the Canons of the Church, as e. g., the opinion that the sacraments produce grace merely as *conditiones sine quibus non*, then his doctrine is untenable; if on the other hand, he taught another theory—if he saw in the sacraments more than mere conditions, something that will allow us to conclude a real *causalitas*, we can admit his opinion at least as probable, particularly since the Church has not defined anything concerning the *modus causandi* of the sacraments.

PART ONE

What is the Catholic doctrine concerning the *causalitas sacramentorum*? The Council of Trent has spoken clearly on this point in three of its canons. In Canon 6, Sess. VII we read:

**Council of
Trent. Obex**

"*Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta N. L. non continere gratiam, quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferri. . . . A. S.*"

⁴⁰ L. c. p. 53.

Concerning the doctrine expressed in this Canon, Scotus writes: "Ultimum autem de potentia signi vel Sacramenti est quod semper habeat secum suum signatum, quantum est ex parte sui; sic autem est in proposito. Semper enim Deus assistet suo signato, ut veraciter et efficaciter insit, quod demonstrat, nisi sit impedimentum ex parte suscipientis, et ipso sublato statim inest signatum."⁴¹ Scotus therefore teaches as long as no impediment (obex) is placed by the recipient of the Sacraments they will invariably produce their effect.

Canon 7 of the Council (l. c.) reads thus: "Si quis dixerit, non dari gratiam per hujusmodi Sacramenta semper, et omnibus, quantum est ex parte Dei, estiamsi rite ea suscipiant, sed aliquando, et aliquibus, A. S." Scotus says the same when he teaches:⁴² "Sacramentum est signum signatum repræsentans et semper habens secum suum signatum quantum ex se." He says the same more clearly in these words: "Est ergo signum verum habens semper, quantum est ex parte sui, suum signatum et gratiam quam significat;" and again: "Signum enim istud ita est verum et efficax, licet ad placitum, quod semper habet secum quod significat; et non quod quandoque non inest, sed semper quod inest quantum est in se."⁴³ The doctrine of the Council could not be stated more plainly.

Canon 8 finally reads thus: "Si quis dixerit, per ipsa N. L. sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, A. S." That Scotus is in conformity with the Church likewise on this point is clear from the distinction he makes between the Sacraments of the New Law and the ceremonials of the Old Law. "Ceremonialia illa, quae non sunt Sacramenta, ut immolare victimas pacificas, orare et jejunare, et hujusmodi nec ex pactione divina nec etiam ex virtute propria conferebant gratiam; sicut nec ceremonialia nostra, ut abstinere a carnibus diebus veneris, conferunt gratiam virtute propria *operis operati*;⁴⁴ and again: "Oblationes etiam, quae erant actus latriae, promittebant gratiam et signabant Christum, qui erat vera hostia immolanda Deo Patri pro genere humano; talia enim non conferebant gratiam virtute propria, scilicet *operis operati*, sed virtute motus interioris."⁴⁵

⁴¹ In. Lib. IV d. 1. q. IV. Sc. V.

⁴² In D. I. Q. V.

⁴³ L. c.

⁴⁴ D. I. q. IV. Sc. IV.

⁴⁵ D. I. q. IV. Sc. III.

We will add two other texts in which this "vera causalitas" is taught. In d. II. q. I, Scotus teaches: "Omne Sacramentum est causa efficiens, et demonstrativum pro praesenti" (i. e., in contradistinction to the signum rememorativum of the past and prognosticum of the future). Finally in D. I. q. II, he says: "Item illa sensibilia plura vel unum in quo instituitur Sacramentum, vel signum, vel habet convenientiam naturalem ad significandum ipsum signatum, cujusmodi sunt nomina hebraea, imposita ab Adam, qui imposuit rebus secundum convenientiam earum naturales ad res, ut creditur; vel secundum convenientiam ad placitum, ut haec vox 'homo' significat naturam humanam ad placitum, nam naturaliter non plus rem unam quam aliam significat; et secundum hoc dico quod Deus sacramentum instituit ut esset signum ex instituyente ad placitum, *verum et efficax et demonstrativum* in uno sensibili et visibili, vel audibili, vel in pluribus habentibus similitudinem naturalem ad signatum, ut ablutio exterior, quae est sacramentum Baptismi, et fit in aqua et verbis, significat ablutionem animae interiorem. Similiter in Eucharistia sensibilis panis exterior, qui naturaliter nutrit, significat animae nutritionem, et refectionem interiorem: vel in uno sensibili non habente similitudinem naturalem ad signatum, ut patet in Matrimonio, ubi tantum sunt verba quae signant interiorum consensum animorum tantum ad placitum. Congruum ergo erat Deum instituere aliquod signum sensibile, *significans ex institutione veraciter et demonstrative* gratiam invisibilem in uno sensibili vel pluribus habente vel habentibus convenientiam naturalem, vel ad placitum cum ipso signato, et haec est descriptio et definitio Sacramenti data de re, quam significat hoc nomen Sacramentum."⁴⁶

Scotus not only teaches a marked difference between the ceremonies of the Old Law and the Sacraments of the New in virtue of the manner in which they produce their effect, the

Sacraments not mere Receptacles of Grace former *ex opere operantis*, the latter *ex opere operato*, but likewise denies that the Sacraments are mere receptacles of grace like, e. g., a pail containing water. In D. I. q. IV, n. 8., Scotus says: "Deus pepigit assistere Sacramentis ut conferrent quod signant et non habent tantum rationem receptivi respectu gratiae;" and again in n. 9: "Ergo ille qui inducit dispositionem non habentem rationem receptivi respectu

⁴⁶ D. I. q. II. Sc. I.

formae, dicatur habere efficaciam respectu formae, sicut tu (St. Thomas of Aquin) ponis de aqua, quod causat gratiam in anima, multo magis Sacramentum et ablutio instrumentalis, quae est dispositio ulterior non in *rationem receptivi*, diceretur aliquo modo *causare gratiam*, et ita secundum hanc viam facilius potest sustineri *Sacramenta dare gratiam*, quam secundum priorem."

Scotus not only holds that the Sacraments are not the mere receptacles of grace (the doctrine of William of Auxerre—Gulielmus Antisiodorensis) but furthermore teaches that they possess a real *active* efficacy in the production of their effect: "Licet enim ablutio sit passio respectu corporis, non tamen respectu gratiae, sed est quaedam *dispositio activa* respectu ejus ex pactione divina, sicut ipsi (Thomists) ponunt de ornatu; ergo habet rationem *efficientis et activi* respectu gratiae."⁴⁷ The *ornatus* of which Scotus here speaks is an *effectus praeivus* to grace (concerning which we shall speak in the third part) held by the older Thomists, and corresponds to the character in the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders.⁴⁸ Scotus in the last passage quoted is arguing against the Thomists ("sicut ipsi ponunt de ornatu"). At the same time, however, he admits with them a real efficacy on the part of the *materia* and *forma* in the production of grace, they through a *terminus medius*, Scotus *immediate*, i. e., without a *terminus medius*. Hence in union with them he draws the same conclusion: "Ergo habet rationem efficientis et activi respectu gratiae." The Thomists however admit a real efficacy of the sacraments, a *causalitas physica*.⁴⁹ Hence, unless violence be used to misconstrue his very words and line of argument it must be admitted that Scotus does likewise, for he says: "sicut ipsi ponunt de ornatu" (l. c.).

Where Scotus argues against the *effectus praeivus* as proposed by St. Thomas⁵⁰ in his Commentary on the Sentences of Peter of Lombardy and the earlier Thomists (an opinion no longer held by theologians)⁵¹ he speaks of a *dispositio activa* quae *reducitur ad causam efficientem*," and of a "violenta activitas

47 D. I. q. IV.

48 Cf. Pesch. l. c. p. 65.

49 Cf. Pesch. l. c. p. 64.

50 In. 4. D. I. q. 1. a. 4.

51 Cf. Pesch. l. c. p. 65. Even St. Thomas no longer mentions this "effectus praeivus" in his later work, the Summa; for which reason many are of the opinion that the Angelic Doctor tacendo retracted it. Cf. III q. 62. a. 1.

(quae) agit ad inductionem illius substantiae." "Alteratio praecedens inductionem formae substantialis necessario non per se terminatur ad substantiam, ut ad per se terminum intrinsecum, sed ad qualitatem in ea, et tamen dicitur aliquo modo causa substantiae, non formalis. Patet quia tunc substantia esset per se qualitas; nec finalis quia praecedit eam; nec materialis, quia quando substantia inducitur, tunc cessat alteratio; ergo ut *dispositio activa reducitur ad causam efficientem*; nec ista dispositio activa respectu formae substantialis causat aliquam dispositionem aliam a se respectu illius substantiae, sed *per violentam illam activitatem*, quam habet, agit ad inductionem illius substantiae. Similiter in proposito. Sacramenta non causant in anima vel in se aliquam dispositionem ad aliquem terminum respectu gratiae praeter seipsa."⁵² Surely the words "*dispositio activa quae reducitur ad causam efficientem*" and "*violenta activitas*" must be construed as signifying a real efficacy on the part of the *materia* and *forma* in the production of grace in distinction from a mere passive reception or a *conditio sine qua non* (of which we shall say more in the second part).

Our fourth argument is taken from the texts, quoted above, in which Scotus shows that the difference between the Ceremonies of the Old Law and the Sacraments of the New consists in the fact that in the former **Ceremonies and Sacraments** "*propter bonum motum interiorem datur gratia (ex opere operantis)*,"⁵³ while in the latter the effect is produced "*ex virtute propria*" and "*ex opere operato*."⁵⁴

These four arguments sustained by quotations from the Doctor Subtilis prove conclusively that Scotus taught a *vera causalitas sacramentorum*, and that there is no opposition between his doctrine and that of the Council of Trent.

After these several proofs does it not seem necessary *a priori* to exclude from the works of Scotus any doctrine that stands in open and pronounced contradiction to his clear teaching of the true "efficacia Sacramentorum?" Or shall we **Negative Argument** say that such a sharp mind as Scotus of whom Hurter says: "*Negari nequit Scotum sagacissimi fuisse ingenii, quod omnes fatentur, et admodum critici*,"⁵⁵

⁵² L. IV d. 1. q. IV Sc. IV.

⁵³ D. I. q. IV. Sch. IV.

⁵⁴ L. c.

⁵⁵ Nomenclator, IV, 367.

could not see that a doctrine like that of the Sacraments being merely "conditiones sine quibus non" stands in direct opposition to his own teaching of a vera efficacia? If other men, e. g., Durandus, understood this and consequently denied a vera causalitas how much more easily would not Scotus have seen the incompatibility of these two doctrines? Durandus, e. g., says: "In Sacramentis non est aliqua virtus causativa gratiae, characteris vel cujuscunque dispositionis seu ornatus, sed (in opposition to this vera causalitas) sunt causae sine quibus non confertur gratia."⁵⁶ St. Bonaventure after referring to this opinion writes: "Est et aliorum magnorum magistrorum circa hoc opinio dicentium, quod in Sacramentis non sit causalitas, nec virtus aliqua effectiva seu dispositiva ad gratiam."⁵⁷ A similar doctrine was taught by Henry of Ghent (Henricus Gandavensis),⁵⁸ William of Auxerre,⁵⁹ and Peter of Ailly.⁶⁰ How far Scotus is removed from drawing such conclusions is evident from the above named four points. This negative argument serves as an apt connecting link between the first and the second part of our treatise. In this latter we shall investigate from a positive point of view whether Scotus taught, as some theologians hold,⁶¹ the theory that the sacraments are "causae sine quibus non."

PART TWO

DID SCOTUS TEACH THAT THE SACRAMENTS ARE "CAUSAE SINE QUIBUS NON?"

In order to get a clear idea of this theory let us hear St. Thomas expound it. "Omnes coguntur," says the Angelic Doctor, "ponere Sacramenta Novae Legis aliquo modo causas gratiae esse propter auctoritates quae hoc expresse dicunt. Sed diversi diversimodo eas causas ponunt. Quidam enim dicunt quod non sunt causae aliquod facientes in anima, sed causae sine quibus non, quia increata virtus, quae sola effectus ad gratiam pertinentes in anima facit, Sacramentis assistit per quamdam Dei ordinationem et quasi pactionem. Sic enim ordinavit et quasi

**Exposition
by St. Thomas**

⁵⁶ In. IV. Sent. d. I., q. IV.

⁵⁷ In IV Sent. D. I. q. IV. St. Thomas commenting on this opinion says: "Iste modus non transcendit rationem signi." III q. 62. a. 1.

⁵⁸ Quat. Lib. IV q. 37.

⁵⁹ Summa, L. 4. tr. 3.

⁶⁰ In 4. D. I. q. I. cf. Mueller, l. c. p. 164.

⁶¹ Cf. above p.

pepigit Deus, ut, qui Sacramenta accipiunt, simul ab eo gratiam accipiant, non quasi Sacramenta faciant aliquid ad hoc. Et est simile de illo, qui accipit denarium plumbium, facta tali ordinatione, ut qui habuerit unum de talis denariis, habeat centum libras a rege, qui quidem denarius non dat illas centum libras, sed solus rex accipienti ipsum."⁶² We shall now examine this definition and exposition of St Thomas in detail, and see how far Scotus agrees with, or rather differs, from it.

The first element of this theory is that the Sacraments "*non sunt causae quasi aliquid facientes in anima;*" or put differently, the materia and forma have in themselves no influence in the

Refutations by Scotus

production of grace. What does Scotus say on this point? In D. I. q. IV, n. 8. he writes:

"Habet—Sacramentum quandam *actionem naturalem*, ut aqua cum verbis in Sacramento Baptismi abluere habet corpus, quae dici potest *actio instrumentalis respectu gratiae*, quia *significat* ablutionem animae interiores per gratiam quae est ibi actio principalis, ut sic Sacramentum proprie dicatur *dispositio activa naturalis* respectu gratiae, *reducta ad genus causae efficientis*." Accordingly, Scotus does not teach as the defenders of the theory "*causae sine quibus non*" "*quod non sunt causae quasi aliquid facientes ad hoc*," but on the contrary: 1) "*habet Sacramentum quandam actionem naturalem*," i. e., there is a natural and active relationship between the Sacrament and the effect. 2) This "*naturalis actio*" "*potest dici actio instrumentalis*." A "*conditio sine qua non*" however is not an active instrument in the production of an effect but merely a passive requirement for the result to be obtained. "*Conditio est id*," says Donat,⁶³ "*quod necessarium est, ut causa effectum producat, sed ipsum non influit; ut remotio impedimento- rum, applicatio causae*." If the conditio is so necessary that it cannot be supplied by anything else, it is called a "*conditio sine qua non*."⁶⁴ Hence, since Scotus terms the influence of the sacramentum on grace an "*actio instrumentalis*" he certainly implies more than a mere "*conditio sine qua non*." 3) This *actio naturalis* is called *instrumentalis quia significat* ablutionem animae interiores per gratiam quae est ibi actio principalis," i. e., "*significando causat*," as we shall see later. 4) This "*na-*

⁶² In. IV, d. i. q. 1. a. 4. cf. Summa III, q. 62. a. 1.

⁶³ Met. Gen. Ed. II p. 129.

⁶⁴ Cf. Donat. I. c.

turalis actio instrumentalis quae significando causat" is the reason why the Sacrament may be properly called a "*dispositio activa respectu gratiae*." Where there is an "*activa dispositio*" however, a mere passive cooperation in the production of grace is necessarily excluded. A "*conditio sine qua non*" is defined as "*id, quod requiritur (passive cooperation) ut causa agat, quin actione sua effectum causae producat.*"⁶⁵ But Scotus says the Sacraments do produce their effect in so far as they are an *activa dispositio* towards that end. This "*dispositio activa*" finally 5) is not merely *aptitudinalis* but *exigativa*, that is to say, after the matter and the form of the Sacrament have validly been placed, the soul is not only disposed to receive grace—as e. g., a cellar after it has been dug is a fit place for the storing of vegetables—but actually *demand*s grace, which is not true of the cellar in regard to the vegetables. This exigency (of which more will be said in the third part) Scotus says can aptly be called a sort of "*causa efficiens*," "*dispositio exigativa reducta ad genus causae efficientis.*"

This one passage alone contains five elements incompatible with the "*causae sine quibus non*" theory. We shall now examine each of these elements in detail.

1) Scotus says "*habet Sacramentum actionem naturalem.*" Therefore the signum externum has something to do with the production of grace, for in truth an *actio* includes in its very nature an interior activity in contradistinction to

Actio nature an interior activity in contradistinction to
Naturalis a *mera potentia*, for *actio* is defined as "*potentia reducta ad actum*," or as Limburg puts it: "*actio est actuale virtutis efficiendi exercitium.*"⁶⁶ By this expression however, Scotus does not mean to infer that the "*signum externum*" alone and on its own merits is capable of producing grace—nothing is more foreign to his mind. "*Sacramenta sunt signa effectiva et vera demonstrativa in signata, non quia dant gratiam (i. e., by themselves) vel quia ab iis sit gratia, sed a Deo per ipsa.*" A misunderstanding of this and similar passages may have induced certain authors to conclude that Scotus taught the theory "*causae sine quibus non.*" However unjustly, for Scotus wishes here only to proclaim the Catholic doctrine, namely, that the Sacraments work *ex opere operato*, and not *ex opere operantis*. He wishes to say that the Sacraments are

⁶⁵ Reinstadler, I. c. 346.

⁶⁶ Metaphys. Lib. V. 310. 67. De Sac. Caus. p. 4.

instruments which God as the "causa principalis" uses to produce grace.

2) This he explicitly declares in the second element, when he says that this *actio naturalis Sacramenti* is an *actio instrumentalis*. A "causa sine qua non" however, does not possess a positive and active cooperation in the production of an effect, for as Bucceroni says: "*conditio in se nullam habet moralem dignitatem, sed est dispositio mera negativa, sacramentalis gratiae obicem removens.*"⁶⁷

At this juncture we are confronted with a difficulty which it seems best to answer now. After having repeated the doctrine of St. Thomas concerning a "causa instrumentalis" Scotus⁶⁸ denies that an "actio instrumentalis" is an "actio propria." St. Thomas admits a two-fold "causa instrumentalis," that of the agent, and that of the instrument proper, e. g., a carpenter using a saw to cut wood. "Instrumentum—scindendo enim facit lectum."⁶⁹ Scotus admits the first function of a causa instrumentalis, that is, that of the causa principalis, but denies the second, e. g., of the instrument proper. "Falsa est ergo major quod omne agens instrumentale habet actionem propriam per aliud sibi proprium praeter illam quae attribuitur agenti principali."⁷⁰ From this it would seem to follow that the Sacraments have no activity of their own in producing grace, but are to be considered merely as dead instruments devoid of any "actio instrumentalis" and hence, that the Sacraments after all are only "conditiones sine quibus non." Before solving the objection, we would recall to mind all that has been said in the first part of our treatise—in which Scotus so lucidly proposes and ardently defends the theory that the Sacraments are "verae causae gratiae" and do not operate "ad modum receptivi." However, we believe the objection can be solved in a positive manner. Scotus in this passage does not deny any and every activity on the part of the instrument (here the signa externa sacramentorum) but only a *physical* influence as held by the Thomists. That he did not exclude a juridical or "*dispositiva actio instrumentalis quae significando causat*" will be proven in the third

68 D. I. q. 1. Sch. 1.

69 3. p. q. 62. art. 1.

70 D. I. q. 1. Sch. II. m. 8.

part of the treatise.⁷¹ In our opinion this is the only way in which Scotus can consistently be interpreted.

But to return to our argument. 3) Scotus says "quia significat (i. e., Sacramentum) ablutionem interiorem per gratiam quae est ibi actio principalis," i. e., this active cooperation on the part of the signum externum produces grace in so far as it signifies the same; in other words **Significando** **Causant** "significando causant," after the fashion of juridical actions (e. g., a deed conferring the title of ownership) and "signorum practicum." As this question will be treated more fully in the third part it need not be explained extensively here.

However, we do wish to answer another objection that may be made. It might seem that a "conditio" has the same efficacy as that which we have just described, namely, a "*causa quae significando causat*," for to use the example of St. Thomas quoted above, should a subject receive a lead or bronze coin from his king with the understanding and promise that when he presents it to the proper authority, let us say at the Treasury Department, he should receive in return one hundred dollars, it appears that this bronze coin bears the same relationship to the hundred dollars as the sacraments to grace. This difficulty is likewise only a sophism, for the productive cause of the hundred dollars is not the coin but only the will of the king, as is evident.⁷² According to Scotus, however, besides the will of God, and the "*significatio gratiae*" there is also to be distinguished and added a real activity on the part of the signum, not physical as has just been said, but an activity which he calls a "*significatio efficax*, founded on the "*actio naturalis et instrumentalis sacramentorum*" a "*dispositio necessitans ad gratiam, reducta ad genus causae efficientis*" (l. c.). And thus Scotus' theory differs from that illustrated by St. Thomas in the example of the bronze coin and money, according to which the Sacraments would be merely "*conditiones sine quibus non*."

4) Scotus tells us that the Sacraments are "a dispositio activa respectu gratiae." What does he mean by the term "dispositio?" a) This *dispositio* is not a mere *causa materia-*

⁷¹ Cf. D. I. q. 4. Sch. 4. n. 8.

⁷² "Qui quidem denarius," says St. Thomas, "non dat illas centas libras, sed solus rex accipienti ipsum," l. c.

Dispositio Activa

lis (e. g., the clay out of which the vase is made) for Scotus denies this explicitly.⁷³ b) This *dispositio* is by no means a "*mera conditio*" for a *conditio* is defined as "id sine quo causa non influeret, ipsa autem non influit."⁷⁴ According to Scotus, however, the Sacraments do cooperate in the production of grace as proven above. c) The Sacraments according to Scotus are not a "*mera dispositio aptitudinalis*" but rather an "*activa dispositio quae reducitur ad causam efficientem*;"⁷⁵ a "*dispositio necessitans ad gratiam*;"⁷⁶ a "*dispositio*" quae "non habet rationem tantum receptivi respectu gratiae;"⁷⁷ a "*dispositio quae habet rationem efficientis et activi respectu gratiae*."⁷⁸ To illustrate more clearly what he means by these last named terms, Scotus uses the example of human generation and its influence on God in the creation and infusion of man's immortal soul.⁷⁹ When the foetus is conceived there exists not only a mere disposition for the reception of the soul but also a real exigency for its infusion. By the word *dispositio*, therefore Scotus means an exigency for grace founded on a promise by Almighty God. By virtue of this promise and the intrinsic significance of each sacrament (*sensu scholastico*) there exists whenever the valid *materia* and *forma* are united with the intention of the minister of the sacrament an exigency for the infusion of sanctifying grace; the conferring of the respective sacramental grace follows, and also the impression of the character conferred in certain sacraments. This exigency is termed by Scotus a "*dispositio necessitans ad gratiam*." It is therefore to be distinguished from the mere condition, for a condition bears to an effect a relation which is purely *external* and *passive* without *positively* and *actively* cooperating in the production of the effect. The effect is produced *on the occasion of*, not *by virtue of*, the condition.

We are now prepared to meet the objection of Cajetan⁸⁰ who contends that according to the doctrine of Scotus the sacraments may indeed be styled "*causae*" in name, but that in reality they are not. For if the sacrament in as far as it is a "*dispositio necessitans ad gratiam*" cannot be styled a true cause of grace, neither can a man be called the father of his child since Philosophy teaches

73 Cf. D. I. q. 5 Sch. 4. Cf. above p.

74 Mueller "De Sac." p. 166.

75 D. I. q. 4. Sch. 4. n. 9.

76 D. I. q. 4. Sch. 4. n. 8.

77 Ib.

78 Ib.

79 D. I. q. 1. Sch. 4. n. 19.

80 III. q. 62, Art. 1.

he is not a "causa efficiens" (scripto sensu) of the principal part of his child, namely the soul, but only the one who induces such a "dispositio" (exigency) in the foetus which, as it were, necessitates God to infuse a living soul.⁸¹

Vasquez⁸² objects to this "dispositio" of Scotus on the ground that in three of the sacraments, i. e., Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders, this effect or character is validly produced and indelibly impressed irrespective of the disposition of the recipient. Vasquez here seems to be of the opinion that according to Scotus the impression of the character depends on the good or bad *subjective* disposition of the recipient, whereas in reality there is no question of such disposition at all. Scotus speaks of an *objective*, not subjective, disposition which lies not in the *recipient* but in the *reception* of the Sacrament, and by virtue of which objective disposition the character is always imprinted, even though, on account of an obex, grace be not immediately infused. "Quodomodo" asks Scotus, "se habet iste character impressus animae ad gratiam, quae est in anima? Utrum sit idem vel allud ab eo? Respondeo quod est alia a gratia et virtutibus, quia character imprimitur quandoque in suscipiente Sacramenti, quando gratia et virtutes non infundantur. Patet de fide suscipiente Baptismum qui recipit characterem, et non gratiam, neque virtutes sicut supra dictum est."⁸³

Finally, attention must be drawn to the fact that it is not true what Cajetan presupposes, namely that this Scotistic "dispositio" is an effect of the Sacrament. This dispositio is rather the reception of the Sacrament proper⁸⁴ and necessitates the infusion of grace.

e) The fifth element by which the doctrine of Scotus differs from the theory of the "causae sine quibus non" is this. Scotus calls the reception of the Sacrament a "*dispositio activa* (not "subjectiva") *reducta ad genus causae efficientis*." He does not call this activa dispositio a "*causa efficiens*" simpliciter, in the sense in which this term is generally applied, i. e., a *causa physica*. Scotus is so clear on the rejection of a *causa physica* in the production of grace that there can be no doubt about his teaching on this

⁸¹ L. c.

⁸² In III S. Th. disp. 132 c. 1.

⁸³ D. IV. q. V.; D. VI. q. VIII. Sch. 1.

⁸⁴ Cf. Third Part.

point. Scotus takes this "causa efficiens" in a moral or juridical sense after the fashion of human generation as explained above. Now it is evident that a "conditio" which is merely passive in the production of an effect, because it depends entirely on the activity of a "causa principalis," can never be identified with this kind of juridical efficiency. For which reason Scotus says: "Istud enim signum ita est verum et efficax, licet ad placitum, quod semper habet secum quod signat, et non quod quandoque non inest, sed semper quod inest quantum est ex se; et ideo signanter dicitur in ejus definitione, quod præter specimen, quam ingerit sensibus' hoc signum '*aliquid aliud facit quantum est ex se* in cognitionem venire' et est efficax signum ad actionem, *quia quæ signa non sunt activa*, non sunt Sacramenta."⁸⁵ In other words, "mera conditio" cannot be styled an *active* principle which in the production of an effect communicates something of itself (quantum est ex se). For that reason, unless violence be brought to bear on Scotus, he cannot consistently be accused of teaching that the Sacraments are only "conditiones sine quibus non." Scotus furthermore, says in the same passage: "Unde quantum est ex se, est signum verum et non æquivocum respectu gratiæ, si sit dispositio vel non indispositio in suscipiente Sacramentum vel istud signum. Nec est etiam signum rememorativum, vel prognosticum quia illa sunt quantum est ex se, sine illo quod significant, signatum utriusque est non ens, sed est signum demonstrativum."⁸⁶ He here distinguishes between the signum practicum or demonstrativum on the one hand, and the signum rememorativum (past) and prognosticum (future) on the other hand. These two classes of signs differ because the former (practica et demonstrativa) effect what they signify, whereas the latter (rememorativa et prognostica) merely signify without effecting.

From these texts and the preceding passages and considerations we feel confident in concluding that Scotus never taught the theory that the Sacraments are "conditiones or causae sine quibus non;" for in truth a conditio can never be called a "causa *efficax*, *efficiens*, and *activa*" which produces its effect "ex opere operato" and "ex virtute propria quantum est ex se,"

85 D. I. q. II. Sch. I. N. 4.

86 Ib.

for a "conditio est id sine quo causa non influerit, ipsa autem non influit."⁸⁷

2. The second distinguishing mark of the theory "conditiones sine quibus non" is according to the above quoted passage of St. Thomas⁸⁸ this: "Sic enim ordinavit et quasi pepigit

Conditio sine Deus, ut qui sacramenta accipiunt simul ab eo
Qua non gratiam recipiant, *non quasi sacramenta aliquid faciant ad hoc.*"⁸⁹ Sasse confirms this idea of

a *conditio* when he says: "Quod est solum conditio sine qua non, id licet sit necessarium ad productionem effectus non tamen in se continet virtutem causantem effectus, sed solum cum altero, in quo est propria ratio causalitatis, connexum esse debet, quia secus haec causalitas non transiret in actum."⁹⁰

How remote this theory is from that of Scotus is clear from the aforesaid. To clarify matters let us make use of the example given by Scotus himself: "Minor patet per exemplum"

Exmaple — his minor was — "Licet enim ablutio sit passio
of Scotus respectu corporis, non tamen respectu gratiae, sed est *quaedam dispositio activa respectu ejus*" — "Per exemplum sic," Scotus continues — "Meritum conceditur" habere respectum efficaciae alicujus respectu praemii, quia per meritum acquiritur praemium et tamen nec instrumentaliter, nec principaliter causat aliquam dispositionem a se (distinctam) respectu praemii (Scotus is here arguing against the "effectus praeivus" of St. Thomas—concerning which more will be said in the third part—) verius enim conceditur quod merita fecerunt ipsum beatum, quam quod ipse fecit se beatum; ergo si ille qui inducit dispositionem non habentem rationem receptivi respectu formae, dicatur habere efficaciam respectu formae, sicut tu ponis de aqua quod causat gratiam in anima, multo magis Sacramentum et ablutio instrumentalis, quae est dispositio ulterior non in ratione receptivi, diceretur aliquo modo *causare gratiam*, et ita secundum hanc viam facilius potest sustinere *Sacramenta dare gratiam* quam secundum priorem viam" (i. e., according to the viewpoint of St. Thomas).⁹¹

We recognize that the above quoted words of St. Thomas "non quasi aliquid facientes ad hoc" do not apply to merit as regards the reward; for while excluding a physical influence

⁸⁷ Mueller l. c.

⁸⁸ p.

⁸⁹ In. IV. d. I. q. I a. 4.

⁹⁰ De. Sac. I. p. 23.

⁹¹ D. I. q. IV. Sch. 4.

on the reward, we do not for that reason exclude all other influence. Let us hear St. Thomas himself on this point: "*Meritum est causa praemii*, non quidem per modum finalis causae, sic enim magis praemium est causa meriti, *sed magis secundum reductionem ad causam efficientem*; in quantum meritum facit dignum praemio et per hoc ad praemium disponit."⁹² In truth if we transfer these words to the theory of Scotus concerning the "causalitas Sacramentorum" we have this result: "Sacramentum est causa gratiae" in the same sense in which St. Thomas says: "Meritum est causa praemii," or to use Scotus' own words: "Meritum conceditur habere respectum efficaciae alicujus praemii quia per meritum acquiritur praemium."

An objection could be brought against this example of merit and reward on the ground that Scotus uses it only to exclude the "effectus praevius" of St. Thomas, but not to explain his theory of the "causalitas Sacramentorum." To this objection we answer that Scotus used it to prove both since he had both in mind.

His intention was to prove his minor which was: "Ablutio respectu gratiae" is a "dispositio activa." Neither can it be said that merit is a "dispositio" rather than the "causa efficiens" of the reward, the "causa efficiens" being the wage earner. For we must conceive this example as Scotus conceived it. Scotus does not consider the meritum merely as a right to a reward (as e. g., the *res et sacramentum* and *ornatus animae*, according to St. Thomas, create an exigency for grace), but considers the meritum itself a kind of "causa efficiens." "*Verius enim conceditur quod merita fecerunt ipsum beatum quam quod ipse se fecit beatum.*"⁹³ In like manner do the Sacraments produce grace. They are a kind of *causa efficiens*; a "kind" because the sacraments do not produce their effect *physically* but rather morally or juridically. ("*Sed magis secundum reductionem ad causam efficientem.*") From which consideration it likewise follows that Scotus did not teach the "causae sine quibus non" theory.

3. The third mark of this last named theory is illustrated by St. Thomas in the example of the king who gives a bronze coin to a servant with the simultaneous order to the Treasury

⁹² De. Ver. q. 29 Art. VI.

⁹³ L. c.

Example of St. Thomas Department that at the presentation of the coin the servant be given one hundred pounds. In all our study of Scotus we have never come across this example to illustrate his theory, although Scotus uses examples quite frequently, particularly when they serve to elucidate his ideas. On the other hand the defenders and exponents of the theory "sine quibus non" continuously and consistently use this example, e. g., Durandus;⁹⁴ St. Bonaventure, who at least favored, if he did not hold, it;⁹⁵ and St. Thomas where he refers to this opinion.⁹⁶

The expression "sine quibus non" is found only once in Scotus and then only in an objection. The passage reads thus: "Ad primam quaestionem dicitur quod Sacramenta N. L. aliquam per se habent efficaciam respectu gratiae quia aliter non essent causae gratiae, nisi causae sine quibus non, hoc est inconveniens."⁹⁷ Does Scotus perhaps defend here the theory "sine quibus non" against the objection of St. Thomas: "hoc est inconveniens," as he denied the "causa physica Sacramentorum" and "effectus praeivus;" or does he admit the conclusion drawn, namely, that the Sacraments are "causae sine quibus non?" By no means! In his answer to this objection he propounds his own theory that is the "dispositio activa quae reducitur ad genus causae efficientis"⁹⁸ which is incompatible with the theory "sine quibus non," as we have seen above. Were Scotus of the opinion that the Sacraments are merely "causae sine quibus non" he surely would have said so especially in connection with this objection where he disagrees with St. Thomas, just as he expressed his opinion when he rejected the effectus praeivus of St. Thomas and the causalitas physica⁹⁹ of the Thomists, and then proposed his own theory of the "dispositio activa immediata."

The fourth mark of the theory "sine quibus non" as treated by St. Thomas is: "Sic enim ordinavit et quasi pepigit Deus ut, qui Sacramenta recipiunt, simul ab eo gratiam recipiant;¹⁰⁰

Causa Principalis We indeed find this "pactio divina" in Scotus, but in an entirely different sense than that used by the defenders of the theory "sine quibus non." According to these this "pactio divina" is the sole cause of the

94 In. IV. d. 1. q. 4.

95 In. L. IV. d. 1. q. 4.

96 In. L. IV. d. 1. q. 4.

97 D. I. q. 4. Sch. I. n. 4.

98 Cf. Third Part.

99 Cf. Sch. II. l. c.

100 In. IV. d. 1. q. 1. a. 4.

Sacramental grace; with Scotus it is indeed the "causa principalis," but not the sole cause, for the sacrament itself, i. e., the "signam externum" is an "actio instrumentalis," namely, a "dispositio activa reducta ad genus causae efficientis" as we have seen.

Herewith we believe to have proven sufficiently the second part of our treatise, namely, that Scotus did not teach the theory that the Sacraments are "causae sine quibus non" of grace, but on the contrary placed, in opposition to it, his own theory, which we have partly seen and which we shall now explain more in detail.

PART THREE

THE THEORY OF SCOTUS

In this last part of our treatise we shall expound the theory of Scotus concerning the "modus causandi sacramentorum" as we believe him to have taught it. His theory can be expressed in these words:

"Sacramenta N. L. co videntur esse causae gratiae quod
Thesis tamquam signa practica nomine Dei posita effectum
 gratiae immediate attingunt, quatenus ipsa susceptio
 Sacramentorum est dispositio iuridice exigens gratiam."

We shall now endeavor to prove our thesis phrase by phrase by quoting or referring to Scotus' own words.

1. "*Sacramenta sunt causae gratiae.*" This was proven
Sacramenta sunt in the first part and hence needs no further
Causae Gratiae comment. We merely refer to Scotus' L. IV,
 q. 2. Sch. I, n. 5; q. 5. Sch. III n. 10; q. 4. Sch.
 4, and to his examples of meritum and the generatio humana as
 explained above.

2. The Sacraments are the causes of grace in as far as
 they are "*signa practica.*" By a signum "practicum," in oppo-
 sition to a signum demonstrativum, is meant any external sign
Signa Practica which not only signifies or demonstrates its
 signatum or effect, but also produces it.
 Smoke, e. g., is a signum demonstrativum of fire (the smoke
 does not produce the fire, but is only a sign of it); whereas
 an automobile or locomotive is not only a sign of high motive
 speed, but likewise the means by which high speed is obtained.
 Thus the ablution of the head with water not only
 signifies spiritual purification, but likewise washes away the

taint of original sin from the soul. In this regard Scotus writes: "Dico quod Deus sacramentum instituit, ut esset *signum* ex institute ad placitum *verum, et efficax et demonstrativum*."¹⁰¹ A sign, however, which has not in itself the power of producing an effect (*signatum*) can never be called "*efficax*." For this reason Scotus mentions both elements of the "*signum practicum*," namely, that it be "*demonstrativum*" and "*efficax*." "*Sacramentum*," he says in another place, "*est signum verum habens secum semper quantum est ex se suum signatum, ut gratiam quam significat*."¹⁰² The expression "*habens secum suum signatum*" signifies to be the cause of the *signatum*, in contradistinction to being a mere "*signum demonstrativum*." Scotus admits only one case in which the "*signum demonstrativum et efficax*" does not effect its *signatum*, and that is when an obstacle (*obex*) is placed between the *signum* and the *signatum*. He points out plainly, however, that in this case the reason lies not in the *signum* itself but in the recipient of the sacrament. "*Aliquando tamen non habet secum id quod significat, ut gratiam invisibilem, quia aliquando tale signum potest adhiberi nolenti, vel fite accedenti, ut Sacramentum Baptismi, et tunc non necessario habet secum quod signat propter impedimentum, non sui quia quantum est ex se, semper habet secum gratiam invisibilem quam significat, sed propter impedimentum recipientis. Istud enim signum ita est et efficax, licet ad placitum, quod semper habet secum quod signat, et non quod quandoque non inest, sed semper inest quantum est ex se*."¹⁰³ The doctrine concerning "*signa practica*" in relation to the Sacraments could hardly be given more clearly.¹⁰⁴

3. If we look for the reason of this infallible connection between the cause and effect; the *signum* and the *signatum*; the *materia remota*, *proxima*, and *forma* on one hand and grace on the other, we shall find it to be the institution of Christ, Who, as it were, pledges Himself to impart sanctifying grace and the corresponding sacramental grace to everyone receiving the Sacrament worthily, and this *ex opere operato*, or to use a Scotistic expression "*quantum ex se*." This pledge or promise on the part of God is called by the Scholastics a "*Pactio Divina*" and is ex-

¹⁰¹ D. I. q. II. Sch. I. n. 5.

¹⁰² D. I. q. II. Sch. I. n. 4.

¹⁰³ L. c.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Mueller, l. c., p. 151, 189, 231.

pressed by the words "auctoritate Dei posita." As a confirmation of the aforesaid we quote the following: "Ad secundam quaestionem dico quod non est virtus absoluta in Sacramento (i. e., physica, as is evident from the foregoing argument which Scotus in this passage rejects) sed solum signum ordinatum et institutum a Deo efficaciter representans formam principalem, et suum signatum ut quandoque (quicumque?) id signum recipiat sine fictione, fiat amicus Dei, et acceptetur a Deo per gratiam, et quandocumque id fit in aliquo illi assistet Deus; ut insit quod designat."¹⁰⁵ He speaks still more clearly in D. I, q. IV, Sch. IV: "Susceptio Sacramenti est quaedam dispositio necessitans ad gratiam ex *pactione divina qua Deus pepigit* assistere Sacramentis; ut conferrent quod signant, et non habet tantum rationem receptivi respectu gratiae." Speaking of the ceremonies of the old Law he says: "Ceremoniae illae, quae non sunt sacramenta—nec ex *pactione divina*, nec etiam ex virtute propria conferbant gratiam."¹⁰⁶

Although the defenders of the theory "sine quibus non" likewise and frequently make use of the expression "pactio divina," they have a different viewpoint than Scotus. For according to their theory, this divine assistance and this pledge are, as we have seen above, the sole cause of the sacramental grace, whereas, according to Scotus, the "pactio divina" is indeed the *causa principalis* but not the only cause, i. e., to the exclusion of every instrumental cause. The expression "pactio divina," as employed by Scotus, merely signifies what the defenders of all theories are forced to admit, namely, that the Sacraments have their efficacy by and in virtue of the institution by Christ. This is what Scotus means when he says the sacraments are "signa ad placitum," i. e., chosen and adopted by Christ, and not "naturalia," i. e., of themselves efficacious apart from the institution by Christ. "Deus sacramentum instituit, ut esset signum ex instituyente ad placitum verum et efficax et demonstrativum."¹⁰⁷

4) The fourth element of Scotus' doctrine is that the reception of the sacrament is, eo ipso, *an exigency for grace* without an effectus praevius—or put differently, the sacraments produce

¹⁰⁵ D. I. q. IV. Sch. V.

¹⁰⁶ D. I. q. IV. Sch. 4.

¹⁰⁷ D. I. q. II. Sch. I.

Dispositio**Exigens Gratiam**

grace "immediate" and not "mediate."¹⁰⁸

This element in Scotus' teaching will now be more fully illustrated by his own words: the reception of the sacrament is a "*dispositio exigens gratiam*." "*Susceptio Sacramenti*," says Scotus, "*est quaedam dispositio necessitans gratiam ex pactione divina, qua Deus pepigit assistere Sacramentis, ut conferrent quod signant, et non habet tantum rationem receptivi respectu gratiae*."¹⁰⁹ He again refers to this when he rejects the effectus praeivus of the earlier Scholastics. "*Nec ista dispositio activa respectu formae substantialis causat aliquam dispositionem aliam a se respectu illius substantiae, sed per illam violentam activitatem quam habet, agit ad inductionem illius substantiae. Similiter in proposito*."¹¹⁰ Finally, Scotus refers to this in the above quoted passage concerning human generation: "*Dico autem quod aqua cor abluit dispositive ut patet in sequentibus; sic enim homo generans hominem, secundum corpus perfecte organicum, quodammodo dispositive agit ad inductionem ultimae formae hominis (animae) quia sic statuit Deus, ut natura agente in ultimum, in quod potest, Deus perficiat, et suppleat quod deficit. Ita potest vere dici sacramentum Baptismi dispositive agere gratiam, quia sic pepigit Deus cum ecclesia, ut quodcumque esset tale signum efficaciter signans signatum, quod datur in Sacramento, Deus assisteret ad dandum quod signum significat*."¹¹¹ The same follows from, and is included in, the above mentioned example of merit which certainly denotes an exigency for a reward.

The *nexus* or the relation between the reception of the sacrament and grace is, according to Scotus, *not physical*. This is likewise evident from the two examples just referred to. A

Relatio Rationis

father does not physically produce the soul, which owing to its simplicity is philosophically impossible, neither does merit physically produce the wages or reward. (The money is physically produced by the mint, and the premium, e. g., a book or medal, by the manufacturers who print or cast it). Scotus calls the relation between the signum and signatum, sacrament and grace, in contradistinction to the physical, a *relatio rationis*. "*Sacramentum enim est signum formaliter, et relatio rationis, et refertur ad invisibilem*

108 Cf. III. Part. 5.

109 D. I. q. IV. Sch. IV.

110 D. I. q. IV. Sch. IV.

111 D. I. q. I. Sch. IV.

gratiam, *ut correlativum* et signatum.”¹¹² More explicitly in the same D. III. p. II Sch. I and II. “Dico quod possumus loqui de forma alicujus proprie vel appropriate. Si proprie sic dico quod uniuscujusque forma est illud a quo essentialiter et formaliter est id, quod est, ut aliquis est albus per albedinem, et iste modo dico quod forma Baptismi si propria est, quod est quaedam *relatio rationis*, ut signum efficax veraciter demonstrans et signans ablutionem animae a peccato, tamquam suum proprium correlativum et signatum; quae relatio rationis, vel quod signum, est in omnibus praedicatis, in aqua, in verbis, etc., sicut in suo fundamento.”

In order to illustrate this relation more clearly Scotus uses the following examples: “Ad istum ergo effectum invisibilem in anima significandum efficaciter, potest Deus instituere aliquid signum, quod illud efficaciter repræsentet, quia etiam nos hoc possumus. Nam et nos significantes voluntates nostras de aliquo esse firmas, et in aliquo firmari, statuimus et facimus signa, quae illos certitudinaliter et efficaciter repræsentant. Patet in sponsonibus, fideijussionibus, juramentis et hujusmodi pactionibus.”¹¹³ That is to say just as a juridical relation is established between two persons in a contract, so also between the sacraments and God. God has made, so to say, a contract, a “*pactio divina*,” as the Scholastics were wont to call it, with the Church, whereby He, on His part, will always be willing to confer grace as often as the recipients of the sacraments, on their part, will fulfill the other share of the contract, i. e., use these fountains of grace faithfully and conscientiously, i. e., without placing an obex. The nexus or relation, therefore, between the sacrament and grace is a juridical one, according to the second class of *signa practica*.”¹¹⁴

By a “*signum practicum*” of the second class, we mean one by which, e. g., decorations, offices, and charges are not only signified, but also, by virtue of the intelligence and will of the one conferring the same, granted, imposed and given. Thus, for example, through an official document of the President, one is appointed Ambassador to a certain country; through a few words of the College Dean or Chancellor an academic degree

¹¹² D. III. q. 1. Sch. I.

¹¹³ D. I. q. II. Sch. I.

¹¹⁴ By the first class of *signa practica* is meant any motive for performing or omitting an action. Cf. Mueller, l. c., p. 151.

is conferred; through a Papal Brief the jurisdiction over a certain Diocese is granted. In a similar manner contracts are written, especially those known as "consensuales;" promises, made; oaths taken and pledges given. It is exactly in this manner that Scotus claims the sacraments confer grace, i. e., "ad normam signorum practicum secundi generis."¹¹⁵ After having offered several arguments, in the form of objections, tending to prove the *causalitas physica*, Scotus says: "Contra Bernardus in sermone de coena Domini: 'Sicut investitur Canonicus per librum, Abbas per baculum, Episcopus per annulum sic divisiones gratiarum diversis sunt traditae sacramentis.'¹¹⁶ Whenever the Scholastics, after having mentioned certain objections which they afterwards solve, say "sed contra est," and then cite the words of some authority we can take for granted that their opinion coincides with that of the author referred to; otherwise there would have been no reason for citing his opinion. So also here. It is evident, however, in the above given examples of St. Bernard, there can be no question of a *causalitas physica*, but only of a *causalitas moralis* or *causalitas juridica*. Scotus for all that says the same. "Sed liber non est causa efficiens Praebendae, nec annulus Episcopatus; ergo nec Sacramentum est causa efficiens gratiae."¹¹⁷ By these latter words Scotus, as has been said so often, does not wish to exclude every causality or efficacy, but only a "*causalitas physica*" against which he is arguing. Everyone will admit that a "*causalitas moralis*" or "*juridica*" is not excluded, especially if he recall the investiture proceedings of the Middle Ages. No one doubts that by the legitimate conferring of the ring and crozier a bishop was invested with jurisdiction, and thus obtained spiritual power over his flock; or that by the dubbing with a sword, a young man was knighted. Scotus maintains the same relation between the sacrament and grace.

The subtle Doctor likewise speaks of this *juridical relationship* in those passages in which he speaks of the sacrament as a "forma." He makes this objection: "Sacramentum est forma

Forma
Repraesentans
et Mutans

exemplaris, aut forma informans? Non forma exemplaris, quia forma exemplaris non mutat id cuius est, ut exemplatum sed e converso. Sacramentum autem magis mutat gra-

¹¹⁵ Cf. Mueller, l. c., p. 151.

¹¹⁶ D. I. q. III. cf. St. Thomas—Summa III, q. 62, a. 1.

¹¹⁷ L. c.

tiam, quam e converso, ergo non est ejus exemplar. Nec forma informans, patet, quia verba non informant aquam ut manifestum; ergo, etc. (i. e., Sacramentum non est forma visibilis invisibilis gratiae)."¹¹⁸ Scotus answers the objection thus: "Ad aliud, patet quod non accipitur ibi forma pro forma informante, nec pro forma exemplari, sed pro *forma repraesentante et mutante* signatum et demonstratum et ita proceditur ibi ab insufficienti, et fit ibi fallacia consequentiae."¹¹⁹ What Scotus understands by this "forma repraesentans et mutans" he explains in the following words: "Cum enim accipitur in illa definitione (Sci. Magistri), quod Sacramentum est 'visibilis forma,' forma non accipitur ibi pro forma informante et parte essentiali compositi, sed pro forma declarante et mutante, et sic accipitur ibi *pro relatione signi ad signatum*," and further on: "Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibilis forma, i. e., *signum* sensibile, non quodcumque sed ex institutione veraciter et demonstrative *gratiam signans invisibilem*; et hanc definitionem expressit Magister cum dicit quod proprie Sacramentum dicitur 'signum invisibilis gratiae, ut ejus imaginem gerat et causa existat,' i. e., *efficaciter eam signans et repraesentans*."¹²⁰

The Sacraments therefore produce grace not physically: but in the manner we have set forth, i. e., exigitive and as "signa practica secundi generis."

5. We are now ready to take up the last but not least important point, i. e., how does the doctrine of Scotus differ from that of St. Thomas? Scotus calls the reception of the Sacraments a "dispositio immediate necessitans ad gratiam" whereas St. Thomas requires an "effectus praeivus." St. Thomas teaches that the Sacraments effect grace only "*mediate*." This "effectus praeivus" in the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Orders, is the character. In the other sacraments it is either, according to the older Scholastics, the "ornatus animae" or, according to others, the juridical relation between the reception of the sacraments and grace. Scotus denies this "effectus praeivus" as a "terminus medius" between the sacrament and grace. He says the *reception of the sacrament itself* is a "dispositio necessitans ad gratiam," and that the juridical relation between the sacrament and grace is not to be found in the "effectus praeivus" but

¹¹⁸ D. I. q. II.

¹¹⁹ D. I. q. II. Sch. II.

¹²⁰ Ib.

rather in the reception of the sacrament proper by virtue of the "pactio divina." That the very reception of the Sacrament is a *dispositio immediata* Scotus teaches in the following passages: "Ad primam Augustini de aqua (i. e., 'tanta est virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluit') dico non discordando (per transenam, in the same manner therefore that Augustine teaches a true causality, so likewise Scotus) vel glossando, quod tinctio corporis ab aqua cum verbis simul, vere cor abluit, non quod actione sua attingat gratiam vel dispositionem ad eam, sed quod sit ipsa ablutio exterior "*immediata dispositio* ad gratiam, ut *secum habens* quod signat; nec video necessitatem ponendi aliam dispositionem et ideo fugio pluralitatem."¹²¹ "Entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate" is the gist of the argument. In justice to St. Thomas, however, we repeat that this opinion of an "effectus praeuius" was no longer taught by the Angelic Doctor in his later work, the "Summa."

Scotus treats the same matter more explicitly in Sch. IV n. 8. "Respondeo ergo . . . sicut tu (St. Thomas) ponis virtutem in aqua posse creare aliquam dispositionem in anima respectu gratiae effective, ita ego pono ablutionem aquae et linitationem olei cum verbis esse *immediatam dispositionem* ad gratiam active." In these passages Scotus by no means wishes to deny the "res et sacramentum" or the character,¹²² but only that grace is conferred by *virtue of this character*, i. e., "*mediate*." It is also for this very reason that Scotus, consistently with his theory, teaches that the character is not the cause that grace revives (reviviscentia sacramentorum) after the "obex" has been removed: "Respondeo quod fictione recedente statim recepit gratiam baptismalem gratiam quam etiam recepisset in Baptismo nisi obex fictionis tunc infuisset, non quia character impressus in baptizato aliquid disponat vel agat ad susceptionem gratiae, ut dicit Richardus; sed Deus ex eadem pactione, qua assistet suo signo efficienti, ad conferendam gratiam, si fictio tunc temporis non fuisset, eandem confert gratiam fictione recedente, quod fuit impedimentum quare non infuit."¹²³ The character and the grace are infused simultaneously in one who receives the sacraments worthily, without this relation of the character as an exigency of grace.

¹²¹ D. I. q. IV. Sch. V.

¹²² Cf. D. VI. q. 8. Sch. II.

¹²³ D. IV. q. V. Sch. I.; Cf. D. VI., q. VIII. Sc. I. n. 7.

Although admitting that at least in so far as the three sacraments which imprint a character are concerned, the doctrine of St. Thomas is very plausible, especially because by it the **Reviviscentia Sacramentorum** "reviviscentia sacramentorum" is easily explained, we do not believe that merely on these grounds the opinion of Scotus concerning a direct influence should be rejected. Scotus for all that likewise defends the "reviviscentia sacramentorum" without resorting to an *effectus praeivus* or to this relation between the character and grace. However, it is not our intention in this treatise to defend Scotus' theory. We wish only to give it as it appears to us to be most consistent with his words and teachings.

Thus we believe we have demonstrated (1) that Scotus taught a true "*causalitas sacramentorum*," and that "*ex opere operato*" despite the assertions of his opponents to the contrary; (2) that correspondingly Scotus did not and logically could not teach that the sacraments are merely "*causae sine quibus non*;" but (3) that the sacraments possess a juridical causality according to the manner of "*signa practica secundi generis*," not by virtue of an "*effectus praeivus*" but "immediate," and on account of a divine promise (*pactio divina*). According to Scotus, the sacraments do not effect grace physically as the locomotive produces speed.

It is difficult at any rate to conceive how a tangible object, as the matter and form of the sacraments, can exert a physical influence on a spiritual entity like grace.¹²⁴ Theologians even find it very hard to explain how the fire in hell can torture the *souls* of the damned. The sacraments do not produce their effect morally, that is, the pouring of the water on the head of the child, e. g., is not objectively speaking an influence on God to infuse sanctifying grace. The sacraments are, thirdly, not merely "*conditiones sine quibus non*" as, e. g., the Rector of a Seminary who promises to let the Seminarians attend the opening base-ball game of the season, provided all of them pass the mid-year examination. The examination is only a condition but has absolutely no influence on the base-ball game. The

¹²⁴ Cf. Mueller, l. c., 157; cf. S. Thom. p. III q. 62 q. 1 ad. 2. In his *Summa* St. Thomas says: "Sacramenta corporalia per propriam operationem quam exercent circa corpus quod tangunt, efficiunt operationem instrumentalem ex virtute divina circa animam, sicut aqua baptismi ablundo corpus secundum propriam virtutem abluit animam, in quantum est instrumentum virtutis divinae."

game will be played irrespective of the fact whether the Seminarians passed or failed in the examination. Some authors claimed that Scotus looked upon the Sacraments merely as such passive conditions for the infusion of grace without positively exerting any influence on its infusion. This we deny.

In our opinion Scotus taught none of these three theories. His theory is this: As a public instrument or document is the means by which an official is appointed and a title conferred; as by the bestowal of miter and crozier a bishop is invested with spiritual jurisdiction; as by the pronouncing of certain words with uplifted hands an oath is taken, so likewise are the sacraments the means by which God wishes to confer His graces. By an act of His divine will He concurs with the placing of the external signs and thus grace is produced. This concurrence is the result of His divine mercy and promise; for God has pledged Himself, so to speak, to bestow grace as often as these outward signs are placed. The placing of the outward signs thereupon produces in the soul a disposition, to use Scotus's expression, which has a right to grace, in fact can demand it, just as merit has a right to a reward, and the laborer a right to his stipulated pay. These external signs, e. g., ablution, anointing, etc., not only signify but also produce spiritual cleaning and fortitude, and for that reason are called "signa practica." Because these external sacramental signs always place such an exigency for grace as long as no impediment (mortal sin—obex) is present, they are said to produce grace "ex opere operato." Grace, however, is produced, not by means of any intermediary instrument (the "effectus praeivius") but directly. The Sacrament of Baptism, e. g., does not first produce the character, and the character in turn grace, but both grace and chracter are produced simultaneously.

We believe for that reason to be able to conclude with Sasse: "Scotum (IV. d. I, q 5.) quem ejus discipuli communi sententia sequuntur contrarium esse efficientiae Sacramentorum physicae apud omnes in confesso est. Revera diserte negat eis adscribendam esse actionem proprie dictam qua attingant vel ipsam gratiam vel dispositionem praeiviam ad gratiam. Porro docet Sacramenta non esse causas dumtaxat per accidens sed aliquo modo causas activas per se instrumentales gratiae. Hanc quidem causalitatem in eo reponit, quod Sacramenta ex divina institutione sint dispositiones

immediatae (exterae) quibus positis necessario confertur gratia. Sed quidquid de hoc modo loquendi senseris, certe ad rem ipsam quod attinet, Doctor Subtilis hac explicatione veram causalitatem eamque moralem (we would prefer to say "juridicam") significare voluit, ut elucet ex comparatione Sacramentorum cum meritis, quae similiter causam instrumentalem esse ait per modum dispositionis respectu praemii. Atque hoc sensu Scotistae communiter suum Magistrum intelligunt."¹²⁵

125 De Sac. I, 79.



THE TEACHING OF VEN. JOHN DUNS SCOTUS

CONCERNING THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF OUR LADY

VINCENT MAYER, O. M. C.

THE present sketch does not attempt to offer an exhaustive account of the doctrine of the Subtle Doctor concerning the Immaculate Conception. As a matter of fact, Scotus never intended to adduce stringent arguments and proofs for the

Scotus' Defence of the Immaculate Conception

Immaculate Conception, since the belief in Our Lady's sinlessness and her freedom from original sin was in his time sufficiently established. What he was chiefly concerned

with, was to remove those difficulties which prevented the scientific-theological acceptance of this belief. That Scotus succeeded in his object is beyond all doubt. It is hoped that these few pages may to some extent at least show how he accomplished his purpose.

Toward the end of the thirteenth century the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady seemed to have suffered a backset (Cfr. Koesters, S. J., *Maria die unbefleckt Empfangene*, p. 104.) From a theological standpoint the doctrine was still faced with several serious difficulties or objections. Even the great Aquinas had been unable to dispose of them. Those theologians, therefore, who opposed the doctrine were thus excusable and perchance their opposition was instrumental in preventing the enthusiasm of the other school from developing into fantastic extremes with regard to this beautiful privilege of the Mother of God.

The belief in the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady was by no means stifled by the opposition of the theologians. It was but a question of time before this doctrine would assert itself with perfect assurance. The theological difficulties which stood in its way were apparently serious enough, but not insurmountable. The happy solution was found by John Duns Scotus, the learned Franciscan Friar, whose keenness of intellect earned for him the title "Doctor Subtilis."

Schwabe, in his *History of Dogma*, vol. IV, p. 178, says of Scotus, that this theologian rendered his greatest service when he stood forth as the standard-bearer in the defence and establish-

ment of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, inasmuch as he proposed the correct solution of the apparent difficulties against it.

Let us see how well-founded is this praise.

Before the days of Duns Scotus even the greatest minds seemed nonplussed by the difficulty of reconciling a dogma of the Church with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. (We may, perhaps, except **Reconciling** St. Augustine, who by urging the doctrine of **Two Doctrines** the *fullness* of grace in Mary may have implied that this fullness of grace excluded or expelled original sin.) The dogma which caused the difficulty was the accepted teaching of the Church concerning the universal need of Redemption, for in Adam we have all sinned (Rom. V.) Scotus removed the misgivings of theologians by solving the apparent contradiction between this established and accepted dogma and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

Scotus treats this difficulty in *Quaestiones in Lib. III Sent.*, d. III., quaest. I. "Utrum Beata Virgo fuerit concepta in originali peccato?" He himself states the objections very clearly and fairly: 1) In Adam omnes peccaverunt, quia in eo fuerunt secundum rationem seminalem; ita fuit in eo Beata Virgo. Igitur, etc. 2) Damascenus, *de Fide Orthodoxa*, dicit: Spiritus Sanctus purgavit eam; purgatio autem non est nisi a peccato; igitur habuit peccatum, non actuale, igitur, etc. 3) Augustinus, *de Fide ad Petrum*: Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites omnem qui per concubitum viri et mulieris concipitur, cum peccato originali nasci. (Scotus remarks that Augustine excepts the Mother of God, and develops a text to this effect.) Scotus expresses the difficulty again (D. III. quaest. I. n. 14.) in this wise: "Quod quilibet filius Adæ naturaliter est debitor iustitiæ originalis, et ex demerito Adæ caret ea, et ideo omnis talis habet unde contrahat peccatum originale." These texts fairly express the objections which had baffled the theologians.

The solution offered by the Franciscan Friar is this: While accepting the sentence that every descendant of Adam by reason of the sin of Adam lacks original justice, he proceeds to say: "si alicui in primo instanti creationis animæ detur gratia, ille licet careat iustitia originali, numquam tamen est debitor eius, quia merito alterius *prævenientis* peccatum datur sibi gratia quæ æquivalet illi iustitiæ quantum ad acceptationem divinam, imo

excedit; ergo quantum est ex se, quilibet haberet peccatum originale, nisi alius præveniret merendo."

Therefore, according to Scotus, at the very moment of conception there was given to Our Lady, through the merits of the Redeemer, a grace like unto original justice, in fact surpassing it.

Scotus repeats this doctrine in *Quæst. in Lib III*, d. III, quæst. 1., n. 9.: "Potuit enim Deus in primo instanti illius animæ infundere sibi gratiam tantam, quantam alii animæ in circumcissione vel baptismo; igitur in illo instanti anima non habuisset peccatum originale, sicut nec habuisset si postea fuisset baptizata."

The teaching of the Church declaring the universal "sinfulness" of the descendants of Adam is upheld, because Scotus ascribes also to Mary the lack of original justice, but this only *natura prius quam infusio illius gratiæ præcaventis*. Now that which is said to be *natura prius*, as Scotus explains, is not actually present, because at the same time its opposite is present; "quod dicitur prius natura non inest, quia in eodem instanti oppositum inest; sed dicitur prius natura quia tunc inesset quantum est ex parte subiecti, nisi aliquid extrinsecum impediret." (Dist. III, quæst. 1., n. 15.) This "aliquid extrinsecum impediens" is the mediation of Christ, the Redeemer.

Thus did Scotus also solve the other difficulty which had been found in the accepted teaching of theologians and which the Subtle Doctor states in L. III, d. III, q. 1., schol. 3.: "Ipse (Christus) enim ut Redemptor universalis omnibus ianuam aperuit; sed si Beata Virgo non contraxisset peccatum originale, non indiguisset redemptore, . . . non enim clauditur (ianua) nisi propter peccatum, et maxime originale." The great Franciscan points out that Our Lady had need of the Redeemer even in a greater degree than the rest of the descendants of Adam. Mary by reason of her common descent from Adam ("ex ratione propagationis communis") would have contracted the original stain, if this had not been prevented by the grace of the Mediator Christ Jesus. Since the rest of mankind stood in need of Christ, so that through His merits there might be remitted the sin which they had already incurred, so much the more did Our Lady require the intervention of the Redeemer to save her from incurring this original sin. "Ita illa magis indiguit mediatore præveniente, peccatum ne esset ab ipsa aliquando contrahendum, et ne ipsa contraheret." (In L. III, d. III, q. 1. n. 14.)

As we have here the real crux of the question it may be advisable to quote both the difficulty and its solution at greater

length. We find it in *L. III. d. 3. q. 1. scholium n. 15*. "Et si arguas quia prius naturaliter fuit (Maria) filia Adæ, quia prius fuit persona quam habens gratiam; in illo igitur priori tenebatur ad iustitiam originalem quia naturalis filia Adæ, et non habuit eam; ergo in illo priori contraxit originale peccatum." In solving this objection Scotus makes the distinction we quoted above, namely that Our Lady was only *natura prius filia Adæ quam habens illam gratiam præcaventem*, and we have seen that this does not imply any actual or real precedence. Scotus offers an illustration. "Si materia comparatur ad formam et ad privationem (formæ), prius naturaliter est materia non habens formam, non quod in illo instanti in quo habet formam, realiter non habeat eam, quia tunc contradictoria essent simul; sed quia tunc materia quantum est ex se, dimissa sibi, non haberet formam, si alium habens non daret." Thus though matter naturally is lacking form before it is formed, it does not follow that actually matter ever exists without form. Scotus then goes on to say that, although matter may be considered to be by nature something in itself before it is either lacking form or having form, it does not follow that matter ever actually exists in this wise: "Non tamen sequitur quod ipsa (materia) aliquando sit in se, ita quod nec sub privatione nec sub forma." The great theologian then makes the application to the problem in question: "Ita in proposito dico quod natura animæ præcedit naturaliter iustitiam originalem sive gratiam æquivalentem et carentiam iustitiæ debitæ, et etiam in illa natura præcedit naturaliter carentia illa iustitiæ originalis illam iustitiam, quia quantum est ex subiecto quod est prius naturaliter utroque opposito (i. e. privationi et formæ nempe gratiæ), prius naturaliter privatio inesset, tamen non oportet animam esse aliquando sub neutro extremo, neque prius esse sub privatione quam sub opposito."

The further application follows very naturally. Mary was ("natura prius") a daughter of Adam by nature before she was justified; consequently before she possessed the grace of original justice. It does not, however, follow, that in that instant she was actually deprived of original justice: "Non sequitur ergo in illo instanti naturæ fuit privata, loquendo de omnino primo instanti, quia secundum illam primitiam, natura animæ ita naturaliter præcessit privationem iustitiæ, sicut ipsam iustitiam." Scotus says we have but the right to infer that in considering the nature (of Mary), which is the source and foundation of her descent from Adam, there is included in it neither original justice,

nor its want. Consequently, since all these precedences are merely speculative, theoretical, "*ratione et natura*," Scotus declares there is no real difficulty in the opinion of those who say that Our Lady was first of all a daughter of Adam and then freed from the lack of original justice, for being *natura* a daughter of Adam and *ratione naturae* lacking original justice do not constitute an *actual* moment before the granting to her of original justice through the merits of the Redeemer.

Even the ordinary mind realizes in this conclusion the doctrine which now seems to us so clear and simple, but which was until the days of Scotus an unsolved difficulty. Mary, the Mother of Jesus, was by nature subject to the universal law or curse of original sin. But by a special privilege, granted to her through the (foreseen) merits of the Redeemer who would be born of her, Mary was preserved from actually incurring the stain. Christ was also her Redeemer, for He it was Who, by His merits, brought it about that Mary in the very moment of her conception was granted the grace which was equal, or even superior to original justice, the lack of which constitutes original sin.

It may be of interest to add a few more reasons which Scotus gives in support of his teaching (In *Lib. III*, d. III, q. 1. n. 4.) It can be argued, says Scotus, from the very transcendent superiority of her Son, considered as the Redeemer, Reconciler and Mediator, that Mary did not incur original sin. The most perfect mediator

Further Reasons in Support of Scotus' View

has a perfect act of mediation in respect of some person to whom he is a mediator; now Christ is the perfect mediator; therefore Christ must have the highest possible degree of mediation towards some person, with regard to whom He is mediator. However, to none did Christ stand in a higher degree as mediator than to His Mother. Now this would not be realized if He had not merited for her this preservation from original sin.

Scotus argues here from the premises that Christ is the most perfect mediator. It is not our purpose to give his reasons, as it is not our intention to subject the teaching of Scotus to a critical examination, but merely to set forth his doctrine concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. Scotus probably takes into consideration the divine nature of Christ. That Scotus does not declare the manner of our redemption to be the most perfect way possible is clear from the following. Scotus gives it as his opinion that as Christ is the most perfect mediator, He had it in power to apply the most perfect mediation. The

most perfect degree of mediation consists in that Christ should not only free someone from sin, but that he should preserve at least one person from sin.

This opinion is explained further by an example, which is very similar to an illustration found in St. Anselm, *Cur Deus homo*, 1. 2. A certain man had offended the king to such an extent that the king made not only the offender but also his children feel the royal displeasure, and dispossessed them all. The punishment would be remitted only if an innocent person rendered to the king a service which would be considered greater than the offence committed. Now a mediator succeeds to the extent that the king will no longer deprive the children of the offender of their inheritance, yet leaves them under his displeasure, though later on he forgives them for the sake of the merits of that mediator. Now, says Scotus, if this mediator could so appease the king, that he could prevent any offence being taken by the king in respect to some particular child of the original offender, the mediator would be far more excellent than to induce the king to forgive after taking offence. And this, says our Doctor Subtilis, is not at all impossible, since the offence given by this individual is not through his own fault, but through an inherited one. It will be best to give the very words of Scotus: "Nullus ergo summe vel perfectissime placat aliquem pro offensa alicuius contrahenda nisi posset prævenire, ne ille offendatur, nam si iam offensum placat, ut remittat, non perfectissime placat. Igitur Christus non perfectissime placat Trinitatem pro culpa contrahenda a filiis Adæ, si non præveniat, ut alicui Trinitas non offendatur, et per consequens quod anima alicuius filii Adæ non habeat culpam talem." (In *L. III*, d. III, q. 1. n. 5.) For if there is sin, the Trinity must necessarily be offended.

This explanation is rightly applied to Our Lady, since Scotus expressly treats of the Immaculate Conception in this portion of his teaching.

Christ as the perfect mediator possessed the power to preserve a descendant, or the descendants of Adam from original sin. It was befitting that He should exercise this power in at least one case, just as it behooved God to give at least one manifestation of His Omnipotence, and which He gave in the creation of the world *ex nihilo*.

We may add that it seemed right and meet to preserve Our Lady from incurring original sin, so that no link in the chain of this particular mediation be missing. The descendants of Adam

are generally cleansed from original sin after their birth. A few, like St. John the Baptist, were sanctified and cleansed in their mother's womb. Christ, the God-man, was *a priori* free from original sin, and thus it was befitting that a child of Adam, who by its nature would have incurred the original stain, should by virtue of the merits of the Redeemer be preserved from that stain. Scotus himself does not elaborate the conclusion that Christ should extend this most perfect form of mediation to Our Lady, no doubt because the reason in favor of Our Lady seemed so conclusive that he presumed no one would doubt it. Scotus therefore simply asserts the conclusion without giving proofs.

There is no purpose in giving the reasons why it behooved that this privilege be given to Our Lady in preference to any one else. These reasons are too well known to need repetition. It may, however, be of interest to consider a few more reasons given by Scotus why it behooved the Redeemer to preserve at least one descendant of Adam from original sin: "Primo, quia perfectissimus mediator meretur amotionem omnis pœnæ ab eo quem reconciliat; sed culpa originalis est maior pœna quam ipsa carentia visionis divinæ." (Cfr. In *Lib. II*, d. 36.) Sin, says Scotus, is the greatest affliction or punishment of an intelligent being. It is moreover argued, he continues, that Christ seemed to be more directly (*immediatius*) our Redeemer with regard to original sin than actual sin. Yet it is generally assumed that Christ was a perfect Mediator with regard to one person (*puta Mariam*) to such a degree that He preserved her from all actual sin; therefore, in like manner from original sin. This may suffice to demonstrate the teaching of Duns Scotus concerning the Immaculate Conception.

In conclusion it might be remarked that to some minds it may appear a very natural thing that Scotus should be found teaching the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with such assurance in contrast with his predecessors. It is often assumed that Scotus is the deliberate opponent of St. Thomas. Such an assumption would be false. Scotus did not follow a deliberate tendency to differ from the great Dominican. The natural intellectual acuteness of the Franciscan Theologian brought in its train a certain independence of spirit, and these two qualities led him to seek new and original trains of thought, which happily led to original and true conclusions. Scotus never mentions St. Thomas even when he opposes opinions held and defended by the Angelic Doctor. Hurter, in his *Nomenclator*, II, col. 363,

says of Scotus, that he went aside from the older theologians, such as Thomas, Richard of St. Victor, etc., "quia sagacissimi ingenii erat, sed absque studio et ira, tranquille et solius veritatis inquirendæ vel determinandæ ratione habita."

A Franciscan may be pardoned for adding that it is not dangerous to follow John Duns Scotus despite the fact that the Doctor Subtilis does not always agree with the great Angelic

Orthodoxy of the Subtle Doctor

Doctor. A Roman Congregation by order of Paul V declared "immunem esse a censuris doctrinam Scoti," and ordered that none dare refuse permission to print whatever "certo constaret ex Scoto depromptum esse." (Cfr. Hurter, I. c.)

But in the particular matter of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception the Jesuit Koesters has justly said (*Maria, die unbefleckt Empfangene*, p. 104): "It is the enduring achievement of the great Franciscan John Duns Scotus that he dispelled the hard frost of theological misgivings, and thus brought it about that the bud of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which was even then perfectly formed, should open up and disclose its wondrous beauty."



FRANCISCAN STUDIES

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada.

BOARD OF EDITORS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. FERDINAND GRUEN, O. F. M.

REV. ERMIN SCHNEIDER, O. F. M.

REV. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M., Ph. D.

REV. JOSEPH F. RHODE, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., S. S. L.

REV. SIXTUS LIGARIO, O. F. M.

REV. CYRIL PIONTEK, O. F. M., J. C. D.

REV. ROBERT MOORE, O. F. M.

REV. BEDE HESS, O. M. C., S. T. D.

REV. CYRIL KITA, O. M. C., Ph. D., S. T. D.

REV. THEODOSIUS FOLEY, O. M. Cap.

REV. FRANCIS LAING, O. M. Cap.

REV. ALOYSIUS M. FISH, O. M. C., Ph. D.

Publication Office, 54 Park Place, New York, N. Y.

Correspondence in regard to contributions should be sent to Editorial Office, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 5

DECEMBER, 1926

LANGUAGE STUDIES IN THE FRANCISCAN ORDER

A Historical Sketch

By

JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

CUM PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

IMPRIMATUR

✠ GUILLELMUS TURNER,
Epus. Buffalensis

December 3, 1926

LANGUAGE STUDIES IN THE FRANCISCAN ORDER

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

FR. JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. CAP.

ST. FRANCIS and his first companions devoted themselves from the very beginning to the active life in a way as none of the older Orders had practiced it. This apostolic activity of the newly founded Order was bound up inseparably with the culture of science in general and the study of languages in particular.¹

Certainly our holy founder regarded theology or the study of Scripture as the essential subject for the Friars. Yet the educational program of the Friars broadened so rapidly after the death of Saint Francis, that as early as twenty years after his passing, during the Generalate of Crescentius of Jesi (1244-1247), profane studies were introduced into the Franciscan schools.²

The seven liberal arts formed those branches of humanistic knowledge which were taught in the schools throughout the Middle Ages to qualify scholars for the professional studies of medicine, law, or theology at the universities. The first group of these disciplines embraced the language studies of grammar, rhetoric and logic. These studies provided the means of interpreting Scripture, the ultimate end of Christian education. And they had a formal character also, i. e., they aimed at training the mind rather than imparting particular knowledge of things. These branches took their place at the head of the system of studies because they were regarded as the key to all positive knowledge.

When the Friars Minor began to teach linguistics at their convent schools, the educational system of the times was undergoing great changes. At the universities the philological studies were well-nigh displaced by philosophy in the course of the 13th

¹ Felder, "Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Studien," Freiburg (1904), pp. 1-15.

² Felder, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96, 407-409.

and 14th centuries. It was at this turning point of history that the Franciscan Friary at Oxford was the home of a number of most zealous and capable linguists. "The school," says Felder³ "must be credited with the distinction of having first of all preserved the valuation of the ancient arts for modern times; it will remain its glory that it safeguarded and cultivated in the 13th century the language studies and thereby sowed the seeds of that growth which was to sprout on gradually during the 14th century and to ripen into the harvest of humanism."

Latin, the language of theology and the schools, naturally occupied the first place in the linguistic studies of the Friars.

The Study of Latin

As far as literature and learning were concerned, there was but one language for Europe throughout the Middle Ages, namely Latin. Being a literary language, it was learned through written grammar and treated as the most important study in the curriculum of the schools.

The most popular Latin grammar used in the medieval schools was the so-called *Doctrinale puerorum* written by the Friar Minor, Alexander of Ville-Dieu or Alexander Gallus (died about 1240 A. D.). Born at Ville-Dieu in Normandy, France, he wrote in 1199 his famous *Doctrinale*. This is a Latin grammar written in the form of verse. It contains 2,645 Leonine verses which could easily be committed to memory. It was used from the 13th to the 16th century as the standard textbook for teaching Latin in elementary schools. Accordingly we find countless manuscript copies and printed editions, numerous adaptations, compendiums, and commentaries of this popular Latin Grammar in rhyme. Between the years 1470 and 1500 no less than 250 editions, comprising at least 125,000 copies, appeared in print. Prominent philologists, like Louis Pontico of Belluno, Brocard Pilade of Brescia, Hubert Sussaneau of Paris, and Herman Torrentinus of Zwolle wrote explanations of it and re-edited it even at the beginning of the sixteenth century. More than 50 editions with a sum total of at least 70,000 copies issued from the press after the year 1500. Making allowance for a limited number of editions which have been completely destroyed and thus escaped the bibliographers, we are certain that no less than 200,000 copies of Alexander's *Doctrinale* were printed between the years 1470 and 1525 for school purposes.

³ Felder, op. cit., p. 412.

The number of pupils who have studied the rudiments of Latin from Friar Alexander's rhymed grammar during the three hundred and twenty-five years it was in use (1200-1525) runs up into the millions.

Friar Alexander's *Doctrinale* was a decided improvement upon its predecessors both from a practical and a scientific viewpoint. The older grammars of Donat and Priscian treated only the accident of Latin and omitted the syntax entirely. "The Latin Syntax compiled by Alexander of Ville-Dieu," writes Dietrich Reichling,⁴ "which had been displaced by the humanists, after it had been in use during more than three hundred years, was reinstated during the 18th century, the humanists having been unable to furnish something better, and this system of Friar Alexander is still retained in the most modern grammars as the only methodical treatment of the subject in spite of ever so many novel reforms."⁵ A critical edition of Alexander's *Doctrinale* was published by Dietrich Reichling at Berlin in 1893.⁶

Friar Dionysius Nestor of Novara, O. M. Observ. (died about 1500), was also a Latin grammarian. He wrote three works: *De octo partibus orationis*, *De compositione eleganti*, *De syllabarum quantitate*. These were appended to his dictionary as printed at Strassburg in 1507.

Latin vocabularies for the use in grammar schools were written by several Friars. First in point of time comes Alexander of Ville-Dieu. A *Vocabularius*, printed at Strassburg in 1493, is attributed to him.⁷ His authorship, however, is not established with absolute certainty. The foremost lexicographer among the Friars during the Middle Ages was the aforementioned Observant, Dionysius Nestor. His *Vocabularium Latinum* passed through nine different editions between 1483 and 1507 and marked a decided improvement upon the earlier works. In a classical Latin poem Friar Dionysius dedicated his work to the great patron of the humanists, Louis Sforza, Duke of Milan. This vocabulary was not written for beginners, but for more advanced scholars. It was so well adapted to the humanistic tendencies of the time that it found great favor even with the masters of elegant Latin diction.

A notable linguist in his days who was later almost completely forgotten was the Friar Minor William Brito of Wales.

⁴ "Das *Doctrinale* des Alexander de Villa Dei," Berlin (1893), p. 15.

⁵ Felder, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-423.

⁶ "Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica," XIII.

⁷ Hain, "Repert. Bibliog.," I., p. 85, n. 776.

Wadding and other bibliographers place the date of his death in the year 1356. If this date is retained, we are forced to distinguish two writers of the same name; one who lived about 1250 and wrote a *Biblical Glossary* and a later who died in 1356. Friar Brito wrote several treatises on the Latin grammar, a *Vocabularius*, and *Summa difficilium vocabulorum Bibliae ex glossis Sanctorum*, all of which are still unedited. The last mentioned *Summa*, or *Biblical Glossary*, is contained in many manuscripts, especially in French libraries, and has been very popular. Only one of Friar Brito's works was printed, his Latin *Synonyms*, called *Pratellum Synonimorum*. This work was published at Paris in 1496, 1498, and 1504. These impressions, issued at the high tide of humanism and when the book market was deluged with similar works written by the then modern writers, attest more than anything else the great value of the compilation of the 13th century Friar.

In 1702 Ambrose of Brigentis, O. M. Cap., published a Latin glossary giving exotic and obsolete words (*Glossographia Onomatographica*, Mantuae, 1702). Several Friars left vocabularies which have never been edited—for instance, those of Blessed John Buralli of Parma (died 1289), the famous Spiritualist and General of the Order.

As soon as the humanists had purged the text-books of the barbarisms of low or medieval Latinity, great want was felt for so-called ecclesiastical vocabularies to interpret the peculiarities of Church Latin. In 1503 appeared in print at Milan the *Vocabularium Ecclesiasticum* of the Augustinian Friar, John Bernard of Savona. The Friars Minor followed soon after with similar works. In 1527 H. Stephanus published at Paris the *Compendium difficilium accentuum* of the Spanish Friar, Francis Robles. Later this compendium was reprinted at Alcalá in 1533, and at Berelanga and Castile in 1565. The fact that Stephanus, the foremost publisher of critical Latin and Greek texts, printed this ecclesiastical vocabulary is proof of its intrinsic value. In this work Friar Robles intended to instruct the young ecclesiastic in pronouncing and accenting the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek words found in the Bible, Breviary, Missal, and Ritual and at the same time to give the proper meaning of these words. The book comprises nearly 400 pages in print. In 1621 the Friar Minor, Michael Assensio, published at Saragossa a more extensive work, the *Copia accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium Latinarum, Hebraicarum et Graecarum*

in *Bibliis, Breviario et Martyrologio*. The work makes 560 pages of printed matter. A less pretentious work, the *Symphonia Sanctae lectionis et libellus de recta sacrarum dictionum prolatione*, was published by Joseph Daberna of Cammarata, O. M. Cap. (died 1677), at Messina in 1656. The same volume was reprinted at Perugia in 1656, at Milan in 1657, and at Bassano in 1705.

The Latin Bible has always been a favorite subject for linguistic studies among the Friars and among scholars in general. Here again the famous grammarian, Alexander of Villedieu, takes the lead with his *Tabula super Bibliam per versus composita*, a mnemonic summary of the content of the Bible. It consists of 212 hexameters which are arranged in such an artificial manner that each word, sometimes a short group of words, amounts to a synopsis of a whole chapter. The first seven chapter of Genesis are expressed thus:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sex,	Prohibet,	Peccant,	Abel,	Enoch,	Et Arca fit,	Intrant.

The interlinear glosses read thus:

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dies,	Lignum vitae,	Primi parentes,	occiditur,	transfertur,
(6)	(7)			
a Noe,	in arcam.			

This gloss is the work of a later writer and was added to give greater force to the original mnemonic composition. A boy who had once committed these verses to memory—and that was a rather easy task—was able to recite with ease the Bible Story in his own words, chapter after chapter, from Genesis to the Apocalypse.

Friar Alexander's *Tabula* or *Summa* enjoyed the greatest popularity in medieval schools despite several other competitors. For more than three centuries millions of people mastered the Bible Stories by means of this mnemonic help. The work spread first in countless manuscript copies, then in 1498 it was printed at Venice as an appendix to the Latin Bible having been edited by Simon Bevilacqua. It was later reprinted in hundreds of editions of the Latin Bible, till the year 1660 when it was incorporated in the *Biblia Maxima*, edited by Joh. de la Haye, Paris 1660. It also appeared in countless editions of *Biblical Compendia* up to the year 1711, when it was reprinted by Jos. Maria de Turre, O. Praed. (*Institutiones ad Verbi Dei scripti intelligentiam*, vol. III, Parmae 1711, p. 564).

Friar Alexander had imitators among his brethren who, however, never gained the popularity he had won with his rhymed mnemonic Biblical summaries. Francis Gothus or Gotthus, a Friar Minor, composed a more extensive work of this kind epitomizing each chapter of the Bible in four iambic dimeters. The first chapter of Genesis is summarized thus:

"Ante fit, lux producitur // Dividens aquas congregat // ornatus factis additur // Producta Adae subjugat //."

Friar Gothus' *Biblical Compendium* is printed in the Latin Bible published at Lyons in 1515 and some later editions. It is well to bear in mind that other compositions and similar works of Friars are still buried in libraries or have been destroyed.

We must pass over a number of metrical summaries of Lombard's *Sentences*, Scotus' *Commentaries*, and the Decretals written by Friars and still preserved in printed manuscript copies.

The Middle Ages produced a large number of Biblical glossaries, mostly mixed with glosses on non-Biblical, or even profane subjects, as Hebrew and Greek Biblical proper names, and explanations of the text of the Latin Vulgate.

Bible Studies In this branch of linguistics the Friars again gained distinction. The Friar, William Brito, a Welshman, mentioned above, compiled a *Vocabularius*. This work was transmitted to posterity only in manuscript form. It offers a Latin interpretation of all words including Hebrew terms, found in the Latin Vulgate. His *Summa*, beginning "Difficiles studeo partes quas Biblia gestat pandere," was of still greater value than the *Vocabularius*. It was a glossary of all difficult words of the Vulgate. This *Summa* was widely used during the 13th and 14th centuries, as is attested by the numerous manuscript copies still extant in the libraries. About 1300 it gave rise to the far-famed *Mammothrectus* of Friar John Marchesinus.

Mammothrectus is the title of a manual for ecclesiastics, in which all difficult words found in the Bible and Breviary are explained etymologically and grammatically, and here and there interspersed with archeological digressions. The first part defines the meaning of Biblical words in running order, as they are found in each chapter, from Genesis to the Apocalypse. A systematic treatise on rules of orthography and pronunciation and some brief remarks on archeology conclude this part. The second section gives the meaning of words found in the antiphons, hymns and lessons of the Breviary. An alphabetical index of all words explained is appended at the end of the work. This

volume was compiled about the year 1300 by the Friar Minor, John Marchesinus of Reggio nell' Emilia.

The compiler unfortunately does not give us an etymological explanation of the rather strange title of the work, and merely states that the *Mammotrectus* should serve as a guide to the boys. He apparently borrowed the term from St. Augustine who writes:⁸ "mammothrepti dicuntur pueri, qui diu sugunt." (Enarr. 3, 12 in Ps. 30). Accordingly the term is composed of *Mamma*, the mother, meaning the Bible, which is considered the mother of all truth. *Trectus*, instead of *tractus*, is a concession made to euphony. The *Mammotrectus* was the most popular work of its kind and was copied very often, so that numerous manuscript copies are still preserved dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. It was first printed in 1470 and passed through no less than thirty-four editions from 1470 till 1521. At least twenty-two thousand copies of about 400 printed pages were issued.

Friar Gerard Eudes (Odonis) who died in 1348, the 18th General of the Order, left in manuscript a treatise on Biblical figures of speech which was never printed.

Concordances of the Bible are divided into two classes: *real* concordances or concordances of things, indexing the subject matter, and *verbal* concordances, indexing the words alphabetically. Concordances of the Bible are the invention of the Friars Minor. To St. Antony of Padua (died 1231) must be given the distinction of having compiled the first Biblical concordance, named *Concordantie Morales Sacrorum Bibliorum*. It is a *real* concordance grouping passages in a systematic way under different headings for the convenience of preachers. This concordance was first published by Wadding at Rome in 1624 and reprinted in *Opera S. Antonii*, Paris 1641, Lyons 1653 and Stadt am Hof in 1739. The *Moral Concordances* of St. Antony of Padua were found so excellent by the Anglican divine and scholar, John Mason Neale (died 1866), that he published an English translation at London 1856 (reprinted in 1866 and 1898). "St. Antony of Padua," says this High Churchman in the preface to his English translation (p. 2), "was not only one of the greatest but, perhaps, the most popular, among the preachers of the Middle Ages. That which he exemplifies in his discourses, he shows in a not less striking manner by the

8 Enarr., 3, 12 in Ps. 30.

Concordantiae Morales, which are now, for the first time, presented to the English reader." "In conclusion," he remarks (p. 28), "the translator (J. M. Neale) is only repaying a debt due to the labours of St. Antony, if he expresses the greater insight into Holy Scripture which the translation of the present work has given him. If others should derive but a quarter of the benefit that he himself is conscious of having gained from the Moral Concordances of S. Antony, that translation will not have been undertaken in vain." In the preface to the second edition, three months before his death, Neale writes (p. 30): "I had not ventured to hope that the Concordances would ever reach a second edition. I can only be thankful that the style of interpretation which they presuppose must thus have become better known to many of *my brethren*." And this work so popular among Anglicans is practically unknown to Catholic priests; so much so that it is merely mentioned s. v. Wadding in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

A few years after the completion of the first *real* concordance of the Bible by St. Antony of Padua, the Dominicans undertook to compile the first *verbal* concordance of the Bible under the direction of Hugo of Saint-Cher. Their work was finished in 1230.

However, the Friars Minor following in the footsteps of St. Antony of Padua, gradually began to write Biblical Concordances of different kinds. The great Friar and Archbishop of Canterbury, Venerable John Peckam (died 1292), one of the greatest scholars of his day, compiled a *Collectarium divinarum sententiarum librorum Biblicorum*. This was printed at Cologne in 1513, at Paris in 1513, and at Cologne in 1541.⁹ Even as late as the year 1725 a German Lutheran theologian called this concordance a "work of no small account."¹⁰ In 1305 Vitalis a Furno (died 1327), Friar Minor and Cardinal, wrote: *Speculum morale totius Sacrae Scripturae*. It was successively printed at Lyons in 1513, at Venice in 1594 and in 1600. Both works belong to the class of *real* concordances. Thomas Hibernicus, an Irish Franciscan who flourished at the beginning of the 14th century, wrote *Promptuarium Morale Sacrae Scripturae*. This work is of the same nature as the *Moral Concordances* of St. Antony, but nearly twice as long. It was first published at Rome, 1624, as an appendix to St. Antony's *Concordances*.

9. Panzer, "Annales Typogr.," VI., 233, 373, VIII., 2, 612.

10. "Unschuld. Nachricht. v. Alt. u. Neuen, Wittenb. (1725), p. 547.

The first *verbal* concordance of the Bible by a Friar Minor was written by Arlottus of Prato (died 1287), general of the Order from 1285 till 1286. The eminent Bibliographer, Casimir Oudin, contends¹¹ that the Latin concordances, printed anonymously no less than eight times from 1475 till 1555, are the productions of Arlottus. Other bibliographers, however, generally ascribe them to Conradus Halberstadtensis, O. Pr. As matters now stand, the authorship cannot be definitely decided. I hope that some studious Friar will some day settle this point by comparing the respective manuscripts and printed editions. At any rate, Friar Arlottus has the credit of having inspired Rabbi Isaac Nathan to compile his Hebrew concordances of the Bible during the years 1438 to 1448. Rabbi Isaac Nathan states expressly that he followed Arlottus of Prato in composing his celebrated work.¹² The Rabbi's work was first printed by Bomberg at Venice in 1523.

However, these Concordances of Arlottus or Conrad of Halberstadt bearing the name, *Concordantiae maiores*, were found too diffuse. Therefore the Friar Minor, Antony of Koenigstein (died 1541), compiled *Concordantiae breviores ex Sacris libris Bibliorum*. This compilation appeared in print with a preface by the celebrated controversialist Nicol. Herborn, Ord. Min., at Cologne in 1529, in 1530, in 1533, at Paris in 1544.¹³ Friar Antony had written his concordances primarily, as he states on the title-page, for the use of preachers. But his confrère, Henry Regius of Paderborn, O. M. Obs., guardian at Schwerin (died about 1555), followed the opposite course and compiled a Latin concordance, entitled *Biblia alphabetica* (printed at Cologne in 1535) for more scientific purposes. This concordance of Friar Henry Regius is more copious than even the *Concordantiae maiores* including also the monosyllables and the uninflected particles together with the quotations of texts and chapters. It bears on the title-page the well-merited words: "opus antehac numquam excussum et maioribus, ut vocant, concordantiis longe cum locupletius tum perfectius." The curious title has misled some bibliographers to take this concordance for an edition of the Bible. In 1551 Franc. Arola, Ord. Min., published at Lyons a revised and enlarged edition of the *Concordantiae Maiores*.

11 "Commentarius de scriptorib. ecclesiast.," vol. III., Lipsiae, (1722), p. 569.

12 Wolf, "Bibliotheca Hebraea," vol. 1, Hamburg (1715), p. 681.

13 Panzer, "Annales Typogr.," VI., pp., 409, 423, IX., pp. 432, 528 b.

Of more recent verbal concordances of the Latin Bible we mention the one published in 1861 by Friar Gabriel Tonini, O. M. Obs., at Prato (Italy). It gives detailed explanations of all proper names, and is recognized as being very complete.¹⁴

In the 13th century the Friars scored the greatest success in the field of textual criticism of the Latin Vulgate. Owing to several causes the text of St. Jerome was corrupted at an early date, and attempts were made time and again to restore a purer Latin text. The Dominicans tried to remedy the evils by compiling four different correctories or text-forms of the Vulgate between 1236 and 1256. But these productions did not impress Roger Bacon favorably. "Every reader among the Friars Minor," he wrote in 1267,¹⁵ corrects his Bible as he chooses; so also among the Friars Preachers; so also among the clerks and priests; and every one changes whatever he does not understand. The so-called corrected text of the Friars Preachers is the most faulty corruption."

The true principles which ought to guide the correction of the Latin Vulgate were first formulated in 1267 by the great Friar Roger Bacon, and his religious Brethren were the first to apply them. Their application of these principles was not always successful. No less than five correctories compiled by Friars Minor are preserved. We may first mention the *Correctorium Sorbonnicum*, formerly belonging to the Library of the Sorbonne at Paris, but now in the National Library of that city. It is probably the work of the celebrated grammarian and lexicographer William Brito whom we mentioned above. The Dominican correctories are initiated a great deal in this text-form. Friar Gerard of Huy, however, another compiler of a correctory, was a faithful follower of Roger Bacon's principles; the old Latin manuscripts and the readings of the Fathers are his first authority. He knew the history of the versions and the origin of the textual corruptions of the Sacred Scriptures. Friar Gerard de Buxo of Avignon compiled a correctory, now preserved at Toulouse, France, and John of Cologne wrote another, now preserved at Einsiedeln. Still all these correctories, good as they may be, are excelled by the *Correctorium Vaticanum*. Nine different copies of this work are known. The author is William de Mara, of Oxford. He was a disciple of Roger Bacon and rigidly followed his master's principles and methods.

¹⁴ "Kirchenlexicon," vol. II., 640.

¹⁵ Opus Tert.

Though acquainted with the original texts of the Bible, he relied more on the authority of the early manuscripts of St. Jerome's Latin text. There are some faults in this correctory, resulting mainly from Friar William's limited knowledge of Greek. Two other groups of correctories (in the Marciana, Venice, and the Vaticana, Rome) owe much to William De Mara and Gerard de Huy. Some other groups of correctories have not been so fully investigated as to define their relationship.¹⁶

The great merits of the Friars Minor, as critical revisers of the Vulgate text during the 13th century, had been virtually forgotten till the year 1888, when Henry Denifle, O. P., published his epoch-making work on the Biblical correctories.¹⁷ Later researches have thrown even more light on the critical labors of the Friars Minor, and scholars are now unstinted in their praise. To quote only one, the Rev. Bede Jarrett, O. P., who says in the *Irish Theological Quarterly*:¹⁸ "*The really stupendous learning and critical insight of Roger Bacon, solitary among his brethren though it may have been, sheds a lustre over his fellow-friars of the Brown Robe. The version of Willemus de Mara has been accepted by scholars as the most accurate text of the Vulgate between the tenth and the sixteenth century. The Dominican work, on the other hand, is earlier and of a slightly different character. It aims not so much at getting back to the actual Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome as at evolving the nearest translation of the original Hebrew and Greek. The Dominicans trusting greatly in the science of their own, labored to obtain an ideal text. The Franciscans, distrusting contemporary learning, turned back across history to reconstruct the work of St. Jerome. They studied the manuscripts of his revision, using the Hebrew and the Greek only to decide the readings of dubious passages. There can be no doubt that the Franciscans were substantially right in their contention. The whole body of critics is now on their side. The Franciscans, as represented by Bacon and de Mara, were wiser in their generation than the Dominicans of Sens and Cardinal Hugh of S. Cher.*"

As the critical system of Biblical learning grew in extent and accuracy in the 16th century, new attempts were made to obtain a more critical revision of St. Jerome's Latin translation

16 Maas, "Catholic Encyclopedia," IV., 394 sq.

17 "Archiv. Lit. u. Kirchengesch.," IV., 263-311, 471-601.

18 Vol. V., January (1910), 54, 61.

of the Bible. This time again a Friar Minor stands forth most prominent among the Biblical critics. This was the illustrious Pontiff, Sixtus V., O. M. C. It must be confessed, however, that he was not so happy in the execution of his plan as were his confrères of the 13th century. The Council of Trent had urged a revision of the Latin Vulgate text. Subsequent popes had labored over the task for forty years without being able to bring the work to completion. Finally in 1585 Cardinal Peretti was elected Pope. He had been working on the committee for revision for some time and as pope he strained every nerve to have the revised Vulgate published. Printing was begun in 1589. Unfortunately his interest in this matter induced him to read the proofs personally. During this proof reading he changed some of the readings selected by the commission into others which seemed to him more correct. The result was that this final revision of Sixtus V. found favor with but few scholars. After his death (Aug. 27, 1590) his edition was withdrawn from circulation, corrected, and re-issued in 1592 by Clement VIII. It bore the title: *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V. Jussu recognita et edita*, and thereby expressly states that this edition is the realization of the plan of Sixtus V. Since 1592 this edition was made the official text for the Latin Church. Still even this edition as well as two subsequent editions (1593 and 1598) are not free from misprints as pointed out in the appended list of errors.

The problem left to later scholars for solution was to eliminate these misprints and to edit a text free of the errors pointed out in the *indices correctorii* of the Sixtine-Clementine edition. In many editions this task was performed more or less successfully. The edition by Vercellone (Rome, 1861) is the only one up to 1906 which can pass as being "almost entirely free from errors." The distinction, however, of having restored an edition of the Sixtine-Clementine Vulgate which is absolutely free from errors, is due to a Friar Minor, Michael Hetzenauer, O. M. Cap. In 1906 he published his great work: *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis critice edita* (Oeniponte, 1906). This work has been twice reprinted (Ratisb. Rome 1914 and 1922). Scholars have unanimously proclaimed this edition the most accurate text of the official Vulgate ever edited. Father Hetzenauer discovered no less than 4,900 variant readings between the Sixtine and Clementine editions. Monumental though this work is, the honor of restoring the Latin Vulgate to that state in which St. Jerome had

left it, will pass most probably to the Sons of St. Benedict. Still the Friars Minor must be credited with the distinction of having first blazed the trail out of the maze of confusion.

We pass over many names of Friars who edited Latin Bibles and other Latin texts of ecclesiastical and profane writers. Likewise we omit the names of translators who have rendered works into Latin from various vernacular languages in order to direct our attention presently to the great linguistic movement of the Renaissance or revival of classical learning.

Medieval students possessed and used a considerable portion of the Latin classics only, since Greek had become almost entirely a dead language in Western Europe. Throughout the Middle Ages cycles of revival of learning on a smaller scale and at different centres preceded the Renaissance.

When the Friars Minor appeared upon the stage of history, Latin was the language of the schools and courts, and many spoke and wrote it pretty well. The Friars Minor did not lag behind in writing rather elegant Latin. Ozanam remarked in 1852¹⁹ that the Latin Style in St. Bonaventure's Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, written 1248-1257, is more plastic, fluent and original, and less burdened with technicalities of the schools than that found among the rank and file of schoolmen of his time. Still more, the same historian calls the famous *Legenda S. Francisci*, written by St. Bonaventure 1260-1263, "a book which should be called a poem but for its lack of the form of verse. From the very first line it rings with the sound of true poetry."²⁰

Still there is more art contained in this beautifully wrought prose-poem than Ozanam discerned. St. Bonaventure wrote his legend according to the rules of the *cursus*, which was elaborated in the course of the 4th century from the rhythmical prose of the Roman writers. The *cursus* rests upon the accent of words and not, like the rhythmical prose-compositions of the classics, on the quantity of syllables. The *Ars dictandi* distinguishes various kinds of *cursus*, as e. g., *cursus planus* (*regna coelorum*), *cursus tardus* (*virginis uterum*), *cursus velox* (*sanguine redempti*). Works written in the *cursus* are therefore subject to

19 "Poètes Franciscains," p. 114.

20 Op. cit., pp. 114, 115.

definite and recognized rules, and are artistically and aesthetically composed, but they are not bound by the rules of rigid versification, although they might soar on wings. As this artificial structure of medieval Latin prose has been studied only of late in a thorough-going manner, there still remains much to be done.

Recent researches have revealed the fact that some of the earliest Friars were well versed in the art of writing prose according to all rules of the *cursus*. We know now that the two *Legends* of St. Francis by St. Bonaventure, the two *Vitae* by Thomas of Celano (written 1229 and 1246), the *Legends of St. Francis* by Julius of Spires (written 1230-1232), the *Legends of St. Antony of Padua* by the same Julius of Spires (died 1250), the *Legenda trium Sociorum* (written 1244-1246), and the *Vita S. Antonii* by John Rigaldus (died 1323), are composed according to the rules of the *cursus* of the Roman rhetoricians of classical antiquity.²¹

These authors of Latin prose-poems were also competent writers of Latin verse. Some of their productions, like the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater*, are well known to every priest to-day. We will only mention the names of these early Latin poets: Thomas of Celano, the author of the *Dies irae* (died about 1255), Julius of Spires (died 1250), St. Bonaventure (died 1274), John Peckham (died 1292), and Jacopone da Todi, the author of the *Stabat mater* (died 1306).

The friary at Oxford had been from the very beginning a strong centre of classical learning and remained such even during the time when philosophy had largely superseded humanistic studies at Paris and on the continent²². From Oxford, Friar Richard of Middleton (died March 30, 1300) carried the torch of learning into Spain, in order to educate a young man who was destined to become the greatest patron of letters among the rulers of Europe.

In 1288 three sons of Charles II. of Anjou, King of Naples, were sent to Spain as hostages for their father who had been defeated and captured by the Spaniards. The oldest of these was to become a Friar Minor, St. Louis of Toulouse (born 1274, died 1297), and a younger, Robert of Anjou, King of Naples (born 1275, died 1343). During the seven years of their captivity (1288-1295) in the castle of Scirana and in the

²¹ "Archiv. Fr. Hist.," IV. (1911), pp. 198-201.
²² Felder, "Studien," p. 412.

city of Barcelona, the education of the three young princes was entrusted to a number of Friars Minor chosen from among the most learned of the Order. The most brilliant of these Friar tutors of the Anjou princes was Richard of Middleton. Among the rest we single out William of Falgar (died 1297), Pontius Carbonelli (died about 1297), and Francis of Apt, the spiritual director. And the pupils were worthy of their teachers. The humanistic education imparted by the Friars to Robert of Anjou from his thirteenth to the twentieth year shone forth most brilliantly when he succeeded to the throne of his father as King of Naples (1309-1343). Robert of Anjou was not only the most powerful Italian ruler of his day, but also a man of learning, devoted to literature, and a generous patron of literary men. He was, moreover, himself a humanist and wrote Latin works in a polished style. Friar Bartholomaeus de Pisa wrote in 1385²³ that "for many years he excelled in science by far all rulers of the world" (*scientia omnes principes orbis a magno tempore citra dicitur excessisse*). In 1317 he composed the rhythmical office of S. Louis, his brother, who had been canonized in that year. This office was inserted in the Franciscan Breviary and chanted in choir by the Friars for more than two hundred years. He wrote works on theology, and left a collection of 289 Latin sermons. On July 16, 1323 when St. Thomas Aquinas was canonized by John XXII. at Avignon, King Robert delivered a splendid Latin oration to grace the occasion. His humanistic attainments were solemnly recognized in 1340, when he was chosen as the most competent judge in all Italy to pronounce upon the claims of Petrarch to the laurel crown. And in the month of April, 1341, Petrarch received the poet's crown upon the Capitol at Rome amid the plaudits of the people. The ancient and the modern eras met on this memorable occasion. The new epoch, which we are wont to style the Renaissance, was opened by the Tertiary poet Francesco Petrarch, and the Tertiary King Robert of Naples stood sponsor to it.

King Robert of Naples, called by historians the "Solomon of his age," was not only a lifelong Tertiary of St. Francis, but died even a Friar Minor. Eighteen days before his death (he died January 16, 1343) he made his profession and died a Friar Minor. His wife Sancia entered the Order of Poor Clares after his death.²⁴ The unique position held by King Robert of Naples

23 "De Conformitate," vol. I., p. 347, Quaracchi (1906).

24 Bartholomaeus de Pisa, *op. cit.*, pp. 348, 359.

at the turning-point of history was first brought out in all its striking features by the Protestant historian W. Goetz in his study: *Koenig Robert v. Neapel* (1309-1343), *Seine Persoenlichkeit u. sein Verhaeltnis zum Humanismus*. Tuebingen, 1910

It was a Tertiary of St Francis, Francis Petrarch (born 1303, died 1374), who inaugurated that far-reaching movement of the Renaissance or Revival of Learning which made learning the fashionable passion of all classes of society and gave to literature the place hitherto occupied by philosophy. However, the rank and file of Friars Minor as well as the Mendicant Friars and Monks in general, looked askance, to say the least, at this fascination of pure Latinity and the new or humanistic interpretation of Latin and Greek classics. Accordingly the number of Friars who eventually were carried away by this lay movement remained exceedingly small, and even these few purists had too strongly imbibed the spirit of Franciscan utilitarianism to make the mastery of literary Latin style the supreme end of education. No more than four Friars Minor may be counted as strictly belonging to the humanistic restorers of classical scholarship in the 15th century: Antonio of Rho near Milan (Raudensis) (died about 1450), Dionysius Nestor, O. M. Obs. (died about 1500), Joannes Ricutius Vellinus, better known as John Camers, O. M. C. (died 1546), and the Greek scholar Urbano Valeriano Bolzani of Belluno (born 1440, died 1524).

Antonio of Rho, renowned as a philological critic, grammarian, and rhetorician, was at one time a favorite friend of Lorenzo Valla. Lorenzo introduced him as a speaking character into his dialogues treating of pleasure and true goodness. But later Antonio became the object of the venomous attacks on the part of his former friend. Friar Antonio criticized the *Elegantiae*, a work of Valla, and thereby called forth Lorenzo Valla's *Invectiva in Antonium Raudensem*. The countless editions of Valla's *Elegantiae* (first printed at Paris in 1471) contained invariably, as a second part, the *Invectiva* against Antonio of Rho, so that for well-nigh one hundred years boys in the grammar school became quite familiar with the name of Antonius Raudensis. He was involved in a second controversy with Francesco Filelfo and Adam Montaltus of Genoa on account of his critical emendations of the text of Lactantius. The *Errata Lactantii per Anton. Raudensem collecta* were

printed in the works of Lactantius no less than thirteen times from 1465 to 1497.²⁵

The greatest of the Humanist Friars Minor was Giovanni Riguzzi Vellini of Camerino, called Johannes Camers. He was famed as a Latin poet and as a gifted critical editor and interpreter of classical authors. From about 1490 till his death he taught humanities at the University of Vienna. He edited with annotations the works of Lucius Annaeus Florus (*Epitome rerum Romanarum*, Vienna, 1511 and 1518; Argentorat., 1528; Basel, 1557), Cajus Plinius (*Historia naturalis*, Vienna, 1514, Venet., 1524, with exhaustive index), Sextus Rufus (*Romanorum imperandi genera*, Vienna, 1518), Julius Solinus (*Polyhistor*, Vienna, 1520; Basel 1557), and *Antilogia seu locorum quorundam Solini defensio* (Vienna, 1522), and Pomponius Mela (*De situ orbis*, Venet., 1501 and nine editions till 1540). He also wrote a commentary on Dionysius Afer (*Geographia*, Vienna, 1512). Some of his Latin poems were published at Vienna in 1514.

The Latin lexicographer Dionysius Nestor mentioned above and the Greek scholar, Urbano of Belluno, will be treated later.

The Revival of Learning as a literary movement during the transitional period from the Middle Ages to modern times lasted fully two centuries and affected more or less all European nations. This phase of the Renaissance closed with the death of the famous poet Vittoria Colonna (died 1547). The artistic ideals of the age were lost with the death of the great painter Michelangelo (died 1564) and its diplomacy deteriorated after the pontificate of Pope Paul III. (died 1549).

Vittoria Colonna is regarded as one of the greatest of Italian poets and was one of the purest and noblest women of her time. In 1539, a passionate friendship grew up between Vittoria and Michelangelo, then in his sixty-fourth year. She devoted her best years entirely to religion and literature. Much of her time was spent in the center of the best literary and religious movements, in convents at Rome, Orvieto and Viterbo, where she lived in conventual simplicity. The best productions of her genius are the *Rime Spirituali*. Her poems are called fusions of Petrarch's genius with that of Plato. Vittoria Colonna rendered an immortal service to the cause of religion when by her influence with Pope and Emperor, she saved from certain ruin the

25 Fabricius Mansi, "Bibliotheca," I. (1754), p. 131.

rising Order of Friars Minor Capuchin. Whether Vittoria Colonna was a member of the Third Order, I could not ascertain. However, she had been seriously contemplating to enter the Order of the Capuchin Nuns, founded by her friend Maria Longo (died 1542) in 1538 at Naples. At any rate, she had drunk deeper of St. Francis' spirit than the "Patriarch of the Renaissance," Francesco Petrarch.

With the end of the Renaissance, the interest in humanistic studies abated everywhere, and theology and the natural sciences gained the ascendancy. Nevertheless, the Order of Friars Minor boasts during the next few centuries a long list of Latinists who produced works in prose and verse that rival the best models of the golden days of the Renaissance. We mention only one of the latest productions of this kind: the work *De viris illustribus Ordinis Minorum* by Marinus a Floriano, O. M. Cap., printed at Rome in 1914.

Greek was better known in Italy during the 13th century than we might expect. In 1292 Roger Bacon who had his information from first-hand sources declared: "There are in many places of Italy both churchmen and laymen who are pure Greeks so that bishops and archbishops as well as other men of wealth and station could procure Greek books and teachers, as we see in the case of the late Bishop Robert of Lincoln; some of these teachers remained in England to this day."²⁶ The Friars Minor counted among their first members many a man who was born in Southern Italy and spoke Greek as his mother tongue. Besides these native Greeks we find among the Friars of the earliest days a number of others who could speak Greek just as well. Some of these Greek-speaking Friars were laboring as missionaries in the Greek Empire as early as the year 1232. In the same year during the negotiations between the Popes and the Greek Church, Greek-speaking Friars Minor acted as papal envoys, foremost among them the General John Buralli of Parma (died 1289), Jerome of Ascoli, later Pope Nicholas IV. (died 1292), and the native Greek John Parastron. St. Bonaventure had a far better knowledge of Greek than St. Thomas Aquinas. At the Council of Lyons (1274) he impressed the Greeks who had come there so favorably by his knowledge and erudition, that they gave him the name of Eutychius, the famous Patriarch of Con-

26 "Comp. stud. philos."

stantinople. During the last seven centuries the Friars Minor have labored uninterruptedly among the Greek-speaking people of the Orient and consequently, there were always a number of Friars in the Order who spoke the Greek language fluently and intelligently.

But the Greek-speaking missionaries were not all linguists in the strict sense of the word. Roger Bacon remarked in 1267 (*Opus tertium*): "There are very few men among those who speak Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew that know the grammar of these languages. They are like common people who speak a language without knowing its grammar. I have met many laymen who spoke Latin very well, but who knew absolutely nothing about the rules of grammar. This must be said of almost all living Hebrews and native Greeks, not only of Greek and Hebrew-speaking Latin scholars." Such language was formerly taken as sounding rather boastful. But now we know that Roger Bacon (died 1294) could not only criticise existing shortcomings, but also supply the deficiencies. He is the first man in Western Europe who wrote a scientific Greek Grammar which is in every regard far superior to the *Graecismus*, or metrical Greek grammar, of Eberhard of Bethune (1272). In 1900 J. L. Heiberg edited some parts of Roger Bacon's Greek grammar for the first time.²⁷ Two years later, Father Edmund Nolan edited the whole of what is preserved in a 14th century manuscript at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (no. 148), under the title; *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1902). The manuscript covers 182 printed pages, but does not contain the complete work. It ends with the paradigm to *Typto* and it is doubtful whether it contained also the rules of the syntax. Father Nolan gives also a fragment of a similar work (pp. 185-196), preserved at Cambridge, whose relationship to Roger Bacon's compilation is not quite clear. Unfortunately Father Nolan proved an uncritical editor.

It was again a Friar Minor who, first among the Latins, published in print a scientific Greek grammar. In 1480 the *Erotemata* of Manuel Chrysoloras appeared in print and passed through ten editions within the next twenty years. In 1495 the Greek Grammar of Theodore of Gaza was issued from the press. But both of these Greek grammars were written in Greek by native Greeks. The Friar Minor Urbanus Valerianus Bolzanus

²⁷ "Byzantinische Zeitschrift," vol. IX., pp. 479-491.

of Belluno (died in 1524) published at Venice in 1497 the first grammar in which the grammatical rules of the Greek language were given in Latin. It is a stately quarto of 424 pages and was once very popular. As late as the year 1732 it was highly spoken of by the bibliographer Daniel George Morhof who writes:²⁸ "The *Institutiones Graecae grammaticae* of Urbanus Bellunensis is a work of no mean value and greatly commended by scholars. And why should it not be so, since the author states in the preface that he had gathered a countless number of grammars from almost every corner of Europe which he had studied very closely. This grammar of Friar Urbano was reprinted at Paris, 1508, at Basel, 1524, 1530, 1535, and 1539, and at Venice, 1512, 1553, 1557, and 1560, a clear proof of its popularity during a time when similar works multiplied rapidly.

The later Greek grammars written by Friars Minor neither possessed the intrinsic value, nor attained the renown, of Urbanus' work. We mention here as one of the latest educational books of this kind the *Grammatica Graeca* of Professor Francis Cardinali of Novanna, O. M. Cap., published at Turin in 1909 (2. edit., *ibid.*, 1913).

The study of modern Greek was not neglected by the missionaries in the Levant. Friar Petrus Mercado published at Rome in 1732 an extensive grammar: *Nova encyclopaedia Missionis Apostol. in regno Cypri seu institutiones linguae Graecae vulgaris*.

Friar Urbanus Bolzanus was also a noted Greek lexicographer and critic. Aldus Manutius writes in the preface to the Greek vocabulary, *Thesaurus cornucopiae*, printed in his shop in 1496: "I have added many things, and have changed very many things with the assistance given by Urban, the best Friar of St. Francis. From him you will have in a nutshell what he took very great pains to produce." It was also upon the request of the printer-author Aldus Manutius that Friar Urban wrote his Greek grammar. Friar Urban belonged to the army of Greek scholars whom Aldus had gathered around him at Venice. Greek was the language of Aldus' printing-room. In order to promote Greek studies, Aldus founded an academy of Hellenists in 1500 under the title of the New Academy. Its rules were written in Greek; its members were obliged to speak Greek; their names were Hellenized, and the official titles were

²⁸ "Polyhistor,," 3rd edition, Lubec. (1732), vol. I., p. 780.

Greek. Friar Urban was a member of this Hellenist-Academy which included also Erasmus, and the Englishman Linacre. Friar Urban assisted Aldus in the editorship of several other Greek works besides the *Thesaurus*, especially in the edition of the collected Greek grammarians.²⁹

The foundations of the lexicography of modern Greek were laid by the Capuchin Alexis of Sommevoir in his work, *Tesoro della lingua greca volgare ed italiana*, edited in two folios by Thomas of Paris, O. M. Cap., at Paris in 1709.³⁰

In the interest of their missions the Friars published theological works in Greek which cannot all be mentioned here. We single out the work of the missionary in Greece, Aegidius of Cesaro, Ord. Min., *Apologiae in quibus 53 propositiones haereticas vel erroneas ad hominem confutantur* (Venice, 1678, both in Greek and Latin); that of John Baptist Baur, O. M. Cap. (born 1836), *Argumenta contra Orientalem Ecclesiam* (in Greek, Innsbr., 1897); the one of the Bishop Aloysius Canavo, O. M. Cap. (died 1907), *Philos tou Xristianou* (Smyrna, 1899); while John Baptist of San Lorenzo (born 1866) published at Syros in 1909 a Greek translation of both the small and the large Catechism of Pius X. besides a number of devotional books.

Roger Bacon stated in 1292³¹ that "there are many men in England and France who know Greek pretty well." The best Greek scholar beside Friar Roger Bacon was at that time his disciple Friar William of Mara or Lamara (died about 1300). He was the most learned revisor of the Vulgate before the Council of Trent, as we have seen above. As his correctory shows, he knew Greek and Hebrew well, and of the two, Hebrew even better than Greek. The Greek Septuagint is used extensively, whilst the Hebrew text is compared all along, so that he tells us when the Latin Vulgate harmonizes with the Hebrew original. In doing so, he makes a regular display of his linguistic erudition.³² The correctory of the Vulgate by Gerard of Huy (died about 1300) shows him to have been even better in Greek than in Hebrew.

Bible scholars are indebted to the famous Friar Minor and Cardinal Francis Ximenes, O. M. C., for the first complete

29 cf. Didit, "Alde Manuce," Paris (1875), pp. 92-94, and p. 445.

30 cf. Brockhaus, "Konvers-Lexik.," XII. (1895), p. 267.

31 "Comp. stud. philos."

32 Denifle, "Archiv f. Lit. u. Kircheng. d. M. Alt.," vol. IV. Freiburg (1888).

edition of the Bible in Greek. Parts of the Old Testament and the entire New Testament in Greek had been printed repeatedly since 1481. But the Septuagint was first printed together with the New Testament in Greek in the *Complutensian Polyglot* at Alcalá from 1514 to 1517. Seventy years later, another Friar Minor, Pope Sixtus V., laid Biblical scholars under great obligation by having the most important edition of the Septuagint published in Rome 1586. It has become the *textus receptus* of the Greek Old Testament and has had many reprints.

In Southern Italy, Greek words were occasionally translated into Latin from the earliest days of the Middle Ages. Robert Grosseteste (died 1253), founder of the Franciscan school at Oxford, was himself a distinguished Greek scholar who translated directly from Greek into Latin the famous *Testamentum duodecim Patriarcharum*, the *Letters of St. Ignatius the Martyr*, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite and of Suidas. His disciples at the Friary of Oxford did not follow his example in this field of linguistics. An Italian Friar, however, who took up this kind of literary work most successfully, was the now well-known Angelo Clareno of Cingola (born about 1247, died 1337). A leader of the Spirituals he lived with a small number of followers on one of the islands on the coast of Greece from 1295 till 1305 forming the independent branch of Friars Minor Celestines. Friar Angelo Clareno himself tells us that he laboriously translated the following works from Greek into Latin: the *Rule of St. Basil*, the *Dialogue of St. Macharius*, a work of St. John Chrysostom, and the *Scala Paradisi* of John Climacus.³³ Angelo Clareno ranks among the best medieval translators from Greek. His knowledge of Greek impressed his confrères so much that they believed it to have been miraculously infused. In his *Expositio Regulae Fratrum Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1912), he gives long extracts from Greek Fathers translated by him.³⁴ Ubertain of Casale relates in 1305 that some Spirituals of his time read St. Justin's commentary on the Apocalypse in the refectory in the original Greek text which they understood. This work of St. Justin is now lost.³⁵

Tracing the Hebrew studies of Friars Minor to their origin we are led again to the Friary at Oxford, where the great

³³ The "Prologus" to this translation is printed in Ceruti, "La Scala di G. Climaco," Bologna, (1875).

³⁴ cf. Livar Oliger, "Expositio Regul. auctore Angelo Clareno," Quaracchi, (1912), pp. 32-40.

³⁵ Historisch. Jahrb., Muenchen (1910), p. 551.

genius, Roger Bacon, was laying the foundations of Oriental Philology in Christian Europe. "All modern scholars with few exceptions, among them the theologians of the Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis," wrote Roger Bacon in 1292,³⁶ "hold in contempt the linguistic studies of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic." He exaggerates shortcomings on this as on many other points. Nevertheless he admits on the next page of the same work³⁶ that there were "living at Paris, in France, and all other countries men who knew Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic." However, these linguists did not know the grammatical rules of those languages, as Roger Bacon further states, and their knowledge was, therefore, not scientific; they were not philologists properly so-called. It was different with Roger Bacon. He was not only the first Orientalist in the Order of Friars Minor, but also the first Orientalist in Latin Christendom.³⁷

Roger Bacon mastered Hebrew. In 1267 he wrote that he would teach anyone Hebrew within three days, so that he might read and understand it, provided he followed his method. This may sound rather boastful. However, since a part of Bacon's Hebrew grammar was published in 1902, we have a pretty good insight into his method. Bacon's Hebrew grammar is preserved in the same manuscript that contains his Greek grammar. It was edited by S. A. Hirsch, covering seven pages in print, as an appendix to Father Nolan's edition of Bacon's Greek grammar (Cambridge, 1902, on pages 202-208). Unfortunately a great part is missing and has not yet been discovered. The recent finds of Bacon's grammar prove better than his own statements, that he was no idle fault-finder who only demolished without being able to build up the proper structure. His pupils, such as William of Mara, Gerard Huy and others, are a striking demonstration of Bacon's teaching ability. It is no longer possible to write on the study of Oriental languages prior to the Council of Vienne without referring to the efforts made by Bacon and his disciples at Oxford. Likewise is it no longer warranted to state that "the first non-Oriental Hebrew grammar was prepared in 1506 by Reuchlin, who has justly been called the Father of Jewish Studies among the Christians."³⁸ Reuchlin has now to yield his place to Friar Roger.

36. "Comp. stud. philos."

37 cf. Girol. Golubovich, "Biblioteca Bio-Bibliograf. della Terra Santa," vol. II., Quaracchi (1913), pp. 404-411.

38 Monroe, "Cyclopedia of Education," vol. IV., p. 563.

Practical reasons of their apostolic ministrations demanded at an early date the study of Hebrew on the part of the Friars. In January, 1279 Pope Nicholas III. commanded the Friars Minor to preach to the Jews in Italy. (*Bullar. Franc.* II., p. 331). This could not well be done without a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew. A few years later we hear that St. Louis of Toulouse (died 1297), Bishop and Friar Minor, held regular disputations with Jews in Southern France,³⁹ as was customary in those days. Such disputants, however, had to be equipped with more than a smattering of Hebrew, since both parties made their final appeals to the original Hebrew text of the Bible. Accordingly the gifted pupil of the Oxford Friar, William of Middleton, must be ranked among the Christian Hebraists, a ripe fruit on the tree of Orientalism planted by Roger Bacon.

Even Duns Scotus, by no means a favorite with Jewish scholars, has been lately placed by the well-known Jewish bibliographer, Moriz Steinschneider, upon the roll of Christian Hebraists and now figures as such in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (v. VI, p. 303). But the Doctor Subtilis did not enjoy this honor for more than twenty-five years. In 1922, Dr. Martin Grabmann proved that a German secular priest, Thomas of Erfurt, and not Duns Scotus is the author of the famous work, *Grammatica Speculativa*.⁴⁰

However, the most famous Hebrew scholar during the Middle Ages was undoubtedly Friar Nicholas of Lyra (died 1340), whose familiarity with the "lingua sancta" gave rise later to the myth that he had been of Jewish blood. His knowledge of Hebrew has been exaggerated by later Biblical scholars. The Dominican controversialist Raymundus Martini (died 1286), and a number of converted Jews were certainly far superior to him in the mastery of the Hebrew language. Nevertheless they did not acquire the renown enjoyed by this humble son of St. Francis: "Nicholas of Lyra utilized all available sources, fully mastered the Hebrew and drew copiously from the valuable commentaries of the Jewish exegetes, especially of the celebrated Talmudist Rashi."⁴¹ Luther drew largely on Friar Nicholas' works in his interpretation of Scripture. From our viewpoint Lyra's *Tractatus de differentia nostræ translationis ab hebraica*

39 Joa. ab Orta, "Vita," in "Annal. O. M. Cap.," XIII., p. 350.

40 "Archiv. Franc. Hist.," XV., pp. 273-277.

41 Thomas Plassmann in "Catholic Encyclopedia," XI., p. 63.

littera in Veteri Testamento, (printed at Rouen with out date) is more important than his *Postillae*.

Among the converted Jews the Friar Minor Alphonse of Spina (died about 1491) ranks high as a Hebrew linguist. He is the author of the celebrated controversial work against Jews and Moslems: *Fortalitium Fidei* which passed through seven editions between 1468 and 1500 and was reprinted at Lyons in 1511, 1522, 1525, and 1529.

Meanwhile the revival of Hebrew studies had been started in Italy by John Pico of Mirandula in 1486 and was re-kindled in Germany in 1495 by John Reuchlin, who is commonly styled "the father of Hebrew study among Christians." Study was facilitated by the use of the printing-press. In the year 1501 the first Hebrew work written and printed by Christians, the *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus* (Venice, Aldus, 1501), a small Hebrew grammar of 32 pages in duodecimo, appeared at Venice. The author of this first printed Hebrew grammar is not known. The following year a similar *Introductio* or Hebrew grammar by a different author whose name also is unknown, was printed at Erfurt in Germany. Five editions of these two anonymous Hebrew grammars had passed through the press in the years 1501 and 1502, when in 1503 the Friar Minor Conrad Pellicanus published at Basel his Hebrew grammar, *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraea*, a very rare work which is generally ignored by the scholars.⁴²

Finally on March 7th, 1506, a monumental Hebrew grammar of John Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, issued from the press. It was unanimously regarded as the first Hebrew grammar in a European tongue until the year 1883, when the Hebrew bibliographer Moise Schwab published the epoch-making work on Oriental Incunabula describing for the first time the Hebrew grammars printed prior to Reuchlin's standard work. There are good reasons to believe that the three editions of the anonymous Hebrew grammar with the title *Introductio* which were printed in Germany during 1501 and 1502 and reprinted in 1508, 1512, 1514 and 1523 are editions of Friar Conrad Pellicanus' Hebrew grammar. In 1504 Friar Pellicanus published the first printed Hebrew grammar, giving rules and explanations in German (facsimile-reprint by E. Nestle, Tübingen, 1877). Pellicanus' Hebrew Grammar in Latin, first printed at Basel in

42 Moise Schwab, "Incunables orientaux," Paris (1883), pp. 49-50.

1503, was included in Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (Argentorat., Grueninger, 1508) and reprinted in that popular encyclopedia at Basel in 1508, 1515, and 1517, and at Strassburg in 1512, and 1515. In 1516 Pellicanus edited the Psalms in Hebrew at Basel and had them reprinted in 1523. Conrad Pellicanus continued to serve his order at his birth-place, Ruffach in Alsace, and also at Pforzheim and Basel till the year 1526, when he apostatized from the Order and the Church, turning Protestant. He is called "apostate in three languages," but never showed such marked revulsion of feeling as was customary among the Reformers.

The later linguistic studies of Pellicanus need not be detailed here. In spite of his final apostasy the Order of Friars Minor may rank this First German Hebraist among its great linguists. It was in the Minorite convent at Tuebingen, where Pellicanus was living as Friar Minor, that he began the study of Hebrew about 1497, greatly assisted by his superior. He had no teacher and no grammar, because the only Hebrew grammar, written in a European language by Friar Roger Bacon two centuries before, had been completely forgotten. But his guardian, the celebrated Scotist, Paul Scriptoris, carried for his use a huge codex of the Prophets in Hebrew on his own shoulders all the way from Mainz to Tuebingen. He learned the alphabet from the transliteration of a few Hebrew verses in the *Stern Meschiah* of Petrus Niger, O. P., printed at Esslingen in 1477, and, with a subsequent hint or two from Reuchlin, who also lent him the Hebrew grammar of Kimchi, made his way through the Hebrew Bible with the help of the Latin Vulgate. He got on so well that he was not only a useful helper to Reuchlin but anticipated the works of that great Hebraist by composing the third, or perhaps second, Hebrew grammar ever printed. Certainly, the work of Reuchlin surpassed all its predecessors by its intrinsic value. Yet, chronologically it has to follow after the Hebrew grammars composed by Friars Roger Bacon and Conrad Pellicanus.

Pellicanus was greatly excelled as Hebraist by his pupil, Sebastian Muenster, the famous geographer and mathematician. Muenster entered the Order of Friars Minor Conventuals in 1503, but abandoned it for Lutheranism in 1529. As Friar Minor he published more than one Hebrew grammar, and was the first to prepare a Chaldaic grammar. In 1520 a Hebrew-

Latin edition of *Proverbia Salomonis* was published at Basel containing a *Praefatio in editionem Parabolarum Fratris Conradi Pelicani Minoritae*, and in the appendix the first Hebrew grammar of Muenster, *Epitome hebraicae grammaticae Fratris Sebastiani Muensteri Minoritae*. A second Hebrew grammar appeared in print at Basel in 1524: *Institutiones grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam* with an edition of Jonas in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Chaldaic. This grammar was reprinted at Basel in 1525 (two different editions) and 1527. His celebrated Chaldaic grammar, the first of its kind, was published at Basel in 1527. His lexicographical works began with an edition of a Hebrew and Chaldaic dictionary printed at Basel in 1523 and reprinted there in 1525 to be followed up by the celebrated Chaldaic dictionary issued at Basel in 1527. Beside the quadrilingual edition of Jonas, Sebastian Muenster edited the Book of Ecclesiastes in Hebrew and Latin (Basel, 1525) and published a Latin translation of the Canticles (Basel, 1525). Finally he translated the grammatical works of Elias Levitae from Hebrew into Latin (printed at Basel, 1525, in 3 vols.) These linguistic labors gained him such renown that Friar Sebastian Muenster was regarded as the foremost living Hebrew scholar, when he left his Order and Church in 1529. His later linguistic, mathematical, and geographical works do not fall within the scope of this study.

The third Friar Minor who assisted at the birth of Hebrew philology in the beginning of the sixteenth century was less brilliant as an Orientalist but more persevering as a Religious. He was no other than the great satirist Thomas Murner, O. M. C. (died 1537). In 1512 he published at Frankfort three translations from Hebrew; *Benedicite Judaeorum, uti soliti sunt ante et post cibi sumptionem benedicere*, and *Ritus Phase Judaeorum* together with *Rabbi Judae memoriale decem plagarum* which merited him a place among the list of Christian Hebraists in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.⁴³

Among the promoters of Hebrew studies in Italy, the Friar Minor Petrus Colonna Galatinus (died soon after 1539), takes a conspicuous place. He wrote his chief work: *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*, at the request of the Pope, the Emperor, and other dignitaries, within the space of a year and a half, having it finished in 1516 and first printed at Ortona-al-Mare in

⁴³ Vol. VI., p. 303.

1518 by the famous Jewish printer Jerome Soncino. This work, a folio of 624 pages, became very popular and ran through several editions, notably Basel, 1550, 1561, 1591, Frankfort, 1603, 1613, and 1672. Panzer⁴⁴ quotes an edition published at Bari in 1516, but gives no description of it. This would prove the first edition, if it exists. All other works of Galatino, about thirty in number, were never printed and the only one ever printed found favor exclusively with Protestant and Jewish publishers. Galatino was a first-class Hebrew scholar and mastered thoroughly Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldaic (now styled Jewish Aramaic) possessing an extensive knowledge of Rabbinical literature. He is sometimes classed among the converted Jews, but this is an error.⁴⁵

Not quite two decades after Galatino's death we meet with another great Hebraist among the Friars Minor: Archangelus Puteus of Borgonuovo (Lombardy), O. M. C., who has long been forgotten on account of his cabbalistic eccentricities. He published the following works: *Dichiarazione sopra il nome di Gesu* (Ferrara, 1554), *Trattato della virtu del nome Gesu* (Ferrara, 1557), *Apologia pro defensione doctrinae Cabalae et conclusiones Mirandulae ex Hebracorum sapientum fundamentis declarantes* (Bologna, 1564 and Basel, 1600), and *Cabalistarum selectiora dogmata a Joa-Pico Mirandul. excerpta illustrata* (Venice, 1567 and Basel, 1600).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Cardinal Francis Ximenes, O. M. C., stands out prominently. In the year 1502, he engaged several scholars to prepare the edition of the polyglot Bible called variously after his name and the place of its publication. The editors of the Hebrew text were Jewish converts. Ancient manuscripts, estimated at the value of 4,000 florins (\$40,000), and probably also the best extant printed copies of the Hebrew Bible, were placed at their disposal. Thus the Cardinal's scholars produced a text quite different from the old printed texts. This revised Hebrew text was printed at Alcalá from 1514 to 1517.

The celebrated Biblical scholar Sixtus of Siena, O. Pr. (died 1569), cannot be passed by at this place. Born of Jewish parents at Siena in 1520, he entered the Order of Friars Minor about the year 1540, where he continued his Hebrew studies. In 1551

⁴⁴ "Annal. Typogr.," vol. VI., p. 174.

⁴⁵ cf. Plassmann in "Cath. Encycl.," VI., p. 340.

he was sentenced to death by the Roman Inquisition on account of heretical doctrines, but recanted through the efforts of the Dominican, Michael Ghislieri (later Pius V.) and went over to the Dominicans. In 1566 he published his monumental *Bibliotheca Sacra* creating thereby the science of Biblical Introduction.

In the great controversy about the Hebrew books between Reuchlin and the Dominicans, the Friars Minor took sides with Reuchlin. Many of his contemporaries were convinced that the first step to the conversion of the Jews was to take from them their Hebrew books. The German universities were all against Reuchlin who tried to stop the confiscation that was going on. This controversy led to a formal trial being instituted at Rome to decide the matter on June 8, 1514. A commission of eighteen was appointed. The most active and influential defender of Reuchlin on this commission was Georgius Benignus Salviati, Ord. Min., Archbishop of Nazareth, who published a *Defensio Reuchlini* (Colon., September, 1517) which he dedicated to the Emperor. This work is a great eulogy on Reuchlin and upholds his cause as that of truth and justice.⁴⁶ Jacobus of Hoogstraet, O. Pr., issued a refutation against it in the following year (*Apologia*, Colon., 1518). Friar Galatino's monumental work, *De arcanis*, mentioned above, was written also in defense of Reuchlin and had a more lasting effect than the spirited defense of the Archbishop of Nazareth.

During this period, when the number of Christian Hebraists remained exceedingly small, a woman stands out as being singularly versed in Hebrew learning. She has to be mentioned here on account of her relations with the Order of Friars Minor. Catherine Cibo (born 1501, died 1557), duchess of Camerino, wife of the Duke John M. Varano, has gained a place of honor among the names of Christian Hebraists mentioned in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. It was through her influence that the Order of Friars Minor Capuchins received the approval of her uncle Pope Clement VII; and it was in her palace that the first Capuchin monastery was established.

Hebrew learning continued to be cultivated by the Friars Minor without interruption throughout the last four hundred years, so that the list of all the names of Hebraists cannot find a place here. We single out only a few such names: Louis a Francisco, O. M. C., *Globus canonum Linguae Sanctae* (Rome,

⁴⁶ cf. "Kirchenlex.," VI., col. 1163.

1586); Marius a Calasio, O. M. Obs. (died 1620), *Concordantiae Bibliorum Hebraicorum* (published by Wadding and printed at the Convent of Ara Coeli at Rome in 1621 in 4 vols. Fol.), a monumental work, reprinted at Cologne in 1646 and at Rome in 1657; James of Bordeaux, O. M. Cap. (died 1650), *De elementis linguae hebraicae* (Paris 1646); Henry of Bukentop, Ord. Min. (died 1716), *Lux de luce* (Colon., 1710), giving dissertations on variant and dubious readings of the Vulgate and explications of such from Hebrew and Greek, a work which was highly praised by scholars; Otto Graumann, O. Min. Recoll. (died 1787), *Authentia linguae sacrae* (Wuerzb., 1765); Juvenal Potschka, O. Min. Recoll. (died 1796), *Thesaurus linguae sanctae complectens hebraismos cum syntaxi hebraica* (Bamberg, 1780); and last but not least, Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., *The Signification of Be RAKA* (New York, 1913), a semasiological study or rather modern philological treatment of verb-roots.

The two Franciscan Biblical Institutes established in the eighteenth century, the one in the Franciscan monastery at Antwerp and the other in the Capuchin monastery at Paris deserve special mention. The Friar William Smits, O. M. Recoll. (died 1770), a first-class Hebrew scholar, first published at Antwerp several studies of textual criticism of the Hebrew text. In 1744 he began to issue a Flemish translation of the Vulgate to which were added grammatical and critical dissertations — the whole growing into a voluminous and learned work of monumental importance. He lived to finish only thirteen Biblical books which were printed in seventeen volumes at Antwerp, from 1744 to 1767. The great German Orientalist Daniel B. Haneberg passes this judgment:⁴⁷ "The little known Smits bases his commentaries upon a thorough knowledge of the languages." Smits established the so-called Museum philologico-sacrum, a school for the study of all Biblical languages at Antwerp in 1765. This school was highly recommended by the Minister General and placed under his immediate jurisdiction. Friar Smits' work was continued after his death by his former pupil and collaborator, Peter van Hove, O. M. Recoll. (d. 1790). The French Revolution swept this Biblical Institute away like so many others of its kind.⁴⁸

Yet of longer duration and greater importance was the Society of Oriental Studies, better known as the Clementine Acad-

47 "Biblisch Offenb.," 2 ed., Regensburg (1852), p. 783.

48 Plassmann in "Cath. Encycl.," XVI., p. 75.

emy, which was established in 1744 in the Capuchin Monastery of Saint-Honorat at Paris. The founder of this Oriental School was Friar Louis Dubois of Poix, O. M. Cap. (died 1782), and principal members and collaborators were the following Capuchins, Jerome Decoin of Arras (born 1721), John Bapt. de Bouillon Gerard of Bertry (died 1800), Hugh Menager of Paris (died 1808), Claude Francis Noel of Paris (born 1741, died after 1776. Sixtus Paris of Vesoul (born 1736, died about 1800), John Mary Langlois of Paris (died 1807), Seraphine Heurtault of Paris (born 1718), and Bernard Goudon of Saint-Florentin (died after 1766). It was the first academy of scholars devoting themselves exclusively to the study of Oriental customs and languages and the whole range of kindred subjects which are helpful to the understanding of Scripture. The principal publications of the Society are: *Les Principes discutés* (Paris 1755-1761), fifteen volumes or sixteen tomes containing 7,173 pages in duodecimo which were translated and published in Italian by Modestus of Filottrano, O. M. Cap. (died 1792), and Matthew of Lodi, O. M. Cap. (Macerata, 1789-1795), a Latin and French translation of the Psalms directly from Hebrew (Paris 1762, 2 vols.), a Latin and French translation of Ecclesiastes from Hebrew (Paris 1771), a Latin and French translation of Habacuc from Hebrew (Paris 1775, 2 vols.), a Latin and French translation of Jeremias and Baruch from Hebrew and Greek (Paris 1780, 6 vols. containing 2,850 pages). Other works prepared or planned remained unpublished owing to the dispersal of the Capuchin Hebraists by the French Revolution.

The principal work, *Les Principes discutés* is divided into five sections. The first and longest, comprising ten volumes, elucidates the double literal sense of the Psalms referring to ancient Israel and to Christ. The second section is grammatical examining the value of conjunctions, prepositions and other particles. The third section treats of the allusions, analogies and other Hebraisms. The fourth section is a special study on the double literal sense of certain passages of the Old Testament. Finally the fifth section deals with the science of the Jews and the titles of the Psalms.

Popes Benedict XIV. and Clement XIV. repeatedly praised very highly the work done by the Capuchin Hebraists, and in honor of the last-mentioned Pope the Friars called their society the Clementine Academy. Finally Pius VI. gave his formal

approval in 1775 to their particular Biblical method. In 1768 Louis of Poix drew up a program setting forth in seven articles the purpose and principles of the society requesting the King at the same time to give his royal assent to the contemplated Société Royale des Interprètes du sens littéral de l' Ecriture Sainte. Twelve Fathers belonged to the society at the time. Unfortunately, the plans of Father Louis of Poix did not materialize. The French Government which subsidized the Oriental School of the Capuchins at Constantinople, had no funds for the Capuchin Hebraists at Paris. Nevertheless, it is beyond all doubt that the Société Asiatique, founded at Paris in 1822, is mainly based upon the rules drafted in 1768 by the Capuchin Louis of Poix. The Capuchin Hebraists at Paris were the foremost Hebrew scholars of their time. As in the days of the Hebrew Renaissance at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Friars Minor were the leading men in Hebrew Philology during the latter part of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

Passing on to the study of European languages we shall be very brief, reserving most of the incidental matter for an eventual appreciation of the literary work done by the Friars.

Out of the confusing mass of medieval dialects the Italian language emerged as the first literary language of modern Europe. At the beginning of the thirteenth century every province in Italy, almost every city, had its peculiar dialect. St. Francis improvised in the uncouth Umbrian dialect his immortal *Canticle of the Sun*, thereby reviving sacred poetry. This first cry in the language of the people reverberated in echoes which were never to die. Jacopone da Todi (died 1306) was later journeying through the valleys of Umbria composing in the vulgar idiom of the country people naive canticles and lengthy poems of a mystical strain. There is no studied art in him; there is only feeling: a feeling that absorbed him. In Jacopone there was a strong originality, and in the period of the origins of Italian literature he was one of the most characteristic writers.

Italian prose was meanwhile displacing Latin in social life. Nothing effected this change so much as the preaching of the Friars Minor in the language and the style of popular speakers. Even St. Antony of Padua, a native Portuguese, preached to

49 "Kirchenlex.," X., p. 124. "Ubalde d' Alençon," "Travaux d' Ecriture S. des Capucins," Paris (1903), pp. 7-17.

the Italians in their tongue with such effect that he drew crowds of thirty thousand people to hear him. These were the glorious beginnings of that prose which was destined to be raised to a literary language by the genius of the Tertiary, Dante (Ozanam, *Poètes Franciscains*, pp. 36 sq., 122).

The Italian language or the language of culture in the whole of the present Kingdom of Italy, is the creation of the Tertiary poet, Dante Alighieri (died 1321), who raised the Tuscan dialect to the dignity of a literary language both in poetry and prose, giving it a homogeneity and oneness not to be found in any other literary language of Europe even to-day. The *Divina Comedia* fixed and clearly defined the destiny of Italian literature, to give artistic lustre to all the forms of literature which the Middle Ages had produced; it ushers true Italian literature into the world. Italian prose has this unique feature that, instead of gathering form obscurely and slowly, it came into sudden existence at the will of Dante who first created literary Italian prose in the non-metrical part of his famous *Vita Nuova*, written about 1293.⁵⁰ Italian accordingly is in every sense a "Franciscan language," and was cultivated during the last six hundred years by a long line of Friars Minor.

Nicholas Valla, O. M. C., published at Venice in 1517 an Italian-Latin vocabulary, the second Italian dictionary to appear in print. Felix Maria a Caburro, O. M. Cap. (died 1846), was a very prolific writer on the Italian language, particularly the Piedmont dialect, publishing among other works a *Dizionario Piemontese-italiano* (Turin, 1827), a *Vocabolario Piemontese-italiano e Italiano-piemontese* (3 vols., Turin, 1830 and Turin, 1843), an *Appendice ad alcuni Vocabolari Latini-Italiani contenente circa 10,000 vocaboli omessivi* (Alessandria, 1842), a *Grammatichetta* (Turin, 1830), a *Proposta di un centinaio di correzioni ad una Grammatica italiana elementare* (Turin, 1827), and a *Manuale di Maestro e dello Scolare*, or book of exercises (4 vols. Turin, 1837-1838).

On French we have Augustine Allocca, O. M. Cap., *Trattato di pronunzia francese* (Naples, 1881). Francis Rabelais (died 1553), the noted French satirist, entered the Order of Friars Minor at Fontenay-le-Comte about 1510 and was ordained priest in 1511. With great ardor he pursued the studies of languages and made progress in Latin, Greek, Italian, Span-

50 "Encyclopaedia Britann.," XIV., pp. 896, 901; XXII., p. 455.

ish, German, Hebrew, and Arabic. In 1524 he was forced to leave the Order on account of his scandalous life and went over to the Benedictines. But the years spent among the Friars left their imprint upon his French works.

On the Breton language we have the monumental *Dictionarium Gallo-Aremoricum secundum diversas cuiuscumque diocesis dialectos* by Gregory of Rostrenen, O. M. Cap. (died about 1750), first published at Rennes in 1732, containing 978 pages in quarto, re-edited by Jolivet at Guingamps in 1834 in 2 vols. The same author published a Breton grammar at Rennes 1738 and a book of instruction in the Breton language which ran through ten editions from 1709 till 1729.

The Basque language was studied by John Matth. De Favala, O. M. Observ., *El verbo regular Vascongado del dialecto Vizcaino* (St. Sebastian, 1848), by Ferdinand Soloeta of Dina, O. M. Cap., *Curso primero del idioma Basko* (Buenos Aires 1912), *Conjugacion del verbo basko* (ibid., 1913), *Cours élémentaire de grammaire basque* (ibid., 1913), *Ensayo de la unificación de dialectos Bascos* (ibid., 1922), Celestine of Caparosso, O. M. Cap., *Grammatica del Euskaro* (Totana, 1920), and Francis of Elizondo, O. M. Cap., *Florilegium* or Basque reader (Tolosa, 1922).

Particular attention was paid by the Capuchins to the study of the Romance language spoken mainly in the canton of Grisons in Switzerland. In 1910 this tongue was spoken by 38,651 in the Swiss Confederation, and of these 36,472 lived in the Grisons. There are two dialects, the Romansch and the Ladin. In 1621 the Capuchins began their missionary activity among this Romance-speaking population and restored the Catholic religion in a number of towns and villages. They have been laboring there without interruption for more than three hundred years and at present have charge of sixty places with a Romance-speaking population of more than 5,500 and 51 elementary schools with almost 2,000 children. The founder of this mission, Ignace Imberti of Casnigo (died 1632), published a printed catechism in Romance. Irenaeus Bertolinelli of Casalmoro (died 1671), and Bernard of Marone (died 1708), later compiled other catechisms in Romance. Flaminio of Sale (died 1733), compiled a grammar and dictionary which are preserved in manuscript only, whereas a translation of the Bible by some of the earlier missionaries was not published and is now lost.

Isidore Abbo of Salea (died 1873), and Julius Stecchetti of Bergamo (died 1897), likewise compiled dictionaries of the Romance language which were never printed. Finally John of Rieti (born 1867), published an extensive grammar of Romance at Sankt Gallen in 1904. Aaron Paulsteiner (died 1795), published two primers for use in the common schools (Sondrio, 1788 and 1789), and Aaron Chiaratsch (died 1873), a catechism (Bozen, 1833). Devotional books in Romance were issued by Isidore Sent of Tarasp (died 1806), and Aaron Chiaratsch (Bregenz, 1797 and Chur, 1849), and by an anonymous writer (Gossan, 1884). In recent years, however, the Capuchin missionaries have been even more prolific. Crispin Foffa of Muenster published a devotional book at Chur in 1870 (*Office of Our Lady*); Theodorich Deiser of Rum (born 1853), published a *Catechism* (Chur, 1892, 2nd edit. Immensee, 1910) and a *Bible History* (Solothurn, 1895, Davos, 1912); Albuin Thaler of Brixen (born 1868), a *Catechism* (Naefels, 1904), a *Life of St. Sigisbert* (Innsbruck, 1905), a *Bible History* in Ladin (Immensee, 1909), and four prayer-books (Innsbruck, 1901, 1909, 1913, Immensee, 1914); Fidelis a Colleparado, a *Month of May* (Rome, 1914), and finally Lawrence Justinian Lombardin of Muenster (died 1906), a devotional book (Samaden, 1899), and a translation of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (Chur, 1888).

Catalan literature counts among its creators the Tertiary, Blessed Raymond Lully (died 1315). The poetical works of Lully are among the oldest examples of Catalan literature and his prose works stand chronologically in the third place. In *Blanquerna* (written 1283), a novel in prose which describes a new Utopia or place of solitary life, Lully renews the Platonic tradition and anticipates the creations of Sir Thomas More, Campanella and Harrington, in the *Libre de les maravelles* (written 1286), he adopts the Oriental apologue from the famous Arabic bestiary *Kalilah and Dimnah*, and in the *Libre del orde de cavalleria* he composed a complete manual of true knighthood. As a poet Lully takes a prominent position in the history of Catalan literature; such pieces as *Lo Desconcord* (written 1295), and *Lo Cant de Ramon* (written 1299), combine in a rare degree simple beauty of expression with sublimity of thought and impassioned sincerity. The Catalan works of Lully have been printed only recently, the poems at Palma, 1859, the prose works at Palma, 1866-1901, and at Palma in 1906.

Lully who was very popular in his time as a Catalan writer, later found a rival in the person of the Friar Minor Francis Ximenes or Eximenez, born at Gerona about 1340 (died about 1409). His *Crestia*, a vast encyclopaedia of theology, morals and politics for the use of the laity, had the honor of being printed at Valencia in 1483 as one of the earliest books printed in Spain. It is supplemented in various aspects by his four other Catalan works, *Vida de Jesucrist* (printed at Valencia, 1496, Granada, 1496, and Barcelona, 1496), *Libre del los Angels* (printed at Burgos, 1490 and Barcelona, 1494), *Libre delles dones* (printed at Barcelona 1495). The last named, which is a book of devotion and a manual of domestic economy, contains a number of curious details as to a Catalan woman's manner of life and the luxury of the period. *Regiment de Princeps* (printed at Valencia, 1484, and 1499) treats of politics and public social life. A number of other Catalan works were never printed.⁵¹ Incidentally we may mention that St. Francis' Monastery, New York (31st St.) preserves a copy of Ximenes' *Crestia* of 1483 and another copy of *Regiment de Princeps* of 1484 which are the two most valuable Incunabula treasured in Franciscan libraries of this country. Lully and Ximenes are the two foremost Catalan authors of the fourteenth century.

Irish philology is perhaps indebted to no other Order so much as to that of the Friars Minor. The literary activity of the Friars, however, in the field of Irish literature from the 13th to the 16th century is a "Terra incognita" and will remain such for many years to come. "Enormous numbers of important manuscripts," says Douglas Hyde,⁵² "still remain unedited; many gaps occur in the literature which have never been filled up; of many periods we know little or nothing." In Ireland the seventeenth century was an era of great men and great learning, of great Irish friars and Irish linguists. Francis O'Molloy, O. M. Strict. Observ. (died about 1684), is best known as the author of the first Irish printed grammar. *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica compendiosa* (286 pages in 16°) which was issued from the press of the Propaganda at Rome in 1677. "It is highly esteemed by writers on the Celtic languages, and is largely drawn upon by modern writers on Irish grammar."⁵³ Michael

51 cf. M. J. Masso y Torrents, "Les obras de Fra. Francesch. Eximenez," (1340?-1409?), in "Annuari de l' Institut. d' Estudios Catalans," III., Barcelona, (1910), pp. 588-692, and "Arch. F. H.," VII., p. 178.

52 "Catholic Encyclopedia," VII., p. 117.

53 "Catholic Encyclopedia," vol. X., p. 442.

O'Clery, O. M. Obs. (died 1643), published the first Irish dictionary ever printed, at Louvain in 1643.

The Franciscans of St. Antony's College at Louvain, founded in 1606, did great service to Irish literature by printing on their press books of instruction in the Irish tongue. At Louvain were printed in the Franciscan Friary besides O'Clery's Irish glossary, in 1608 the Irish Catechism of Friar Bonaventure O'Hussey, O. M. Obs. (died 1614). This was the first book printed on the Continent in Irish characters and met with considerable success and was several times reprinted and revised. The same press brought out *The Mirror of Penance* by Hugh Mac Caughwell (Cavellus), O. M. Obs. (died 1626), in 1618; *The Mirror of Religion*, a catechism translated from Spanish into Irish, by Florence Conry, O. M. Obs. (died 1629), in 1626; *The Paradise of the Soul* by Antony Gernon in 1645; and a moral treatise in English and Irish by Richard Mac Giolla-cuddy (Arsdekin), S. J. (died 1690), in 1667. The printing press at St. Antony's in Louvain was the most active Irish printing press on the Continent for a long time.⁵⁴ Francis O'Molloy published in 1676 an Irish catechism: *Lucerna fidelium*, which was printed in Irish characters by the Propaganda press in Rome.

Perhaps the greatest service rendered to Irish literature is the compilation of the *Annals of the Four Masters* by the Friars Observants: Michael O'Clery, Farfassa O'Mulconry, Peregrine O'Clery, and Peregrine O'Duignan, men of great learning in the antiquities of their country. The work was begun on January 22, 1632, and was concluded on August 10, 1636, and is written in very archaic Irish. It is the greatest historical work in Irish and has remained a household book with Irish people. The *Annals* have been published three times, at least in part, but are now read in the edition of John O'Donovan. In this splendid work the Irish text is given with a translation into English, and the whole is contained in seven great quarto volumes (Dublin, 1848-1851, 2nd edit. *ibid.*, 1856). Scarcely one of the many ancient documents used by the Four Masters has survived to the present day.⁵⁵

Beside the *Annals* and the Irish glossary, M. O'Clery wrote in Irish the *Royal List* (in 1630), the *Book of Invasions* (in 1631) and other works which were never printed. John Col-

54 "Catholic Encyclopedia," vol. VIII., p. 160; IV., p. 261.

55 "Catholic Encyclopedia," vol. VI., p. 164.

gan, O. M. Obs. (died 1659), wrote in Irish, but his published works are all in Latin, yet based on a vast collection of manuscripts in Irish, the greater part of which are unfortunately lost. Father Colgan's co-worker, Hugh Ward, O. M. Obs. (died 1635), wrote many poems in Irish of great beauty and left unpublished several works in Latin on Irish antiquities based on original Irish sources. The Anglican scholar Reeves pays an eloquent tribute to Ward and his fellow-laborers, the Irish Franciscans, for their services to Irish archaeology. Friar Patrick Fleming, O. M. Strict. Obs. (died 1631), was also a distinguished Irish scholar, but did not live to produce a substantial work in Irish. Anthony Hickey, O. M. Strict. Obs. (died 1641), the noted Scotist, possessed an extensive acquaintance with the languages, history, and antiquities of Ireland, but of his many works only an unedited long letter deals with the Irish language.

The Old Church Slavonic language owes its preservation in liturgy to the Friars Minor, particularly the Tertiaries Regular of Jugoslavonia. This language is mainly the Old Bulgarian vernacular and, like all Slavonic languages, is written in three alphabets: Latin, Cyrillic, and Glagolitic. The Cyrillic is the Greek Liturgical Uncial of the 9th century and is used by all Orthodox Slavs. The Glagolitic in the later "square" form has survived as a liturgical script in Dalmatia and Croatia where the Slavonic liturgy in the Glagolitic alphabet is used by the Catholics. The books written in Church Slavonic with Cyrillic letters contain the Greek Rite, whereas the books written in the same language and Glagolitic letters contain the Latin Rite. "The old Province of Franciscan Tertiaries Regular with its centre at Zara has constantly been the safe harbor and faithful keeper of Glagolitism."⁵⁶ At present the Slavonic liturgy is used by the Franciscans in their three churches in Veglia, one other church in Cherso, two churches in Zara, and one in Sebenico.⁵⁷ Finally, the Friars edited liturgical books. The *Missale glagolitico-Romanum*, printed in glagolitic letters by Bindoni and Pasyni at Venice in 1528, was edited by Fra Paulo de Modrusa, O. S. Franc. It is now exceptionally rare.

The Albanian language was cultivated by Francis M. of Lecce, O. M. Obs., *Osservazione grammat. della ling. Albanese*,

⁵⁶ Nilles, S. J., in "Kirchenlexikon," vol. XI., p. 425.

⁵⁷ "Catholic Encyclopedia," vol. VI., p. 576.

Rome, 1716). One of the greatest philologists of the Albanian language was Franc. Rossi of Montalto, O. M. Obs., with his *Vocabolario Italiano-Epirotico* (Rome, 1866), *Vocabolario della lingua Epirotica-Italiana* (Rome, 1875), and *Regole della lingua Albanese* (Rome, 1875).

Clement of Kalaclia, O. M. Cap. (born 1868), translated into the Bulgarian language a devotional book (printed in 1896). Damian of Baltagia, O. M. Cap., published a catechism in Bulgarian at Sofia in 1920, and a historical work in 1922. Bishop Cletus Pejof, O. M. Cap., had the *Imitation of Christ* printed in a Bulgarian translation at Sofia in 1921. Since 1918 the Capuchins issue a year-book in Bulgarian at Sofia.

Maltese, an Arabic dialect, the only Arabic dialect spoken exclusively by Christians, has been cultivated of late by some Capuchin Friars. Andrew of Cospicua published at Malta in 1914 a treatise on Communion, and at Valletta in 1915 a life of Joseph Mary of Palermo, both in Maltese. George of Floriana published at Valletta in 1923 a Manual for Tertiaries in the Maltese language. Since 1912 the Capuchins are publishing a bi-monthly at Floriana, Malta, in Maltese.

The Arabian words used in the Sicilian dialect were made the subject of extensive study by Gabriel Mary of Aleppo, O. M. Cap. (born 1858), in his monumental work: *Le fonti arabe nel dialetto siciliano. Vocabolario etimologico* (Rome, 1910). The same Arabist has given for the first time the true translation of the line in Dante's *Inferno* (canto XXXI, 67): "Rafel mai amech zabi almi" which had baffled all attempts at translation.⁵⁸

Familiarity with the Arabian language had become indispensable to the Friars Minor ever since St. Francis had preached the Gospel to the Moslems in Egypt (1219-1221) and the first five martyrs had shed their blood on Moslem soil in Morocco (1220). Nevertheless it is the undying glory of the Dominican Order that a systematic study of Arabic was first inaugurated in the schools of the Friars Preachers and that the first regular mission schools were established in Dominican monasteries of Spain and Tunis. As early as 1250 St. Raymond of Pennaforte, O. P. (died 1275), established a school for the study of Arabic in a Dominican monastery, probably in Seville, and later in the

⁵⁸ "Rafel mai.... Interpretazione di un linguaggio a nullo noto," Palermo (1907).

convents of Barcelona (1259), Murcia (1265), Valencia (1281), Jativa (1291), and Tunis in Africa (about 1265). The foremost of the twenty Dominican Arabists educated in these schools in the course of fifty years was Raymond Martini, O. P. (died after 1284), whose *Summa* against the Moslems is lost in its Arabic original, while his Latin work *Pugio Fidei* was to remain for centuries the standard work of apology against Islamism. The number of Dominican Moslem converts exceeded ten thousand.

While this missionary and linguistic movement was going on in Spain, Roger Bacon had begun about 1265 at Oxford to urge the study of Arabic for purely scientific purposes. Friar Bacon mastered not only Greek and Hebrew, but had also a competent knowledge of Chaldaic and Arabic, as he himself states in 1268 (*Opus tert.*, c. 10), and which can be proved from his works. He urged his friend, Pope Clement IV., in the strongest terms to promote the study of Oriental languages at the universities throughout Europe. A considerable part of his works written at the command of the Pope about the reform of studies deals with the problem of linguistics. "Beyond all question," Friar Bacon states, "the reform of studies must begin with the study of Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Thus thought the scholars and leaders of former times; thus acted the great masters of the Franciscan school of Oxford, Robert Grosseteste, Thomas of Wales, Adam of Marsh. We are their sons and successors, and must follow their example and cultivate the study of languages."⁵⁹

Friar Bacon did not live to see his plans realized; his great friend, Pope Clement IV., died in 1268 and his prospects were blasted. However he lived to see that a son of St. Francis set a movement on foot, independently of his influence in Spain, which tended to the cultivation of Oriental linguistics in the interests of missionary activity. Blessed Raymond Lully (died 1315), a Franciscan Tertiary, in 1275 induced King James I. of Aragon (died 1276) to found a missionary college of Friars Minor at Miramar on the island of Majorca for the study of Arabic. No less than thirteen Friars were assigned to this study. The College obtained a Bull of Confirmation from Pope John XXI. in 1276, but hardly flourished thirty-five years.

Raymond Lully himself became the greatest scholar of Arabic in Latin Christendom throughout the Middle Ages. He

⁵⁹ Felder, "Studien im Franziskanerorden," pp. 415-416.

devoted nine years to the study of Arabic (1266-1275) and then for ten years he acted as professor of Arabic and philosophy in the Franciscan College at Miramar, composing many controversial treatises in refutation of Moslemism. Later, he taught in different Franciscan monasteries, and in 1290 translated his Latin *Ars veritatis inventiva* into Arabic. In 1291 Lully sailed for Tunis, where he publicly preached the Catholic doctrine for a year, when he was imprisoned and finally expelled, reaching Naples on his return in January 1293. His efforts to interest Boniface VIII., the Cardinals, and Kings in his favorite project of establishing missionary colleges all over Europe were unavailing during the years 1294 to 1300. In 1300 he sailed to Cyprus to seek the support of the King for his plan of teaching Oriental languages in the universities and monasteries. He was rebuffed once more, but continued his campaign with undiminished energy. In 1305, he visited Lyons in the vain hope of enlisting the sympathies of the new Pope Clement V., crossed over in 1306 to Bougie in Algeria, preached the gospel and was imprisoned there for six months. On his release he was expelled, and stranded on his return voyage off the coast of Pisa in January 1307. Four years later he attended the General Council at Vienne, France, and there he labored for the adoption of his cherished linguistic proposals and saw his lifelong endeavors crowned with success.

Pope Clement V. ordained in that council that chairs of the Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic languages were to be established in the four principal universities of Europe, namely, at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and a fifth at the Papal court, and that two professors for each of the three languages were to be appointed at each of these universities. These Oriental professors were charged to translate works from Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic into Latin, so that the Jews and Mohammedans might be refuted from their own books. This decree was incorporated into the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, there to witness for more than five hundred years to the untiring energy of a son of St. Francis in behalf of Oriental studies. What was denied to Roger Bacon through the death of his patron, Clement IV., was granted to another disciple of St. Francis by Clement V. and an oecumenical Council. Accordingly a Franciscan shares the unique distinction of having brought about the first act of legislation of the Church Universal in favor of

Oriental studies. Though he was almost eighty years of age, Lully's missionary zeal was unabated. In 1314, on August the 14th, he crossed over once more to Bougie. Here he resumed his crusade against Mohammedanism, but the fanatical spirit of the people was roused; he was stoned outside the city walls, and died of his wounds a martyr's death on the 29th of June 1315.

Raymond Lully is not only the most famous Moslem missionary of the Middle Ages, but also the greatest Arabist of the Latin Church prior to the sixteenth century. He wrote some controversial works in Arabic which are lost. One of them was entitled *Alchindi y Teliph*. Another bearing the title of *Disputations between Raymond the Christian and the Saracen Omar in Bougie* is preserved in a Latin translation from Arabic made by Lully himself in 1308 and printed at Valencia in 1510 (200 pages in quarto). Pedro de Alcalá, O. S. Hier., published at Granada in 1505 an Arabic dictionary (*Vocabulista Aravigo*) in Latin transliteration, which contains among its Arabic reading exercises an extract from an apologetical tract written in Arabic about 1300, most probably by Raymond Lully.⁶⁰

The decree of the Council of Vienne of 1311 did not remain a dead letter, as our current church histories state. Arabic lectures were given at Salamanca at least throughout a whole century till 1411, and, perhaps, even longer. At the university of the Roman Curia the professors were appointed and drew their salaries for more than 150 years after.

The Friars Minor continued their missionary activity among the Mohammedans of Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Northern Africa uninterruptedly from the times of St. Francis till this day, so that missionaries who could speak Arabic were always in demand and had to be trained accordingly. Moreover, the pilgrims to the Holy Land had to be supplied with Arabic-speaking guides, a charitable work which was performed by the Sons of St. Francis for the wayfarers to Palestine, and by the Sons of St. Dominic for the pilgrims to Syria and Egypt. The famous *Societas peregrinantium*, founded probably by Innocent IV. in 1250 and first mentioned by John XXII. in 1318, was fostered and spread by both Friars Minor and Friars Preachers.

⁶⁰ Steinschneider, "Polemische Lit. in arabischer Sprache," Leipzig (1877), pp. 135, 225.

With the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 this society came to an end.⁶¹ In the year 1486 an Arabic-Latin vocabulary was first printed in Breitenbach's *Pilgrimage* which passed till 1728 through forty-one impressions. In 1505 Torrentinus' *Vocabularius particus* appeared in print containing another Arabic-Latin vocabulary passing through 23 editions to 1536 and several others up to 1601. These vocabularies giving Arabic in Latin transliteration were intended for pilgrims into the Holy Land and have, therefore, some relations to the Friars Minor, though their authors did not belong to them.

The first book printed in Arabic characters issued from the press at Fano, Italy, in 1514. The Friars Minor, however, published their first book in Arabic characters 117 years later at Rome in 1631, the year of the printing of the *Grammatica Arabica, Agrumia appellata, cum versione latina ac dilucida expositione* by Thomas Obicini of Novara, O. M. Obs. (died 1638). Friar Thomas Obicini was for many years regent of the Roman College of St. Peter in Montorio and taught many missionaries Arabic, Syriac, and Coptic. His pupil Dominic Germanus from Silesia, O. M. Obs., published *Fabrica ovvero dizionario della lingua volgare Arabica ed Italiana* (Rome, 1636) and *Fabrica linguae Arabicae cum interpretatione Latina et Italica accomodata ad usum linguae vulgaris et Scripturalis* (Rome, 1639, Fol.), a most serviceable Arabic dictionary even in our day. Friar Germanus possessed a knowledge of the Koran as few other people. Elias bar Shinaya, born 975, metropolitan of Nisibis in 1009, wrote a Syriac and Arabic lexicon, entitled *Kitab ut Tarjuman* (Book called the Interpreter), which was translated into Latin by Friar Thomas Obicini and edited by Friar Germanus at Rome in 1636 under the title: *Thesaurus Arabico-Syro-Latinus* (Rome, 1636, 8vo. size). It is a classified vocabulary, divided into thirty chapters, each containing several sections. Bernard of Paris, O. M. Cap., published an Italian-Arabic dictionary at Rome, Propaganda Press, in 1665.

Arabic grammars have been published in print later by Antony of Aquila, O. M. C. *Arabicae linguae novae institutiones*, Roma, 1650), Agapitus a Valle Flammarum, O. M. C. (*Flores grammaticales Arabici idiomatis*, Roma, 1845), Alexis of Leghorn, O. M. Obs. *Elementi di lingua Araba per uso dei Collegi di Terra Santa*, Jerusalem, 1850), Gabriel Mary of

61 "Arch. Franc. Hist.," vol. V., pp. 800-801.

Aleppo, O. M. Cap. (*Grammatica della lingua Araba*, Beirut, 1902, and Bernardine of Casteltermini, O. M. Cap. (*Primi elementi di lingua araba*, Palermo 1912, and *Corso elementare di lingua araba*. Beirut, 1912, 2nd edit., Rome, 1921, and *Primo passo allo studio dell' Italiano ad uso degli Arabi*, Palermo, 1914).

The greatest lexicographer of Arabic among the Friars was Francis Canes or Cannes, O. M. Discal. (born at Valencia 1730, died at Madrid 1795). He was missionary at Damascus for sixteen years and published a *Grammatica arabigo-espagnola* (Madrid, 1774), and his monumental *Diccionario espagnol-latino-arabigo* in three folios (Madrid, 1787). Antonio Baptista del Rosario, O. M. Obs. (died 1813), wrote: *Instituciones de lengua arabiga para uso de las escuelas*, which apparently was never printed.

Controversial tracts in Arabic against Moslemism were published by Dominic Germanus de Silesia (*Antitheses Fidei Ventilabuntur in contentu S. Petri Montis Aurei F. F. Minor. S. Francisci, Arabice et Latine*, Rome, Propaganda, 1638) and Justinian of Tours, O. M. Cap. (pseudonym Mich. Febure), (*Præcipuæ objectiones quæ fieri solent a Mahumeticæ legis sectatoribus, a Judæis et Haereticis Orientalibus*, Rome, Propaganda, 1679). Yet the best works of this class never saw the light, since there was nobody found who was willing to defray the cost of printing. If the far-sighted Capuchin Père Joseph de Tremblay had not died so prematurely in 1638, a great printing establishment on Mount Libanon subsidized by the King of France would have given the Friars all facilities to spread their works through the press.

Translations into Arabic were published by several Friars. In this department ranks highest Britius of Rennes, O. M. Cap., who published *Annalium eccles. Baronii epitome Arabica*, (Rome, Propaganda, 1653, octavo 3 vols., pp. 3,232), *Continuationis Annalium Baronii per Henr. Spondanum factæ* (1198-1646) *Arabica epitome* (Rome, ibid: 1655, 8°, pp. 838), and *Jacobi Saliani Annalium a creatione mundi ad Christi incarnationem epitome Latina et Arabica* (Rome, Jos. Luna, Maronita, 1655, 4°). Justus of Beauvais, O. M. Cap., translated the catechism of Cardinal Richelieu from French into Arabic, upon the request of the great Cardinal, and this Arabic translation was printed at Paris by Ant. Vitray in 1640 in Arabic characters, comprising 415 pages in quarto. Cardinal Richelieu

defrayed all the expenses, so that the whole edition was distributed gratis: "De mandato Cardinalis Ducis de Richelieu gratis dispensantur," is printed on the title page. The same Capuchin Justus of Beauvais translated Bellarmine's catechism into Arabic, but this translation apparently remained unpublished. Ignatius of Orléans, O. M. Cap., finished in 1638 at Aleppo a translation of Thomas Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* into Arabic which agrees so perfectly with the Arabic translation of Coelest. Golius, O. C. D., printed at Rome in 1663, that the noted bibliographer Stephen Evodius Assemani (*Bibliothecæ Mediceo-Laurent. catalogi*, p. 133) calls Cœlestinus Golius a plagiarist. Friar Ignace's manuscript is now preserved at Florence in the Laurentian Library (Steinschneider, *Polemische Lit.*, Leipz. 1877, pp. 120, 206, 215-216).

However, most works of this class were to remain manuscripts. Beside the Capuchin Arabists mentioned, eleven other Capuchin missionaries compiled from 1630 to 1680 two Arabic dictionaries, eight controversial works in Arabic, and made translations of thirteen works into Arabic none of which were ever printed. (Hilaire de Barenton, *France Catholig. en Orient*, Paris 1902). On March 17, 1692, there was recorded in the *Acta S. Congr. Prop.* the following notice: "Friar Francis of Romorantin, O. M. Cap., who has spent thirty-eight years in the missions of his Order in Syria states that he has brought along to Rome with himself two books in Arabic refuting the Koran, one of which was written upon the orders of the late Pope Innocent XI., a catechism in Arabic, and a book of lives of the saints in Arabic." But none of these works was printed by the Propaganda Press, nor the translation of the Bible into Arabic made by the Capuchin missionaries at Aleppo and sent to the Propaganda in 1633. Nevertheless Britius of Rennes assisted in the Arabic edition of the Bible printed by the Propaganda in 1671. The libraries of the Friars Minor in Palestine and Syria preserve more than one thousand Arabic manuscripts written by Friars, which were never printed.

Some Friars are noted for their collections of Oriental manuscripts. Pacificus Lescaille of Provins, O. M. Cap. (died 1649), founder of the Capuchin missions in Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, contributed to the progress of Oriental studies in Europe by his valuable collection of Arabic manuscripts now preserved chiefly in the *Museo Borgiano*. One of

them, the spurious *Testament and Pacts concluded between Moslems and Christians*, was edited in Arabic with Latin translation by Gabriel Sionita at Paris in 1630, by Nissel at Leyden in 1655 and 1661, and by Hinckelmann at Hamburg in 1690, and was translated besides into Dutch, English, and German.⁶² Daniel Dayminius, O. M. Recoll., assisted in 1630 and 1631 the celebrated book-collector Theophilus Minutius, O. Minim., in his search for Hebrew, Samaritan, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic manuscripts all over the East. In 1633, Giles of Loches, O. M. Cap.,⁶³ returned to France from Egypt where he had been studying Oriental languages for seven years and pointed out to Minutius the monasteries where the valuable Coptic manuscripts were preserved, thereby being instrumental in the transportation of many manuscripts into Europe. Of scholars treating special subjects we mention as one of the latest the study of Arabic Bibles by Fr. Joseph Rhode, O. F. M.

Most of the Hebraists and Arabists mentioned above were masters also of the Aramaic (formerly called Chaldaic) and Syriac. However, there are other names worthy of mention. Friars Griphon, O. M. Obs. (died 1475), wrote many books in Syriac and translated some into Syriac for the use of the Maronites, all of which are as yet unpublished. Jerome Stoehr, O. M. Recoll. (secularized in 1805), published *Theoria et praxis Samaritanae Hebraicae et Syriacae linguarum pro tyronum usu* (Augsburg, 1796). The Syriac and Samaritan characters had to be first cut under the direction and supervision of the Friars at the foundry of Augsburg.⁶⁴ John Baptist of Saint-Aignan, O. M. Cap., translated into Syriac, about 1675, the *Offices of Our Blessed Lady and Prayers* for the use of the Maronite Poor Clares. Michael Angelus Carmeli, O. M. Obs. (died 1766), was a famous teacher of Oriental languages at the University of Padua. Wunibald Mayer, O. M. Recoll. (died 1807), missionary in Palestine, was very familiar with Oriental languages and literatures. Arsenius Rehm, O. M. Recoll. (died 1808 or 1809), had been missionary in Palestine and Egypt, and later taught Oriental languages at Fulda.⁶⁵

One of the landmarks of Semitic philology are the *Lectiones grammaticales linguae Amaricae necnon linguae Oromonicae*,

⁶² Steinschneider, op. cit., p. 185.

⁶³ Lomeier, "De bibliothecis," Utrecht (1680), pp. 231-233 "Kirchenlexicon," vol. II., p. 797 is somewhat misleading.

⁶⁴ Minges, "Franzisk. in Bayern," p. 226.

⁶⁵ Minges, op. cit., pp. 218, 265.

published by William Cardinal Massaja, O. M. Cap. (died 1889), at Paris in 1867 (501 pages, in 8 vols.) The cost of printing was defrayed by the French government. Amharic is spoken in Abyssinia in a territory which extends from the left bank of the Takkaze River into regions far to the south. Although Amharic has been driven back by the invasions of the negro tribes of Galla, it has been compensated to some extent for this loss, as two Galla tribes have adopted it as their language. With the exception of Arabic, no Semitic tongue is spoken by so large a number of human beings as Amharic. The Hamitic people of Galla are scattered over the wide region which extends for about 1,000 miles from the central parts of Abyssinia southward into British East Africa. The name "Jalla" which is applied to them is unknown to this people, they call themselves "Ilm Orma," sons of men, and their language is called Oromonic by Cardinal Massaja. Of all Hamitic people the Galla are the most numerous. Cardinal Massaja writes that "he does not know of any grammar of Amharic ever published before my time." However, there are some grammatical rudiments of Oromonic or Galla. But since these writers did not travel in these countries to a great extent, their grammars are so confused and faulty, that neither I nor any of my missionaries have ever received the least benefit from them" (pp. XVI.-XVII.). He found the affinities between Amharic and Oromonic so great that he did not need to treat each language separately. In spite of the contrary opinion of modern philologists, the Galla language must be classed among Semitic tongues. Cardinal Massaja had collected much material about other languages spoken in Abyssinia which he lost when driven out of the country. Angelus of Ronciglione, O. M. Cap., published a catechism in Amharic (Rome, Propag., 1906), and critical annotations to his edition of the Bible in Geez (Rome, Propag., 1907). Joachim Maria of Boceguillas, O. M. Cap., translated into Amharic the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John (printed with annotations in Amharic at Rome, Propag., 1907), and the Gospels and Epistles of Sundays and Feastdays (printed, Rome, Propag., 1907). Louis Taurin Cahagne, O. M. Cap. (died 1899), Vicar Apostolic of the Galla, wrote a catechism in Oromonic which is used in the schools, but was never printed. Ezechias of Iseo, O. M. Cap., published a reader in Amharic at Asmara in 1912.

The Geez, or Ethiopic proper, ceased to be the language of the Abyssinians about a thousand years ago, but remained the ecclesiastical and literary language till modern times. Angelus of Ronciglione, O. M. Cap., published a critical edition of the Gospels in Geez basing it upon an old manuscript found recently in the church library at Hebo and a critical reprint of the Roman edition of the Acts of the Apostles in Geez (1549) accompanied with annotations in Tigre (Rome, Propag., 1907, 8 vols., 736 pp.). Francis of Assano, O. M. Cap., published the whole New Testament in Geez (Asmara, 1912) and the Four Gospels in Geez (ibid., 1912 in 24°). In 1922 a prayer-book in Geez was published by a Capuchin (ibid., 1922), and at other times some pamphlets by the same press.

The dialect spoken in the province of Tigre or North-eastern Abyssinia bears the name of Tigrāi or, with an Amharic termination, Tigrina, whilst that spoken in the countries bordering upon it to the north is called simply Tigre. These two dialects are only more modern forms of the linguistic type clearly exhibited in Geez. Angelus of Ronciglione, O. M. Cap., published in Tigrina *The Maxims of Eternity* by St. Alphonsus (Rome, Propag., 1905). Francis of Offeio, O. M. Cap., published *Grammatica della Lingua Tigrāi* (Cheren, 1907, 2nd edit., Asmara, 1915), and *Grammatica Tigrāi-Italiana* (Rome, 1908). A small grammar to assist Abyssinians in learning Italian was likewise published by a Capuchin (Asmara, 1917). Two small vocabularies were compiled for school purposes by the Capuchins and printed at Asmara in 1917, a *Sillabario Tigrina-italiano* (1st edit. in 1915), and *Sillabario Ghez-Amarico-Tigrina*. Francis of Bassano, O. M. Cap., published at the expense of the Italian government his *Vocabolario Tigray-Italiano e Repertorio Italiano-Tigray*, at Rome, in 1918, a quarto of 1,307 pages. Moreover, the Capuchin missionaries compiled and issued a Missal in Tigrina (Asmara, 1915), a Bible History in Tigrina (Asmara, 1920), a catechism in Tigrina (Asmara, 1918), and about ten different works in Tigrina for school purposes and devotion, beside a monthly paper published since 1916.

In the Tigre dialect the Capuchins have published a grammar and a dictionary (Tigre-Italian and Italian-Tigre) at Asmara, in 1919, and a *Sillabario Tigre-Italiano* at the same press in 1917. Francis of Bassano is working at present on a dictionary which will be the most complete yet published.

The Somali language belongs to the Cushitic or Ethiopian Family of Hamitic languages and is spoken by the Somali of the country of East Africa and named after them. The Somali population is estimated at about 1,100,000 scattered over an area of about 356,000 square miles. Evangeliste de Larajasse, O. M. Cap., has published at London in 1897 a *Somali-English and English-Somali Dictionary*. The *Somali-English* dictionary contains about five thousand words with corresponding phrases. The same Friar together with Brother Cyprian de Sampont, O. M. Cap., published a *Practical Grammar of the Somali Language with a Manual of Sentences*, printed likewise at London in 1897. These two works could only be printed through the munificence of Lord Delamere, a Protestant, who defrayed the cost. They are monumental works and the result of three years' hard studies. The dictionaries were the first works of this kind, and the grammar was far superior to the very imperfect sketches by Hunter (1880) and Schleicher (1890). These two missionaries compiled, moreover, some text-books for the common schools which they later printed at their mission press at Berbera (catechism, in 1905, prayer-books and other books, in 1905 and 1909). John Mary of Palermo, O. M. Cap., published a Somali grammar (*Grammatica della lingua Somala*, Asmara, 1914), and a Somali dictionary (*Dizionario della lingua Somala*, Asmara, 1915). In 1920 Brother Cyprian of Sampont published an abridged Somali grammar (*Grammaire abrégée de la langue Somalie*, Rome 1920).

The Cunama language spoken by the Cunama tribes of Eritrea belongs to the Hamitic-Sudanese family. The first grammar and vocabulary of this hitherto unknown language was compiled by a Capuchin and printed anonymously in 1918 (*Grammatica della lingua Cunama con annesso Vocabolario Italiano-Cunama e Cunama-Italiano*, Asmara, 1918).

The Capuchins have been studying also the Kaffa and Bilin languages spoken by these respective tribes in Abyssinia and Eritrea, both belonging to the Hamitic family, but have not yet published any linguistic studies about them.

The Capuchin missionaries of the Congo regions enjoy the unique distinction of having been the first to study scientifically

the Negro languages of South Africa. The first language treated linguistically by the Capuchins was the Congo language group of the Portuguese possession of Angola which includes several dialects. This language is still spoken in the territory of the old independent kingdom of Congo and along the lower course of the Congo River. Hyacinth Brugiotti of Vetralla, O. M. Cap. (died 1657), published as early as the year 1650 at Rome a catechism in the four languages of Congo, Latin, Italian, and Portuguese (*Doctrina christiana ad profectum missionis totius regni Congo in quattuor linguas distincta*, Rome, Propag., 1650, 160 pages), and in 1659 a grammar of Congo (*Regulae pro difficillimi Congensium idiomatis captu ad grammaticae regulas redactae*, Rome, Propag., 1659). Antony Mary of Monteprandone, O. M. Cap. (died 1687), issued in 1661 a catechism in Matamba, Portuguese and Latin (*Catechismus pro Regno Matambæ Lusitanico-Latino ac illius regni nativo idiomate*, Rome, Propag., 1661) and an instruction of faith (*ibid.* 1661). Finally Bernard Mary of Canecattim published in 1804 a dictionary of the Bunda or Angola language with Portuguese and Latin translation at Lisbon (*Diccionario da lingua Bunda on Angolese, explicada na Portugueza e Latina, da Bern. M. da Cannecatim*, Lisboa, 1804, 722 pp.), still the standard work, and in 1805 a Bunda grammar (*Collecao de observacoes grammaticaes sobre a lingua Bunda on Angolese*, Lisboa 1805, 236 pp.) These books remained the solitary representatives of linguistics of the Bantu languages prior to Bennie's dictionary of Kaffre which was published in 1826. In 1921 Benjamin of Bruges, O. M. Cap., published a catechism in Ngbandi, a Sudanese dialect spoken in Ubangi (Bruges, 1921).

The Turkish languages belong to the Ural-Altaic family and are divided into four groups. The Friars Minor who were laboring in Turkey studied these languages for missionary purposes. One of the many Turkish dictionaries published within the last three hundred years is the *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco* compiled by Bernard of Paris, O. M. Cap. (died 1669), printed at Rome (Propag.) in 1665 (3 vols. 2,458 pp.), which has been brought out also in French and Turkish at Paris, in 1654. Mark Vergeiner, O. M. Obs. (died 1883), wrote a

**Study of
Negro
Languages**

**Study of
Ural-Altaic
Languages**

Turkish grammar beside his Arabic grammar (*Institutio linguæ Turcicæ*, Jerusalem, 1872).

However, most of the linguistic works of Friars in Turkish remained unpublished, as for instance a Turkish grammar and Turkish dictionary by Elzear of Samsaye, O. M. Cap. (about 1662), a Turkish-Persian grammar by John Baptist of Lahe, O. M. Cap., a Turkish catechism by Joseph of Saint Paul, O. M. Cap., an instruction on Confession in Turkish by Bonaventure of Lude, O. M. Cap., a translation of the Gospels into Turkish by John Baptist of Lahe, O. M. Cap., a translation of the Apocalypse into Turkish by Joseph of Saint-Paul, O. M. Cap., a translation of Tobias into Turkish by Justus of Beauvais, O. M. Cap. (died 1639), and finally a Turkish grammar and Turkish-French dictionary by Raphael Dutertre of Mans, O. M. Cap. (died 1696). The autograph of Raphael of Mans' Turkish grammar, written in 1684, is preserved in the British Museum at London, and a copy of his Turkish-French dictionary at the Royal Library of Upsala, Sweden. All these Turkish works were written during the second half of the 17th century.

In 1669 the Capuchins established in Constantinople a school of Oriental languages to train young men for dragomans to the French embassy. The two most famous professors of this school were Hyacinth Francis of Paris, O. M. Cap. (died 1739), and Roman of Paris, O. M. Cap. (died after 1745). The languages taught were Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Armenian and Turkish. This Oriental school came to an end with the French Revolution and was later replaced at Paris by the School of Oriental Languages established in 1833. Friar Roman had prepared for printing a Turkish-Greek-French dictionary which apparently never was published. Nevertheless, this Oriental school published a Turkish-French dictionary, and translated into French a number of Turkish works of an official character issued by the Imperial Press of Constantinople.

The language of the extinct tribe of Kumans or Comans is partly preserved through the labors of a Friar Minor. Kuman or Coman is a name given by Europeans to the tribes who, in the Middle Ages, occupied Moldavia and the adjacent regions. It is probable that the Kumans were hybrid Turkish tribes. Their language which is known by the so-called "Codex Cumanicus," was related to Turkish. This codex is preserved

in the library of St. Mark at Venice and on 164 pages in octavo contains in its first part a Latin-Persian-Cumanic glossary, and in its second part a number of texts in Cumanic. This second part, giving translations of the "Our Father" and other instructions in Cumanic, was compiled by a Friar Minor, and the whole manuscript was written in 1303 by a missionary laboring near the Black Sea. The Codex Cumanicus was first edited by Géza Kuun at Budapest in 1880 (*Archiv. Franc. Hist.* VII., 1914, pp. 139-144).

Friar John of Montecorvino (died 1328), was the first European who mastered the Mongol language and translated the Bible into it. In 1294 he reached China upon the request of the Mongol emperor residing at Peking. He familiarized himself with the language spoken at the court and preached the gospel in it. The Mongol tongue belongs to the class of languages which recent scholars designate as Ural-Altaic. This first European missionary to China worked chiefly among the then ruling class of people, the Mongols. In 1305 he reports that he had gradually bought from heathen parents about one hundred and fifty boys, instructed them in Latin and Greek, copied psalters, hymnals and breviaries for them, and trained them to sing the Office in choir. He had translated into the Tatar (i. e., Mongol), language the whole New Testament and the Psalms which were re-written in very beautiful Mongol letters by his native pupils. Accordingly Friar John occupies an honorable place among the medieval translators of the Bible.⁶⁶ Moreover, Friar John had placed in his church at Peking six pictures representing Biblical scenes accompanied with explanations in the Latin, Persian and Mongolian languages. The downfall of the Mongolian dynasty marked the end of the Friar's mission in China just forty years after the death of its founder, John of Montecorvino.⁶⁷

The Friars Minor had been laboring in Persia till up to the middle of the 15th century, when Arabic was the principal language of the Persian people. In 1628 the Capuchins re-entered and labored there till 1755. Gabriel of Paris, O. M. Cap., is the first Capuchin who wrote in Persian. He compiled a Persian dictionary, translated the book of Judith into Per-

⁶⁶ cf. Copinger, "The Bible and its Transmission," London (1897).

⁶⁷ The article in the "Catholic Encyclopedia," vol. VIII., p. 474 has some misstatements.

sian, wrote three catechisms, a life of Christ, and a life of the twelve Apostles. On Nov. 11, 1636, the secretary of the Propaganda wrote to him with the request that he send the translation of Judith and his other Persian works, and assured him that the Propaganda would have them printed, especially the Persian dictionary. But eventually, they all remained unpublished. Gabriel of Chinon, O. M. Cap. (died 1678), was familiar with the Persian, Turkish, and Armenian languages, but wrote only an ethnological work. The above mentioned linguist Raphael Dutertre of Mans, O. M. Cap. (died 1696 at Ispahan), labored in the capital of Persia for 52 years (1644-1696). He is the author of a celebrated geographical, political, and ethnological description of Persia, written in 1660, and first printed at Paris in 1890. The Index of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words embodied in this description covers no less than 40 pages (pp. 399-439 in the Paris edition).

Georgia, a former kingdom of Transcaucasia, and since 1801 a Russian province, was known to the ancients as Iberia. Geographically it belongs to Europe. The Georgian language is

Study of the Georgian Language

a member of the Caucasian family. Its peculiar morphology stands midway between agglutination and true inflexion. It is written in a native alphabet which is obviously based on the Armenian. The Capuchins labored in Georgia from 1661 till 1845. Bonaventura Palomba of Sorrento, O. M. Cap. (died 1663), the first prefect of this mission, wrote a grammar of the Georgian language which was never printed. Bernard Mary Cioffi, of Naples (died 1707), translated the catechism of Bellarmine into Georgian, and this translation was printed at Rome by the Propaganda in 1681. Moreover, he compiled a Georgian dictionary, translated most of the Bible from Latin into Georgian, translated the *Philothea* of St. Francis of Sales into Georgian, wrote a book on the procession of the Holy Ghost, a novel entitled *King Baaman*, and a poem in the same language. All these works in Georgian were never printed, but were preserved in the Capuchin monastery of Torre del Greco till the suppression of monasteries in 1866.

India, the great country of Asia, is inhabited by a medley of different races, speaking upwards of two hundred different

languages. The Friars Minor have been doing missionary work in India without interruption for the last 424 years (1500-1924). They not only studied the vernacular languages to preach the gospel to these races, but some Friars also mastered the sacred dead language of Sanskrit in the interest of Oriental philology. The Portuguese Friars of the Obervance studied the Konkani and Kanarese languages spoken in Western and Southern India. Manuel Banha, O. M. Obs., is the author of a dictionary of Konkani which was never printed. Manuel Baptista, O. M. Obs. (lived in 1654), wrote a catechism in Konkani, which has never been brought out. Manuel of Lado, O. M. Obs. (lived in 1662), is likewise the author of an unpublished catechism in Konkani. Finally, Amador of Santa Anna, O. M. Obs., finished in 1607 at Goa, a translation of the celebrated work *Flos Sanctorum* into Kanarese, containing lives of the saints, sermons and spiritual readings for the feastdays of the year. This Kanarese translation was printed in India some time before 1612. The manuscript is preserved in the National Library at Paris, and a copy of the printed edition is treasured at the Escorial.⁶⁸ These are the principal Franciscan missionaries who have most of all contributed by their work, to the study of the vernacular languages of India.

The list of Capuchin linguists working on the languages of India is considerably longer. Francis of Tours, O. M. Cap. (died about 1710), composed a voluminous Hindostani dictionary entitled: *Thesaurus Linguae Indianae* which he donated to the Propaganda on July 5, 1704. It is still preserved in the library of the Propaganda in Rome. This work consists of two parts of 489 and 423 pages respectively. Every page has two columns, one giving the Latin words arranged alphabetically, and the other giving the Hindostani words written in Devanagari letters. On the opposite page the two columns contain the French translation of the Latin and Hindostani. Sometimes Hindostani is expressed in Persian. There are twenty-five words given on every page, but so that a single Latin word is expressed by two or three Hindostani equivalents. This dictionary was later corrected by Cassian of Macerata, O. M. Cap., the author of the first printed Hindostani grammar.

68 da Civezza, "Saggio," pp. 33-34.

Cassian Belligatti of Macerata, O. M. Cap. (died 1791), labored for eighteen years (1738-1756) in Northern India and left a number of valuable ethnological and linguistic works. He published in 1771 the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum* (Rome, Propaganda, 1771) in Devanagari type. Some of this type was designed and cut at Rome by Ruggerio under the direction of Friar Cassian. The grammar of Hindostani comprises 130 pages followed by 22 pages of text and preceded by a philological introduction of 20 pages. This is the first Hindostani grammar ever printed.

Bishop Antonino Pezzoni, O. M. Cap. (died 1844), wrote a Hindostani grammar in Latin which was published in Italian by Angelo Maria of Castiglione, O. M. Cap. (died 1878), at Sardhana in 1847 (462 pp.) The Hindostani words are printed in Persian and Devanagari letters. In recent times Hindostani grammars were published by Lawrence McCarthy, O. M. Cap., *Grammaire Hindostani-Française* (Verviers, 1895), by Gerold Gerster of Assmannshardt, O. M. Cap., *Grammatik der Hindostanischen Sprache* (Bettiah, 1904), and by Bartholomew of Casola, O. M. Cap., *Grammatica elementare Italiana-Indostana* (Dinapore, 1915).

Bishop Pezzoni compiled, moreover, a Hindostani dictionary and a catechism in the same language both of which remained unedited. However, he published a prayer-book (Sardhana, 1847, 2nd edit., Sardhana, 1869), and an explanation of the Mass in Hindostani (Sardhana, 1872) and a translation of *Lives of the Saints* from the Italian (Sardhana, 1872).

Bishop Anastasius Hartmann, O. M. Cap. (died 1866), is the greatest linguist among the Capuchin missionaries of India in modern times. He published the following printed catechism, a Hindostani catechism (in the Urdu dialect) at Bombay in 1852. Since this catechism was written for missionaries, a short grammar with a dictionary was appended. Two years later he published a Hindostani catechism in Persian letters for the converts from Moslemism (Bombay, 1854). The third catechism in Hindostani is printed in Devanagari letters for converts from Hinduism (Bombay, 1852) and an abridged edition of this work (at Patna, 1865, Sardhana, 1883, and Lucknow, 1898). Beside these he published two larger catechisms at Sardhana in 1863, one in Persian and the other in Devanagari letters. Bishop Francis Pesci, O. M. Cap. (died 1896), pub-

lished a Hindostani catechism at Allahabad in 1886. Archbishop Michael Angelus Jacopi (died 1891), published another Hindostani catechism at Sardhana, 1850 and 1868. Lately James of Santo Marcello, O. M. Cap., published his translation of Pius X.' catechism in Hindostani at Agra in 1908 (518 pp.) and Philip of Lierre, a catechism at Lahore, 1905.

Bible histories in Hindostani were published by Bernardino Coppi, O. M. Cap. (Bareilly, 1909), by an anonymous Belgian Capuchin (Lahore, 1905), and by another (Agra, 1898).

Prayer-books in Hindostani were written by Joseph Mary Count of Bernini, O. M. Cap. (died 1761), and published as well as written by Antonino Pezzoni (Sardhana, 1847, 2nd ed. *ibid.*, 1869), by Anastasius Hartmann, by Michael Angelo Jacopi (Sardhana, 1869 and *ibid.*, 1870), by James of Santo Marcello (Sardhana, 1898), a Tyrolese Capuchin (Bettiah, 1901), by Joseph Maria Kreuzsaler, O. M. Cap. (Bettiah, 1904), by Vincent of Ninove, O. M. Cap. (Lahore, 1900), and by Philip of Lierre, O. M. Cap. (Lahore, 1904, two books).

Controversial tracts were written in Hindostani by Joseph Mary Count of Bernini (*Dialogue between a Christian and a Heathen*, written 1751, 92 pp., now in the Propaganda Archives, and a second *Dialogue* written somewhat later and apparently also in the Propaganda Archives), Michael Angelo Jacopi (a work against Moslemism in Urdu type, Allahabad, 1886; a work against Protestantism in three kinds of type, Urdu, Devanagari and Roman, Allahabad, 1887; and a work against Hinduism, Allahabad, 1889), Angelus Mary of Castiglione (a work against Protestantism, Sardhana, 1878 and *ibid.*, 1883).

Felicissimo Fornoni da Gualino, O. M. Cap. (died 1894), published sermons in Hindostani (Sardhana, 1896, 2 vols.), as did also Angelo Mary of Castiglione (2 vols. Sardhana, 1867 and 1884). Archbishop Jacopi published instructions on the Third Order in Hindostani (printed 1885).

The number of translations into Hindostani made by Capuchins is considerable. First in importance comes the translation of the New Testament into Hindostani made by Bishop Anastasius Hartmann and published in Latin type (Patna, 1864) and in Persian type (Sardhana, 1879). The edition in Devanagari letters, which was planned, was never edited. Joseph Count of Bernini translated Bossuet's *Christian Doctrine* and *Life of Christ* into Hindostani (remained in manuscript form);

Angelus Mary of Castiglione translated into the same language Muzzarelli's *Month of Mary* (Sardhana, 1884), and St. Alphonsus' *Instructions on the Sacrament of Penance* (Sardhana, 1863); Adeodato of Fano, O. M. Cap. (died 1827), translated the catechetical instructions of Peter Mary Ferreri, S. J. (printed at Sardhana, 1876), and Bernardine Coppi translated Charles Dallet's apologetical catechism (Agra, 1912, 576 pp.). The Tyrolese Capuchin missionaries had prepared in 1904 a complete translation of the entire Bible in Hindostani which they intended to publish, but have not yet done. In 1913 the Tyrolese Capuchins began publishing a periodical in Hindostani which was suspended by the world-war in 1914.

Hindostani is understood everywhere in northern India as a second language beside the vernacular of the particular regions; it is the literary language, and this explains its importance for missionary purposes.

However, the vernacular languages, Hindi, Punjabi, and Urdu were not neglected. In Hindi the Tyrolese Capuchin missionaries of Bettiah published a Bible History (Calcutta, 1896); Paul of Lacroix-sur-Meuse brought out a larger catechism (2 vols. Calcutta, 1905-1908), and a book of meditations for every day of the year (Bettiah, 1922).

In Urdu there were produced a Latin-Urdu grammar by Bishop Hartmann (never printed), pamphlets on the Third Order (printed in Urdu text with Urdu letters in 1885), a catechism by Lawrence MacCarthy (Verviers, 1895), a catechism by James of Santo Marcello (Agra, 1900), a translation of the catechism of Pius X. into Urdu by the same writer (Agra, 1909), a translation of the New Testament by Marcian of Paris (Lahore, 1919), and a bi-monthly published at Agra since 1909 both in Urdu and Latin letters.

In Punjabi (Janjabi) Vitalis of Westcappelle, O. M. Cap., published a catechism (Lahore, 1910, and a translation of the Four Gospels contracted into a harmony (Lahore, 1911, 408 pp.)

Bhili, the language spoken by the savage tribes of Bhilis, and Balahi, the language of the tribe of the same name, have been studied by French Capuchins for the last twenty years, but no works have been published. These tribes have neither alphabet nor grammar, and everything has to be done by the missionary.

Sanskrit, the ancient and dead literary language of India which eventually furnished to European scholars the key to the comparative study of Indo-European languages, attracted the attention of the early missionaries and travellers. It is still spoken as the tongue of the learned by thousands of Brahmans, as it was centuries before our era. Many books and journals are written in this literary dead language even in our times. The earliest European information regarding this ancient language is contained in the letters of Filippo Sassetti, an Italian who lived in India from 1583 to 1588 (his letters were first edited by Marucci at Florence in 1855).⁶⁹ Since the sixteenth century a few European missionaries acquired some familiarity with Sanskrit. The first European who mastered it was the Jesuit Robert de Nobili (died 1656), who began about 1620 to write works in Sanskrit. Henry Roth, S. J. (died 1668), was another master of Sanskrit who published in 1667 a description of the Sanskrit alphabet. John Ernest Hanxleden, S. J. (died 1732), was the first European to write a Sanskrit grammar and a Sanskrit dictionary which were never published. In 1733 P. Calmette, S. J., reported that the Jesuits in India did not only master Sanskrit, but were also able to read separate parts of the *Vedas*; they possessed all Four *Vedas* and other Sanskrit works. Finally we hear that Anthony Mosac, S. J., translated the *Vedas* in 1767. Meanwhile the Dutch missionary Abraham Roger, translated into Dutch and published (1651) two hundred of Bhartrihari's lyrical stanzas, which were to remain all that was ever printed from Sanskrit till 1776.

To the Capuchin Joseph Count of Bernini (died 1761), belongs the credit of having been the first European to translate an entire work from classical Sanskrit into a modern European language. He labored in India from 1739 till his death in 1761, dying at Bettiah in January, 1761, at the age of fifty years. In his Hindostani works he quotes frequently from the *Vedas*. But his greatest claim to fame rests on the fact that he was the first to translate the *Ramayana* and *Vishnu-Purana* into Italian, thereby antedating Horace Hayman Wilson, the "first translator" of the *Vishnu-Purana* by eighty years (first published at London in 1840), and all translators of the *Ramayana* and particularly the "first" one, Caspar Gorresio, by more than eighty-three years (Paris, 1843-1858). In fact, the Sanskrit text edited by Gorresio, which was printed at Paris

from 1843 to 1858, is nothing else than an edition of the copy of the *Ramayana* which the Capuchin Friar Joseph Bernini had sent from India to be placed in the Museo Borgiano. It would be interesting to know whether Gorresio's Italian translation printed side by side with the Sanskrit text has any relations to the older translation of Friar Bernini.

Beside these two standard works, Friar Bernini translated from Sanskrit into Italian the *Lahalek*, describing the eighth incarnation of Vishnu in the human person of Krishna, and *Jana-Sagara*, or *Sea of Intelligence*, a philosophical work opposing the orthodox systems of Brahmanism. He had also intended to translate the *Vedas*, but unfortunately he could not procure a copy of them from the pundits. A number of smaller works treating of Hindu mythology, rite, ethnology, and ceremonial have been likewise translated by Friar Bernini from Sanskrit, so that he ranks first among the pioneers of Sanskrit studies, a place which had been denied him as long as his works were buried in the dust of libraries. The noted Orientalist Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, O. C. D., who knew some of Bernini's works, wrote as early as the year 1794: "The English herald the ancient works of the Hindus as being something unknown to Europeans. Hardly any Indian works are brought by them and what they bring, has been partly known in Europe and previously published."⁷⁰

A disciple of Bernini and worthy of such a master was Mark of Tomba di Senigallia, O. M. Cap. (died 1803). He writes: "With the help of Friar Joseph Bernini's oral instruction and writings and the assistance of native scholars I learned the language (Sanskrit). From 1761 to 1764 I had in keeping the whole library of the King of Bettiah because of the war, and all that time I lived with the Royal teacher, a Brahmin, who had been a graduate of the Academy of Benares. I made a list of all the books kept in four large chests, all of which are generally found in these regions of Hindostan, and I translated different ones which are most popular among these people." And later he writes: "Through the hard labor of the missionaries and by spending large sums of money we now possess the translations of many books." Paulinus a St. Bartholomaeo stated in 1793 that he had often quoted in his writings the Cap-

69 Monroe, "Cyclop. of Education," vol. IV., p. 563.

70 "India Orient. Christ.," p. 165 in note.

uchin Friar Marcus of Tomba as an authority on Indian antiquities.⁷¹ The works of Mark of Tomba, including many translations from Sanskrit, were never published and are preserved now in the Propaganda Archives and the Museo Borgiano. The noted Italian Orientalist Angelo de Gubernatis published in 1878 an extensive study of the linguistic works in the Museo Borgiano⁷² where he makes the statement, "If the works of Friar Mark of Tomba had been known at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the learned orientalists would have been spared many pains. Nevertheless, in spite of so many researches, much of what was written a century ago by Friar Mark of Tomba about Bettiah is still unknown." The Capuchins Bernini and Tomba have to be counted among the founders of Aryan Philology. They would have been placed in the same class with Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Schlegel and Klaproth long before this, if they had had the financial means to have their monumental works printed.

The last great Sanskrit scholar among the Capuchins was Bishop Pezzoni, who translated the entire Pentateuch into Sanskrit and made a present of it to Pope Leo XII. in 1826. A part of this Sanskrit translation was later published by Bishop Jos. Ant. Borghi, O. M. Cap. (died 1866).

June 19, 1707, the first two Capuchin missionaries arrived at Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. The Capuchins labored in Tibet from 1707 till 1745 with the interruption of nine years, and were the only missionaries in that stronghold of Buddhism up to the present time, with the single exception of the Jesuit Hippolyt Desideri who stayed at Lhasa for five years, from 1716 till 1721. The Capuchins, moreover, possess the distinction of having been the first Europeans who mastered the Tibetan language, wrote books in Tibetan, compiled dictionaries and translated Tibetan works into European languages.

Dominic of Fano, O. M. Cap. (died 1728), who resided at Lhasa from 1709 to 1711 and 1716 to 1720, compiled a Latin-Tibetan dictionary which is preserved at the National Library at Paris, but was never printed. M. Pauthier remarks:⁷³ "None

71 "Musaei Borgiani codices," pp. 168-169.

72 "Scritti del D. Marco della Tomba, Cappuccino, illustrati sopra gli autografi del Museo Borgiano," Firenze (1878), 305 pp.

73 "Livres Sacrés," Paris (1866), vol. II., p. 375.

of all the travellers who visited that country from the 13th to the 18th century have taken the trouble to inform us about that language. We have to go down to the dictionary of Dominic of Fano, Orazio, and Cassiano to find precise details about the Tibetan language and alphabet." One of the greatest Tibetan linguists among Europeans is Francis Orazio of Pennabilli, O. M. Cap. (born 1680; died 1745 at Patan in Nepal). On October 1, 1716, he first arrived at Lhasa to remain uninterruptedly till August 25, 1732; on January 6, 1741 he was back at Lhasa and resided there till April 20, 1745, when the Tibetan mission came to an end. Friar Francis Horatius devoted his first four years at Lhasa exclusively to the study of Tibetan, both the vernacular and the literary language, under the direction of a native scholar who had been appointed to this task by the reigning Tartar King, so that he perfectly mastered the language. He compiled a Tibetan-Italian vocabulary of about 35,000 words. The manuscripts of these works are still preserved at Bishop's College, Calcutta. The larger part of this Tibetan-Italian dictionary was edited by the Protestant missionary Fred. Chr. Gotthelf Schroeter and printed in Tibetan type under the supervision of the Baptist missionary Joshua Marshman on the press of the Baptist College at Serampore, India, in 1826, at the expense of the East India Company. Schroeter substituted English for the Italian of the original.⁷⁴ This is the only work of Orazio which was ever printed.

Francis Orazio translated from the Tibetan into the Italian four large works beside a number of smaller books: 1) *Shakya Thub-pa Namtar*, or *History of Shakyammuni* or Buddha. This may be also one of the many legendary lives of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism in Tibet (lived 777 A. D.), who has been deified like Buddha and distinguished by the title "Shakyammuni" like Buddha; 2) *Lam-rim Chembo* or *The three great ways leading to perfection*; 3) *Chiap-su-Drova*, or *Spiritual means to be practiced*; and 4) *Sozor-tharbc-do*, or *Method to avoid the manifold transmigrations*. On the other hand, Orazio translated from the Italian into the Tibetan language: 1) the catechism of Cardinal Bellarmine together with the examples; 2) the larger catechism of Thurlot with the additions. Finally he wrote a number of smaller books of instruction for the Christians. During his visit to Rome in 1738,

74 "Dictionary of the Bhotanta or Boutan Language," pp. IV., 35 & 477.

the first Tibetan types were designed and cut by Antony Fontarita under his supervision and were later used by the Propaganda to print books in that language, first the *Alphabetum Tibetanum* in 1762. Moreover, Orazio carried Tibetan types and a printing press from Rome to Lhasa, where the Capuchins established that press in 1741. Some fifty books left by the Capuchins at Lhasa in 1745, were in 1847 recovered by the noted English Orientalist, Brian Houghton Hodgson, a Protestant, through the courtesy of the Dalai Lama himself, and were transmitted in the same year as an offering to Pope Pius IX., at Rome, where they are now kept. These works are all in Latin or Italian. The Dalai Lama positively refused to cede any book, in which there were Tibetan characters, so that we may still hope some day to find at Lhasa books printed by the Capuchins.

The appreciation of Orazio's work by such a good judge as was the late Moravian missionary and Tibetan lexicographer, Henry Aug. Jaeschke, may not be out of place here. Jaeschke writes (*Tibetan-English Dictionary* London, 1882, Preface, pp. IV and V): "The present Tibetan language has as many dialects as the country has provinces. The first Tibetan dictionary, intended for European students, was published at Serampore in 1826. There was nothing to assist the author. He had to cope with an entirely undeveloped language. He evidently took the one way possible of making acquaintance with it. Each word or sentence was jotted down, as soon as it was heard, or was committed to writing at his request by some native expert. After a while the attempt could be made to master a book. In the instance of our missionary Padma Sambhava's book of legends (*sic!*) appears to have been selected. Then, step by step, as best he could, our missionary had to possess himself of some abstract views which would serve as a preliminary basis for a grammar. And had it been granted to this pioneer in the field to reduce his materials to an ordered system, and to prepare them himself for publication, it is possible, that in Europe the knowledge of the Tibetan language might have reached some fifty years earlier the stage at which it has now arrived. There was no Tibetan scholar to correct the proofs. Many additional mistakes crept in during the passage through the press. The work has a richer vocabulary than can be found in the later dictionaries. Any one who knows by experience, what time and toil such a work must have cost, though its de-

sign remained unfulfilled and its object unaccomplished, will not easily be able to repress his indignation at the tone in which J. J. Schmidt of St. Petersburg recklessly and absolutely condemned this book in the preface to his Tibetan Grammar: 'My own dictionary in the main, pursues the object and accepts the plan of the work which was published by Mr. Schroeter' " (i. e., Orazio's work). Incidentally, we may mention that neither J. J. Schmidt's Tibetan grammar nor Tibetan dictionary was found by subsequent scholars to justify the great pretensions of this severe critic of Orazio's labors.

Nearly every capital in Europe has obtained possession now of complete copies of the Sacred Tibetan Books, called *Kanjur* or *Kahgyur*, consisting of 100 volumes containing 689 works at the least reckoning. In the Propaganda Library is preserved Orazio's incomplete collection of *Kahgyur* volumes, the first one sent to Europe, and sent at a time when European scholars had not yet been interested in the speculation of Lamaism and the Tibetan language. Friar Orazio was likewise the bearer of letters of the Dalai Lama to the Pope, as well as the answers (1732-1741). The letters exchanged by the head of Lamaism and the head of Christianity were published as early as 1742 in an Italian translation. Nevertheless, our church histories know nothing about this friendly correspondence between Lhasa and Rome. These letters of the Dalai Lama written in fine Tibetan characters and language are still preserved at Rome (Collegio Urbano) as testimonials of the esteem shown by the Dalai Lama for the Capuchins.

In 1762 the Augustinian Friar, August Ant. Georgi (died 1797) published his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* at Rome by the Propaganda press. It is a ponderous and confused compilation of 820 pages in quarto, based on the material sent by the Capuchins from Tibet. In this work the Tibetan types designed by Orazio were first used. Georgi himself was a very poor Tibetan scholar and did not know how to use his material. The pages 9 to 642 present some sort of a Tibetan grammar followed by translations of the "Our Father," "Ave," "Creed," Decalogue, and Sign of the Cross and printed in Tibetan type (pp. 643-650). In appendix II. are printed six documents in Tibetan type authorizing the Capuchins to build a house in Lhasa (pp. 651-662).

However, the first real Tibetan grammar was published by Cassian Belligatti of Macerata, O. M. Cap. (died 1791), at

the Propaganda Press of Rome in 1773, entitled: *Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum*. Although it is called in the preface a compendium of Georgi's chaotic *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, it is nevertheless an entirely new work printed with the Tibetan types designed in 1738 by Orazio but recast on a smaller scale. The Tibetan grammar proper comprises 112 pages in octavo followed by 26 pages of Tibetan text (Sign of the Cross, "Our Father," "Ave," "Angelus," Creed and Decalogue). Friar Cassian had accompanied Orazio to Tibet, arriving at the Tibetan boundary line in October, 1740, and at Lhasa on January 6, 1741. Here he received instruction in the Tibetan language for some time from three Lamas in the Capuchin monastery, especially from Settni-Rimbore, a Lama, by birth, who was a very skillful teacher. On August 31, 1742 he left Lhasa on account of the impending persecution and crossed over into India, where he labored till his return to Italy in 1756. He is credited with a translation of St. Matthew into Hindostani and a Sanskrit grammar.⁷⁵ Accordingly, Alex. Csoma de Koros, whose Tibetan grammar and dictionary were published in 1834, cannot be regarded as the founder of Tibetan philology.

The Capuchins are likewise the founders of Nepalese philology. From 1707 till 1769 they labored in Nepal establishing three houses at Katmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon, then under separate Nepalese Kings. The separate tribes of Nepal have their own languages, so that nine principal languages are spoken there to this day. The Capuchins labored most extensively among the Newars and studied their language, the Newari or the language of Nepal proper. This language is written in three alphabets, Bhanjin Mola, Ranja, and Newari; which latter is now used almost exclusively. In Bishop's College, Calcutta, is preserved an Italian-Hindi vocabulary, the work of a famous Capuchin missionary of the 18th century. It is a complete Italian-Hindi dictionary comprising 350 pages with more than 9,500 words, with a mixture of Beahari and Newari words. An appendix of 18 pages follows giving a list of proper names. The Hindi script has the appearance of Newari, so that the work may be readily taken for a Newari dictionary, although most of the words are Hindi. This work came into the Bishop's College Library in 1824. The compiler of this Italian-Hindi lexicon, interspersed with Newari and Behari, was

75 Sandberg, "Explorat. of Tibet," p. 101.

no less a person than the famous scholar Joseph Count Bernini, O. M. Cap., the founder of the Bettiah mission and one of the most learned orientalist of his time. He knew, perhaps, more Indian languages than any other missionary of his time. From May 27, 1742, till April 20, 1745, he had been living in Lhasa, where he studied the Tibetan language, but as far as we know, he never wrote anything in that language.

In the Collegio Urbano at Rome is preserved a manuscript codex, written in Newari in the native script on bark. The codex consists of 272 pages giving in the Newari language an explanation of the ten commandments, a controversial dialogue on the Catholic religion, a life of Christ, a translation of the Imitation of Christ, and a prayer-book. The whole was compiled by an unknown Capuchin missionary and written out by a native Catholic. In 1771 it was brought to Rome. In the same library are treasured four other works written in the same language, on the same material, and in the same script. One of them is a catechism, the other is an explanation of the seven capital sins, the third is an explanation of the seven sacraments, and the fourth is a dialogue on the Christian religion. All the Nepalese books were compiled by Capuchin missionaries and were brought from India to Rome by Anselm of Regusa, O. M. Cap. (died 1776), in 1771 and given as a present to the Secretary of the Propaganda, Stephen Borgia. Anselm of Regusa labored in Hindostan from 1749 to 1771.

The Collegio Urbano preserves, moreover, a bark codex giving illustrations of Hindu gods, rites, dress, and customs with explanations in Newari words and characters. Constantine of Loro, O. M. Cap. (died 1770), brought this codex with him from Hindostan in 1749 and later added a translation in Italian. At the end is written the Newari alphabet. Other Nepalese works compiled by Capuchins were surely destroyed during the Gurkha wars which ended with the conquest of Nepal by that warlike race in 1768. In the following year the Capuchins were forced to leave the country and crossed over into Bettiah with their Christians. At Churee near Bettiah they established a colony of these fugitive Nepalese Catholics, the first Christian colony in India. The descendants of these Catholic Newars are still living at this place and speak the Newari language of their ancestors.

No sooner had the Capuchins left Nepal than this country like the adjoining mountain-girt Tibet was closed to Europeans,

so that both are still the "great closed Lands." Before the coming of the Capuchins to Nepal, Catholic missionaries had traversed this region but once when the Jesuits John Grueber and Albert D'Orville passed through Nepal on their way from China to Agra in India. The Capuchins were the first and last missionaries to Nepal. They were also the first Europeans who mastered the Nepalese language and wrote books in that tongue and peculiar script. No Catholic missionary has ever after succeeded in speaking and writing the Newari and only a few scholars have attempted to study it scientifically. The great missionary and orientalist Francis Orazio of Pennabilli lies buried somewhere in Patan in Nepal in the Catholic cemetery whose very site is unknown to the modern generation, so completely have been uprooted the vestiges of the once flourishing Capuchin mission.

The Friars Minor have been laboring in China without interruption since the year 1633. The first Friar Minor who founded or reestablished the Franciscan missions in China was

Study of Chinese

Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria, O. M. Discal. (died 1669). He was called Ligan-tang by the Chinese. Landing in Fo-gan on July 2, 1633, he labored in China incessantly till his death. He compiled several books of instruction in Chinese for the Christians. Up till 1653 he had finished three controversial tracts in Chinese, one about the creation of the world, another against polytheism, and a third about the mysteries of the Christian religion. These may be identical with the works that were printed later. Of his Chinese works the following appeared in print, a catechism (Canton, 1666), two books about the Christian law (Ci-nan-fu), the agreement between the law of God and the Chinese philosophy, the disagreement between the law of God and Chinese philosophy, compendium of the law of God (Shantung, 1680), several books of devotion (ibid., 1680), the law of God is a magnet (Shantung, 1703). Augustin da San Pasquale, O. M. Discal. (died 1697), compiled the following Chinese books: *Explanation of the Apostles' Creed, Refutation of the Transmigration of Souls, Christian Virtues, Christian Faith and Hope, a Catechism, On Conscience, and Guide of Life* (printed at Canton, 1681). Francis de la Concepcion, O. M. Discal. (died 1701), wrote in Chinese a refutation of the philosophy of Confucius and an instruction for catechumens.⁷⁶

Basilio Brollo of Gemona, O. M. Ref. (died July 16, 1704), must be mentioned as the most remarkable linguist among the Friars Minor in China. He compiled the best Chinese dictionary we have. No less than fourteen Jesuits and one Dominican had preceded him in the compilation of Chinese dictionaries, and the number of Chinese dictionaries written by these missionaries which are still preserved in European libraries is great. In 1811, when the work of Friar Basil of Gemona was still unknown in Europe, Remusat, the foremost Chinese scholar, penned these words: "Europe is still waiting for a Chinese dictionary which will give better access to the Chinese literature than could be done hitherto." Shortly after the dictionary of Friar Basil became known in Paris it was published by order of Napoleon I. at Paris in 1813, and at his expense. This is the only work of all the older dictionaries compiled by missionaries which was found worthy of being printed. The editor appointed by the French government was Christian Louis Joseph de Guignes, who added the French translation to the Chinese-Latin vocabulary. This *Dictionarium Sinico-Latinum* was re-edited by Jerome Mangieri a S. Arsenio, O. M. Ref., and printed at Hong-Kong in 1853.⁷⁷

Carlo Orazio da Castorano, O. M. Obs. (died after 1759), also compiled a Latin-Italian-Chinese dictionary and a Chinese grammar comprising 1,200 pages in manuscript. In 1742 he took both works to Rome to have them printed by the Propaganda Press, but they remained manuscripts.⁷⁸

John Francis De Nicolai, O. M. Ref. (died 1703), brought all the sacred books of the Chinese and various other Chinese books to Rome about the year 1700. These were indexed in 1738 and 1739 by the aforesaid Friar Carlo Orazio da Castorano. These Chinese books were a good selection of the mass of books treating of Chinese philosophy, theology, and religion, and are now preserved in the Propaganda Library.⁷⁸ Friar Carlo da Castorano's index entitled *Parva elucubratio super quosdam libros sinenses*, is not a mere list of titles, but gives a long description of each book, so that, as he himself says, "even those who do not understand Chinese may become familiar with the substance of Chinese science, philosophy, theology, and religion." The entire work consists of about 420

77 Dahlmann, "Sprachkunde u. Miss.," Freiburg (1891), pp. 37-39.

78 Civezza, op. cit., VIII., pp. 517-526.

folio pages and was never printed. It may be called the first outline of Chinese literature, since the survey given by the Prémare in his *Notitia linguae Sinicae* (written about 1727) covers no more than two pages.⁷⁹ The *Parva elucubratio* contains at the end a life of Confucius according to Chinese sources and a short history of the country, all original compositions of da Castorano.

All in all, no less than thirty-five Friars Minor have written books in Chinese, which were printed in China from 1660 up to the year 1800.⁸⁰

The Friars Minor labored in Japan from 1583 till 1597, and from 1598 till 1634. In 1906 they returned to that mission field. Under the pressure of almost endless persecutions, which eventually stopped missionary work for two hundred years, quiet, steady, literary work was not possible. Nevertheless, a few linguistic studies can be mentioned which were produced by the much harrassed Friars during those days. Diego de las Llagas, O. M. Discal., a native Japanese, who entered the Order in 1613, translated into Japanese the celebrated work, *Flos Sanctorum*, and compiled a Japanese grammar and a Spanish-Latin-Japanese dictionary. All these works remained unpublished.⁸¹ Diego de San Francisco, Pardo de la Membrilla, O. M. Discal. (died after 1632), was a missionary in Japan from about 1612 till 1632 and wrote in Japanese *Counsels of a Priest to His Christians*, which circulated in manuscript among the Christians, but was never printed.⁸² However, the most famous Japanese scholar among the Friars is Melchior a S. Agnete Oyanguren, O. M. Discal. (died 1747). He was well versed in Tagalog, Chinese, Japanese, Annamese, and Malay, and had a preference for comparative studies of languages. His Japanese grammar: *Arte de la lengua Japona* was printed in Mexico in 1738 (220 pp.) and is a remarkable work which did great service to M. C. Landresse who edited the grammar at Paris in 1726. John Rodriguez, S. J.: *Supplément à la grammaire japonaise du P. Rodriguez ou remarques additionnelles tirées de la grammaire composée en espagnol par le P. Oyanguren et traduites par M. C. Landresse, précédées d'une*

79 Baumgartner, "Weltlit.," II. (1902), pp. 525-527.

80 Cordier, "L'imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine," Paris (1901).

81 Dahlmann op. cit. p. 60.

82 "Arch. Franc. Hist.," II., (1909), p. 238.

notice comparative des grammaires japonaises des PP. Rodriguez et Oyanguren par G. de Humboldt. And up to 1857 it remained, together with Rodriguez' work, the only Japanese grammar which was accessible to European students.⁸³ Michael de Preces, O. M. Discal. (died 1639), compiled a Japanese grammar and catechisms in Japanese and Tagala which were never printed.⁸⁴ John of Jesus, O. M. Discal., translated the Japanese grammar of Didacus Collado, O. Pr. (Romae, 1632), into Spanish, but his translation remained unpublished.⁸⁵

The Friars Minor have been laboring in the Philippine Islands since the year 1577. The languages spoken belong to the Malay-Polynesian family and more particularly to the Malayan branch or division. "The missionaries of the Philippine Islands have produced an abundance of grammars, dictionaries, books of instructions equalled only by the productions of those of Mexico. First of all come Dominicans and Franciscans, then also Augustinians and Jesuits who have given us the most detailed information about the native languages."⁸⁶

The first linguistic work on the Philippine languages was the Tagala grammar of Fra Augustine de Albuquerque, O. M. Discal. (died 1580). He was followed a few years later by Fra Juan de Plasencia of the noble family of Portocarreros, O. M. Obs. (died 1590) who in Tagala, the language of the Tagalog tribe, wrote a grammar, a Spanish-Tagala dictionary, a catechism, an ascetical book entitled *Santina*, and a book of Christian instructions. Bartholomew Ruiz, O. M. Discal. (died 1600), mastered the Philippine languages of Tagala and Bicol, Chinese, Japanese, and Annamese.⁸⁷ John de Oliver, O. M. Disc., who came to the Philippines in 1581, perfected John de Plasencia's Tagala grammar and dictionary and wrote a Tagala catechism and several devotional books in Tagala. Francis de la Trinidad, O. M. Discal., who came to the Philippines in 1582 was the first European who wrote a longer poem in Tagala. His work, entitled *Lives of the Principal Saints of the Franciscan Order*, is preserved in a manuscript

83 Dahlmann, op. cit., pp. 58, 59.

84 Pages, "Bibliogr. Japonaise," Paris (1859), p. 29.

85 Pages, op. cit., p. 26.

86 Dahlmann, op. cit., p. 115.

87 Civezza, op. cit., VII, 2, pp. 894 sq., 903.

which dates back to the 16th century. Louis de Amezquita, O. M. Disc., wrote a catechism in Tagala in the year 1666.

In the year 1692 the Friars Minor established a printing press in the Philippine Islands which was first located at Taya-bas. From this press issued in 1703 the ponderous Spanish-Tagala and Tagala-Spanish dictionary of Domingo dos Santos, O. M. Disc., comprising no less than 884 folio pages. It was reprinted at the same place in 1794 and in a third edition in 1835 (857 pp.) In the years 1713 and 1714 this Franciscan press was in operation in the Franciscan monastery at Dilao near Manila, where at least three works in Tagala were printed. Between the years 1705 and 1734 the Friars printed books in their monastery in Manila, of which at least seven or eight are still preserved. From about 1735 till 1808 this Franciscan press was located in the monastery of Sampoloc, a suburb of Manila, and was "one of the most productive presses of the Philippine Islands and enriched the native literature with an abundance of very valuable works on theology, church history, asceticism, and linguistics."⁸⁸

"The services rendered to linguistics by this press are great on account of its reprints of many now very rare grammars and dictionaries of earlier dates which are preserved exclusively in these reprints" (op. cit.). Two lay brothers and two Tagalogs are mentioned as printers. One of the Tagalogs was a Tertiary. In 1808 this press passed into the hands of the Tertiary Brothers Regular and a few years later it discontinued its work.

Sebastian de Totanes, O. M. Disc., published an *Arte de lengua Tagala* in 1745 (printed in the Franciscan monastery at Manila), comprising 135 pages in quarto, which is considered by many as the best Tagala grammar.⁸⁹ The same Friar issued in 1745 a *Manual Tagalog para la administracion de los S. Sacramentos* (printed in the monastery of Sampaloc) covering in print 218 pages. Both works were reprinted in Manila in 1850. He is also the author of a Tagala dictionary which passed through several editions. At the same time Melchior Oyanguren, O. M. Disc. (died 1747), published his *Tagalismo elucidado* at Mexico in 1742 (288 pages), in which the syntax is elaborated at greater length than it had been in any work

⁸⁸ Huonder, "Verdienst. kath. Heidenmiss. um Buchdruckerk.," Aachen (1923), p. 44.

⁸⁹ Dahlmann, op. cit., p. 117.

up to that time. Oyanguren is also the author of a *Tagalog-Castellano-Cantabro Dictionary* which was never published. In recent times Roman Mary of Vera, O. M. Cap., published an *English-Tagalog Catechism* (Manila, 1905), which is a translation of the catechism of the Third Council of Baltimore.

The Bicol language was studied quite early by Marcos de Lisboa, O. M. Discal., from 1590 till 1620. His Bicol dictionary was printed at Sampaloc in 1745, and is still the standard work. He also wrote a Bicol grammar (printed about 1750) and a Bicol catechism. One of the more recent works is the *Grammatica Hispano-Bicol segun el Metodo de Ollendorff* by Roman Mary of Vera, O. M. Cap., printed at Manila in 1904 (261 pages).

About 1720 Francis de la Zarza, O. M. Disc., wrote a catechism in Ilocana which was published by Ferd. Blumentritt at Vienna in 1893.

The Discalced Friars Minor compiled grammars, dictionaries and other linguistic works of the following languages: Aeta, Iraya, Egongot and Annamese, an abundance of language studies that is really surprising.⁹⁰

The Capuchins labored on the Caroline Islands from 1886 till 1918. The natives form a member of the Micronesian race which is a branch of the Polynesian people. Many dialects are spoken on these islands. They were first studied by the Capuchins who were practically the first missionaries to civilize these people. The first grammar and dictionary of the Yap dialect was published by Antony of Valencia (Manila, 1888). The first Ponape grammar and dictionary was published by Augustin Mary of Arinez (Tambobong, 1892). The first Paloas grammar was published by the Right Reverend Salvator Walleser, O. M. Cap. (Berlin, 1911). The first dictionary of Chamorro was published by Callistus Lopinot (Hongkong, 1910) and the first catechism in Truk was the work of Siegebert Gasser (Ponape, 1913). Besides these works the Capuchins edited between 1893 and 1913 four catechisms, one Bible history, one prayer-book and one primer in the Yap language; they published a catechism, three prayer-books, a hymn book, a primer and a Bible history in Ponape; in the Palaos language they edited a catechism, a Bible history and a prayer-book; in Chamorro

⁹⁰ Vivezza, op. cit., VII., 2, p. 921.

they published a catechism, a Bible history, a prayer-book, and a primer. The world war put an end to the linguistic labors of the Capuchins in a field where they had been the pioneers.

STUDY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF AMERICA

Great as the works done in other corners of the world may have been, they were nevertheless eclipsed by the prolific activity of the Friars in the domain of American linguistics.

No other Order has equalled the sons of St. Francis in the studies of the Mexican languages (Dahlmann, op. cit., p. 90). The Friars Minor established the first permanent mission in Mexico in 1522. They began their preaching through interpreters until they acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They opened schools and founded colleges, in which the native youth were instructed in profane as well as Christian learning. The thoroughness of the instruction given and the facility with which it was imbibed is singularly illustrated by a report under the date of October 20, 1541. We read that "there were boys among the Indians who speak as elegant Latin as Tullius. They have translated and read the whole of the Scriptures. A secular ecclesiastic having visited one of the colleges found there two hundred students who stunned him with questions about religion." (Prescott, *Hist. of Conquest of Mexico*, Philadelphia, 1874, Vol. III., p. 253). The Friars Minor were the first on the spot and the works of Alonso de Molina and Bernardino Sahagun will forever remain the main sources of information on the history, antiquities and language of the Aztecs.

When the Spaniards arrived the Aztecs were the most powerful tribe on the tableland of Mexico, and their empire extended over an area of from 18,000 to 20,000 square leagues. The language spoken by these Indians is properly called Nahuatl, although the designations of Aztec and Mexican are frequently used by writers. Still, Nahuatl could not completely displace the language spoken by the conquered tribes in the Aztec empire. No less than twenty such Indian languages which held their own in different parts of the Aztec empire are known.

Friar Alonso Molina, O. M. Obs. (died 1584), produced the standard works for the study of Nahuatl. For fifty years he was indefatigable in his work among the Indians, devoting much

of his time to the compilation of numerous works in Nahuatl. He was the most learned linguist among the Franciscans who worked in Mexico. The most important works of Molina are his grammar and dictionary of the Nahuatl language. The *Vocabulario mexicano* was first printed in Mexico City in 1555 and then reprinted at Mexico in 1571, and at Leipzig in 1880 (edit. by Platzmann). It became the foundation of all later lexicographical works of the Aztec tongue, and has never been surpassed. The *Arte de la lengua Mexicana* appeared in print at Mexico, first in 1571, and in an enlarged edition in 1576. This enlarged edition was reprinted at Mexico in 1886. The following books in Nahuatl were published by Molina at Mexico; a small catechism in 1546 and 1571; a larger catechism in 1578, which was reprinted in numerous editions; a small and a larger *Confessionario* both printed in 1565 and reprinted many times since. Molina has also left a great number of works in Nahuatl which were never published, among which are a translation of the Gospels and Epistles of the ecclesiastical year into Nahuatl; a translation of the Office of Our Blessed Lady and a prayer-book, both in Nahuatl, two books of instruction on the sacraments, a life of St. Francis, an ascetical book entitled *De Contemptu Mundi*, and sermons.

Bernardine de Sahagun, O. M. Obs. (died 1590), was a worthy companion of Molina. In a document dating from 1569 Alonso Molina and Bernardine de Sahagun are called the "only missionaries who are able to translate to perfection a book into the Mexican language." In 1529 he came to Mexico, where he labored until his death more than sixty years later. He acquired such a mastery of the Aztec or Nahuatl language as has never since been attained by any other student. Sahagun was the author of a number of works in the Aztec language, most of which have remained unpublished. His *Psalmodia cristiana*, a book of hymns in Aztec, was printed in Mexico in 1583; another songbook in Aztec, *Cantares mejicanos* was first edited by A. Penafiel as recently as 1904-1906 in facsimile reproduction of the original manuscript at Mexico; a book of sermons on the saints of the year (*Sermonario*) in Nahuatl appeared in print at Mexico in 1583; a catechism in the same language was printed at Mexico in 1583, and finally his *Evangelarium, Epistolarium et Lectionarium Aztecum*, finished in 1563, was edited by Bernardine Biondelli and print-

ed at Milan in 1858; this work is a translation of all the gospels and epistles of the year. Beside these printed works he wrote the following books in the Nahuatl language: sermons, prayer-books, life of St. Bernardine of Siena, an explanation of the epistles and gospels of the year, a treatise on virtues, a Nahuatl grammar and a vocabulary and a dictionary in the three languages, Spanish, Latin, and Aztec. Thirteen other works which were more or less small books of an educational character in Aztec have been completely lost.

Friar Andrew de Olmos, O. M. Obs. (died 1571), was also one of the greatest linguists of his day. He came to Mexico in 1528, and within a few years he mastered the Indian languages of Totonac, Tepeguana, Huasteca, and above all Aztec. He left a great number of religious and educational works in Nahuatl, but only two of his books appeared in print, the *Arte* or Nahuatl grammar, written in 1547 (Mexico, 1560, and edited by Simeon Remi at Paris 1875) and the Nahuatl vocabulary (Mexico, 1560). The *Arte* is a masterful supplement to the works of his famous brother in religion, Alonso de Molina. He left sermons, a treatise on sins, a treatise on the sacraments, and a drama on the final judgment which was often played in Mexico. These are all in manuscript, and are written in Nahuatl.

One of the most prolific linguists of the Mexican Franciscan mission was Friar Juan Bautista (Baptista), O. M. Obs. (died 1615). He was born in Mexico in 1555 and while quite young entered the Order in Mexico. No less than eleven of his works in Nahuatl were printed at Mexico, among them his catechism or *Doctrina christiana* (printed 1599), the moral instructions entitled *Huehvetlahtolli* (1601), the treatise on the shortness of life (1604), the *Confessionario en mexicano y castellano* (1604), the *Sermonario* or sermons (printed in the years 1606-1607), the *El Kempis* or Following of Christ, the *Life of St. Antony of Padua* (printed 1605), and the collected sermons in three volumes (printed in 1609). The last mentioned work is regarded by the Jesuit Tobar "himself a master of Nahuatl," as a production which is unparalleled as to purity of style and solidity of matter in the entire Mexican literature. Several of his Aztec works remained manuscripts, among them a Nahuatl ecclesiastical dictionary, a translation of

the famous *Flos sanctorum* into Nahuatl, and spiritual dramas in the same language.⁹¹

These great linguists somewhat overshadowed the scholars of an earlier day who had prepared the way. To this latter class belongs Juan de Gaona, O. M. Obs. (died 1560), a native of Burgos in Spain. He is the author of numerous works in Aztec, among which are a volume of Sunday sermons, a treatise on the passion of Christ, a translation of St. John Chrysostom's homilies, a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, and a Logic. Only one of his Aztec works was printed: *Colloquies of Peace and Christian Tranquillity*, edited at Mexico City in 1582 with corrections and annotations by Michael de Zarate, O. M. Obs. (died 1583).

Peter de Mura of Gent, O. M. Obs. (died 1572), one of the first missionaries to Mexico, who labored there for fully fifty years, wrote a catechism in Aztec which was printed at Antwerp before the year 1534 and was later reprinted in Mexico City in 1547 and 1553. Other catechisms in Aztec were published by the Friars at Mexico in 1539, 1545, 1546, and 1550.

Arnold of Bazas, O. M. Obs. (died about 1570), a Frenchman, came to Mexico in 1530, and soon after had become quite familiar with the Aztec language. He wrote a great number of sermons in Aztec for the newly converted Indians which, as Friar Juan Bautista related in 1606, "were written with such eloquence and elegance that the Indians even now are highly delighted when reading them, so that they confess themselves unable to speak so well and with such perfection." Arnold translated the epistles and the gospels of the ecclesiastical year into Aztec, and this version is still highly praised.

John of Ribas, O. M. Obs. (died 1562), who labored in Mexico from 1524 till 1562, wrote in Aztec a catechism, and a book of instructions, called *Sunday Conferences*.

Francis Ximenez, O. M. Obs. (died 1537), was the first Friar Minor to write in Aztec. He labored in Mexico from 1524 till his death on July 31, 1537. An Aztec vocabulary and an instructive treatise in the same language are the work of his pen.

A catechism which became very popular, and which at the time of his death "was in the hands of everybody," is the con-

91 "Enciclopedia universal," Barcelona, vol. VII., p. 1263.

tribution of Toribius of Benavente, O. M. Obs. (died 1569), to the Friars' work in Aztec.

Garcia di Cisneros, O. M. Obs. (died 1537), a missionary to Mexico from 1524 till his death on December 21, 1537, left a volume of sermons in Aztec.

John of San Francisco, O. M. Obs. (died 1556), a native of Veas de Segura, landed in Mexico in 1529 and soon mastered the Aztec language. He wrote a book of sermons, and a series of conferences in Aztec. These books were very good for the Indians on account of the many edifying stories they contained.

Ildephouse de Herrera, O. M. Obs. (died about 1540), labored in Mexico beginning with the year 1527. He wrote in Aztec a book of instructions or sermons for the Sundays and feast days of the year. Before 1570 John of der Auwera (de Ayora) wrote in Aztec a treatise on the Holy Eucharist.

Alonso de Rengel, O. M. Obs. (died about 1580), compiled an Aztec grammar and a book of sermons for the entire year. John Foucher, O. M. Obs. (died 1572), wrote an Aztec grammar: *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, which is now lost. Alonso de Escalona, O. M. Obs. (died 1584), went to Mexico in 1531. He wrote Aztec sermons which were used by all preachers as late as 1570. He also wrote in Aztec several commentaries on the Decalogue. Louis Rodriguez, O. M. Obs. (died after 1571), reached Mexico in 1543. He translated into Aztec the book of Proverbs of Solomon and the Imitation of Christ by Thomas a Kempis. These translations are praised highly for their elegance of style. John di Romanones, O. M. Obs. (died after 1571), landed in Mexico in 1542. Besides writing sermons and various treatises in Aztec he also translated several books of the Bible into this language. Michael de Zarate, O. M. Obs. (died 1583), left a goodly number of religious works in Aztec. Jerome de Mendieta, O. M. Obs. (died 1604), the famous historian, wrote a few small books in this language, and in 1635 Friar Mouilla, O. M. Obs., translated the catechism of Cardinal Bellarmine into Aztec.

Augustine de Vetancurt, O. M. Obs., who was born in 1620 and died about 1700 has become very famous as linguist and historian. He mastered Nahuatl to perfection. His grammar: *Arte de la lengua Mexicana*, which was first printed in Mexico City in 1673, second edition at Mexico 1901-1904, is called by scholars "one of the best and rarest grammars of Na-

huatl." Toward the end of the eighteenth century we meet the very striking figure, Antonio Figueroa, O. M. Obs. He wrote *Vindicias*, a defence of the Mexican languages against the attempt made by Archbishop Lorenzana to suppress them. Another work of his is *Tesoro catecistico Indiano*. This is an explanation of the mysteries of Faith, and a very important production. Unfortunately this work was never printed. His Aztec grammar, *Arte de las artes o Florilegio de las artes de la lengua Mexicana*, which systematized in a concise way his plan for the study of the Mexican language, likewise remained unpublished.

As early as 1570 Mendieta wrote: "The Mexican language (Nahuatl) is spoken generally in all provinces; but there are a number of other Indian languages which vary in every province and in every village. These are countless, so that we find interpreters everywhere who speak the Aztec which in this country is what Latin is in Europe," namely, the common language.

To-day the Otomis comprise a large number of the tribes occupying the plateau north of the Anahuac Sierras. They are a hardy people, and are the least civilized of the four principal native races of Mexico. Their language, the Otomi, is one of the most widely spoken of the Indian tongues of the present republic. The *Articilla de la lengua Otomi* written by Alonso de Caceres, O. M. Obs., ranks high among the earliest grammars of the Otomi language. This friar came to Mexico in 1542. Alonso de Rengel, O. M. Obs., who was also a student of Nahuatl, wrote a treatise, sermons and a catechism in Otomi before 1570. Pedro Palacios, O. M. Obs. (died after 1575), also wrote a grammar and a catechism in Otomi before 1570; these were later corrected by Pedro Oraz, O. M. Obs. Palacios' grammar passed through several editions. Pedro Oraz, O. M. Obs., wrote a large *Sermonario* before 1570. This had a wide circulation in manuscript throughout Mexico. Translations of Zumarraga's catechism into Otomi were in circulation in the latter part of the 16th century. But the works of Juan Soriano, O. M. Obs., are undoubtedly the most valuable linguistic studies of the Otomi language. In his grammar, the *Arte*, finished in 1766, and in his dictionary, finished on July 3, 1768, Soriano treated the Otomi language principally in connection with the language of the Pamee Indians.

In 1767 he compiled a new Otomi catechism. Eighteen years later, at the request of the Provincial Council of Mexico, Antonio Ramirez, O. M. Obs., compiled a catechetical handbook in Otomi. This was printed at Mexico in 1785. In the preceding year he published a summary of Christian Doctrine at the same place.

The only dialect of the Otomi language which has been treated separately in special works is the Mazahua, which was spoken in the province of the same name. A translation of Zumarraga's Aztec catechism into Mazahua was used by the Friars during the latter part of the 16th century.

At present the Tarasco Indians form a small group living in the province of Michoacan. Their language, the Tarasca, is still the principal language in Michoacan, and rivals Aztec in variety of words and elegance of diction. Fra **Study of** Maturino Gilberti, O. M. Obs. (died after 1575), **Tarasca** was the first to take up the study of this language, and his work along this line still remains unsurpassed. He was a Frenchman, and entered the Order as a member of the Province of Aquitania. Coming to Mexico in 1542, he was sent to Michoacan, where he labored till his death. Gilberti was the first missionary who wrote and published linguistic studies in Tarasca. His grammar, *Arte en lengua de Michoacan*, and his *Thesoro espiritual en lengua de Michoacan*, which contained a catechism, prayers for every day, an examination of conscience, and an explanation of the Mass, were published at Mexico in 1558. The grammar was reprinted at Mexico in 1898. A modern writer says of the *Thesoro* that it is "equally important to linguistics and bibliography, and, together with Gilberti's other writings, will remain one of the best sources for the study of Tarasca, a language which is accessible in a few printed documents only." In 1559 Gilberti published his *Dialogo de Doctrina cristiana en lengua de Michoacan* (printed at Mexico in 1559), a volume of 600 pages in folio, which contained a detailed explanation of faith and morals, and among other instructive pieces, also translations of many of the Epistles and Gospels. His most important work, however, is the *Vocabulario en lengua de Michoacan*, printed at Mexico in 1559 and reprinted by Antonio Penafiel at Mexico in 1901 (518 pages in folio). His *Cartilla para los niños en lengua Tarasca* was likewise printed at Mexico in 1559 and reprinted there in

1575. Gilberti edited the *Thesoro spiritual de pobres en lengua de Michoacan* which was printed at Mexico in 1575; this is a work for pastors containing a *Flos Sanctorum* or lives of the saints, a *Lux Animae* or Christian Doctrine, and sermons for Sundays and various other occasions. He also left in manuscript a volume of sermons and a translation of all the Epistles and Gospels of the ecclesiastical year in Tarasca. Beside these works he also wrote in three other Indian languages, but all of these are lost.

Juan Baptista de Lagunas, O. M. Obs. (died after 1575), a native of Mexico, was another excellent master of Tarasca. He entered the Order in Mexico, and took the vows on June 14, 1551. In 1574 he published at Mexico the *Arte y Diccionario con otras obras en lengua Michoacana*. This contains a grammar, dictionary, an explanation of several psalms, the litany of All Saints and a rather extensive book on confession or Confessionario. The printed works of these two Friars belong to the most rare impressions of the Mexican press.

Juan van der Auwera (de Ayora) (died after 1575) who was mentioned above as a master of Aztec, was also master of Tarasca. A grammar and a dictionary of Tarasca are his contribution. Juan de Gaona (died 1560) was an Aztec as well as a Tarasca scholar, but apparently he left no works in this latter tongue. Great importance must be attached to the works of Francis Serra, O. M. Obs. (landed in Mexico in 1541). He compiled a grammar and dictionary in Tarasca, translated a catechism into this language, composed a manual for the administration of the sacraments in three languages, and left a volume of sermons in Tarasca in manuscript.

The Friars were likewise the first missionaries to study the languages of the Matlazingos or Matlaltzincas, people still living near the Tarascos. The language of this people is known

Study of Matlaltzinca

to us by a large number of linguistic works. Fra Andrew de Castro, O. M. Obs., was the first European who spoke and wrote Matlaltzinca. The original manuscript of his sermons in that language is still preserved, and dates from the year 1542. He compiled a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism in Matlaltzinca which are still preserved. A volume of sermons written in this language and preserved in the college library at Tlatelulco in Mexico is the work of Fra Bautista Hieronymo, composed in 1562.

The Matlaltzinca dialect has caused greater difficulties for students than perhaps any other Indian language, and consequently the linguistic labors of the Friars in this field should be valued very highly.

The Misteca or Mixteca Indians occupy the southern slopes of the central plateau, especially the province of Oaxaca in Mexico. Their language was very difficult to learn, so that almost

**Study of
Misteca and
Chuchona**

all early missionaries complained about the many hardships encountered in the study of this dialect. Towards the end of the 16th century the Friars wrote works treating about this tongue, and some books in the dialect. The *Vocabulario en lengua Misteca*, compiled by Francis Alvarado, O. M. Obs., and printed at Mexico in 1593 is the most important study. Chuchona is a dialect of Misteca. Again we find works in this dialect from the end of the 16th century written by Friars, as well as by others treating of this language.

The Zapoteca Indians are neighbors to the Mistecas. Their language is harmonious and rich in expressions. Again the Friars were the first to study this language, and during the

**Study of
Zapoteca**

latter half of the 16th century they were producing works in this dialect. Juan of Cordoba, who brought out a dictionary at Mexico in 1571, and a grammar in 1578 (reprinted in 1886), takes first place among the Zapoteca scholars.

The Maya or Maya-Quiche group, which inhabits the Yucatan peninsula and the neighboring states, is perhaps the most remarkable of the Mexican Indian tribes. The first Maya gram-

**Study of
the Maya
Language**

mar was compiled by Louis da Villalprando, O. M. Obs., who went to Yucatan in 1537, and died there at Merida in 1553. This grammar was never published, but was corrected and perfected by Bishop Diego de Landa, O. M. Obs. (born 1524, came to Yucatan in 1549, consecrated Bishop of Merida in 1573 — he died there in 1579), and eventually became the foundation for all later grammars. Villalpranda also compiled a Maya dictionary which was later augmented and improved by Bishop Landa. Juan Coronel, O. M. Obs., arrived in Yucatan in 1590 and died there about 1651. He became a master of the Maya language. A dictionary, a grammar or *Arte* (printed in Mexico), a catechism, sermons, and an explanation of Christian Doctrine, all

in Maya, are the products of his industry. Alonso di Solana, O. M. Obs., who was still living in 1602, wrote a book of sermons for all Sundays of the year and a pocket dictionary in Maya. Juan di Torralva, O. M. Obs., who landed in Mexico about 1542 also wrote a pocket dictionary of this dialect. About the year 1600 these linguistic works were used by all the secular and regular clergy. Maya grammars were compiled by Julian de Cuartos, O. M. Obs., and Juan de Azevedo, O. M. Obs., at the beginning of the 17th century. In 1684 Gabriel de San Buenaventura, O. M. Obs., published his *Arte de la lengua Maya* (reprinted at Mexico in 1888), and left in manuscript a large Maya dictionary in three volumes. The first Maya dictionary which appeared in print as early as 1571, is based on Fríar Villapando's researches.

The most famous scholar of Maya, however, is undoubtedly Antonio de Ciudad Real, O. M. Obs. (died after 1600). He acquired an astonishing mastery of Maya. His large dictionary of this tongue, as well as his homiletics would suffice to place him in the first rank of Maya linguists. But there is a still greater monument to his talent and industry, his *Calépino de la lengua Maya* in six volumes. This work was the result of forty years of labor. "He knew Maya so perfectly," wrote his confrère Cogolludo about the year 1620 (*Historia de Yucatan*), "that beyond doubt he must be called the greatest master of the Maya that ever lived. He preached, taught, and wrote in this language with unsurpassed elegance. His sermons for the Sundays of the year are veritable master-pieces."

We meet several good masters of Maya during the 18th century. In 1739 Pedro Beltran de Santa Rosa, O. M. Obs., published a grammar, dictionary, catechism, and sermons in this language. This work was reprinted in 1749. In 1746 he published a separate edition of the grammar or *Arte del idioma Maya* which was reprinted at Merida de Yucatan in 1859. He published a separate edition of the catechism in 1757, and in 1746 he brought out the dictionary in a separate edition. The dictionary was reprinted at Merida de Yucatan in 1859 (4 to, 250 pages). The linguistic attainments of Carlo Mena, O. M. Obs., are praised highly. He left sermons and ascetical treatises in Maya.

The Huastecos live to the north of Vera Cruz in the Mexican states of Vera Cruz, Puebla and San Luis Potosi. They

are a tribe of the Mayan stock. Friar Andrew de Olmos, who was mentioned above, was the first to study their language. He compiled a grammar, dictionary, catechism and sermons in **Hausteca**. The **Totonacs** who also inhabit northern Vera Cruz, speak a language related to that of the Mayas. Again it was Friar Andrew de Olmos who was one of the pioneer students of the language. He compiled the second grammar or *Arte* and the second dictionary or *Vocabulario* of Totonaca. Friar Francisco de Toral, O. M. Obs. (died 1571), was the first European to study this language. He was the first Bishop of Yucatan (1562-1571) and left a grammar, a dictionary and several catechetical works in Totonaca. Andrew de Olmos' Totonaca dictionary was printed at Mexico in 1555-1560 in two volumes 4 to, giving also Nahuatl and Hausteca, so that it is really a tri-lingual dictionary.

The indefatigable Friar Andrew de Olmos also labored among the wild tribes of the Chichimecs, and he was the first European who mastered their language. He wrote several works on this dialect which seems to be extinct to-day. **Study of Chichimeca and Achi** Alonso de Escalona (died 1584) who has been mentioned among the Nahuatl linguists, also translated various prayers into Achi.

STUDY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AMERICA

The Quiche Indians, a tribe of the Mayan stock, inhabited Central America, especially western Guatamala, where their descendants still survive. The first Friar to study this dialect was **Study of the Quiche Language** Pedro de Betanzos, O. M. Obs. (died 1570 in Nicaragua). He wrote a grammar, a dictionary and several catechetical works in the Quiche language. Francis de la Parra, O. M. Obs., who came to Guatamala in 1642, perfected his Quiche grammar later. To facilitate the proper pronunciation, he added five letters which are not in our alphabet, so that there are twenty-nine letters in the Quiche alphabet. In 1744 Bartholomew Anleo, O. M. Obs., wrote a grammar or *Arte* of the Quiche language.

The Cakchiquel Indians are another Mayan tribe of Guatamala. Pedro de Betanzos was here again the first Friar to

write a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism in the language of this tribe. Francisco Maldonado, O. M. Obs., one of the most learned Franciscan missionaries of America, was the greatest master of Cakchiquel. He acquired a most astonishing knowledge of the three languages of Guatamala. At his death he left thirteen works in Cakchiquel, the most important of which is his Indian Theology or *Instrucción teológica de los Indios*, in two volumes, which rendered very great services to the missionaries. Ildefonso Jose Flores, O. M. Obs., professor of Cakchiquel at the University of Guatamala, published a grammar or *Arte de la lengua Cakchiquel* at Guatamala in 1753. There is a chapter in this work which is a comparative grammar of the three languages of Quiche, Cakchiquel and Zutuhil (reprinted in *Gramática del Cakchiquel* por D. S. Garcia, Guatamala, 1919, pp. 92-106). A grammar of this dialect written by a Friar Minor Observant in 1748, most probably by Carlos J. Rosales, was published for the first time by Daniel Sanchez Garcia, O. F. M., at Guatamala in 1919.

Two other tribes of the Mayan stock are the Tzutuhil and Tzotzil Indians. Now less important tribes, at the time of the Spanish conquest in the 16th century, they were one of the three most powerful Indian peoples in Guatamala. Pedro de Betanzos again heads the list of Friars who studied these dialects. Beside a grammar and dictionary of Zutuhil, he wrote several catechetical works in the same language. Francisco de Salcedo, O. M. Obs., compiled a volume of sermons in the language of Quiche, Cakchiquel and Tzotzil, which proves that he mastered all three languages. All in all more than forty Friars Minor have written works in these three dialects, or else they have compiled linguistic studies about them. Some individual Friars composed several works. But very many of these were never printed, and are preserved today in manuscript only. A list of these linguistic works was published by Daniel Sanchez Garcia, O. F. M., in his *Gramática del idioma Cakchiquel*, Guatamala, 1919, pp XIII-XXVII.⁹²

Antonio Margil de Jesus, O. M. Obs. (died 1726), wrote a grammar or *Arte de la lengua Cholti*, which was formerly preserved in the library of the Friars Minor at Guatamala.⁹³

⁹² cf. "Arch. Franc. Hist.," XIII, (1920), p. 251.

⁹³ "Arch. Franc. Hist.," XIII, (1920), p. 251.

STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF PERU

When the Spaniards arrived in South America in the 16th century, Quichua, the language of the ancient empire of the Incas, was spoken in the territory now covered by Peru, Bolivia, Chile and western Brazil. Marcos de Jofre, O. M. Obs. (about 1570), was the first Friar Minor to write in this tongue. In 1633 Diego de Olmos, O. M. Obs., published his grammar of the Aymara language, a dialect which is still spoken in Peru.

**Study of the
Quichua and
Aymara Languages**

In his work entitled *Symbolum Catholicum Indianum*, Louis Jerome de Ore, O. M. Obs. (died 1628), published a Life of Christ in Quichua at Lima, Peru, in 1598. He translated the Roman Ritual into the Quichua and Aymara languages (printed in his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*, Neapoli, 1607), and wrote a catechism in Spanish, to which he added translations into the seven languages of Quichua, Aymara, Puquina, Mochia, Yunga, Guarani, and Tupi. This is a very important linguistic work.

In 1846 the two Friars Antonio Calzada, O. M. Obs., and Astralda, O. M. Obs., re-edited the Araucana grammar of the Jesuit Andrew Febres. A *Confessionario* in Spanish and Araucano, written in 1843 by Antonio Hernandez Calzada, O. M. Obs., was published by Rod. R. Schuller at Santiago de Chile in 1907. The best scholar of Araucano in modern times is Felix Joseph Kathan, O. M. Cap. (born 1860), who published a grammar (Valdivia, 1903), a catechism, and a Bible history (Freiburg, 1903), an exercise book (Valdivia 1907), a dictionary (Santiago di Chile, 1916), and *Lecturas Araucanas*, an Araucano-Spanish reader (Valdivia, 1910).

**Study of the
Language of
Chile: Araucano**

STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF BOLIVIA

The catechism and prayer-book in Moseteno published at Rome in 1834 by Andres Herrero, O. M. Obs. (*Doctrina y Oraciones en lengua Mosetena*), constitute the earliest known material for the study of this dialect. Benigno Bibolotti, O. M. Obs., who worked among the Mosetenos from 1857 till 1868 left a dictionary, some grammatical treatises and a few sermons in Moseteno which were published by Rudolph Schuller

**Study of the
Moseteno
Language**

at Evanston and Chicago, 1917.⁹⁴ Bishop Nicolas Armentia, O. F. M. (died 1909), published a dictionary and some grammatical treatises in this language in 1901 and 1902 at Buenos Aires (*Los Indios Mosestena y su Lengua* in *Anales de la Sociedad Argentina*, reprinted in 1903).

The Chimanes Indians live on the tributaries of the Manique River, and do not differ much from the Mosestenos in disposition, customs and language. Samuel Mancini, O. M. Obs. (born 1829), wrote the first study of this Indian dialect: *Etimologia de la lengua de los Chimanes*. This was never published.

**Study of the
Languages of the
Chimanes, Guarayos,
Yuracares**

The first linguistic works in the dialect of the Guarayos were written by Jose Cardus, O. M. Obs., in *Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infideles de Bolivia* (Barcelona, 1886). This same Friar published a Guarayo and Spanish catechism at Cochabamba in 1883.

The language of the Yuracares was first studied by Louis de la Cueva, O. M. Obs. (died 1849), at the beginning of the 19th century. He is the author of a grammar and a dictionary of this dialect, which were published by Lucien Adam at Paris in 1893 (*Principes et Dictionnaire de la Langue Yuracare* composé par P. La Cueva, Paris 1893).

Bishop Nicolas Armentia, O. F. M., was also the first to publish a grammar and dictionary of the Cavineno language: *Arte y Vocabulario de la lengua Cavinena* (La Plata, 1906). Jose Cardus O. M. Obs., has treated this dialect in 1886 in *Las Misiones Franciscanas* (Barcelona, 1886, pp. 169-173).

This same Friar and Andres Herrero (died 1838) were also pioneers in the study of the Leco Indians who live on the Mapiri and Beni Rivers. Lefone Quevedo published the grammar written by these two Friars at Buenos Aires in 1905 (*La Lengua Leca*) as well as the Leco catechism written by Andres Herrero (Buenos Aires, 1905).

Friar Cardus also published a Mobina dictionary in his *Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infideles de Bolivia* (Bar-

⁹⁴ cf. Jose Cardus, O. M. Obs., "Lengua Mosestena" in "Las Misiones," Barcelona (1886), and "Anales Soc. Argent.," Buenos Aires (1902).

celona, 1886). He also gives brief glossaries of the Sapicona, Maropa and Itonama dialects.

Alexander Maria Corrado, O. M. Obs., published a catechism and prayer-book in the language of the Chiriguano Indians at Sucre in 1871 (*Catecismo con varias oraciones*). The most complete dictionary of the Shipibo dialect (Pano of the Beni) was written by Bishop Armentia, and published at La Paz. Another dictionary in this dialect was compiled by a Friar of earlier times and was published by Karl von den Steinen at Berlin in 1905.

Doroteo Giannecchini, O. M. Obs., compiled a dictionary of the Mataco language, and Lefone Quevedo published it at Buenos Aires.

The Friars Minor were the first missionaries in Paraguay (1538), and wrote the first linguistic works on the language of the Indians called Guaranis. Louis di Bolanos, O. M. Obs. (died 1629), who labored in Paraguay for more than fifty years, compiled the first grammar of the Guaraní language. This was later published by the Jesuits. He translated the catechism and several prayers into Guaraní, other works which were later used by the Jesuits and published.

**Study of the Languages
of Venezuela: Cumana,
Arawak, Carib**

The Capuchins were the first missionaries to study the language of the Cumanagotos Indians, who live on the banks of the Orinoco River. Francisco de Tauste, O. M. Cap. (died 1684), who labored among these Indians from 1657 till his death, learned the language very quickly, and wrote the first grammar and dictionary, *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas, Cumanagatos, Cores, Parias*, as well as the first catechism and a *Doctrina christiana* in this language. These four works were first printed at Madrid in 1680. They were re-edited in facsimile by J. Platzmann at Leipzig in 1888. John da Pobo, O. M. Cap. (died 1683), wrote spiritual instructions in Cumana. Mattia Ruiz Blanco, O. M. Obs. (died 1705), who labored among the Indians from 1671 till 1705, published a grammar and dictionary in this dialect at Madrid in 1690. This work was reprinted by J. Platzmann at Leipzig in 1888. One of the best scholars of this dialect was Fra Manuel de Yan-

gues, O. M. Obs., who went to Venezuela in 1660. His *Manuel de principios de Yangués Cumanagato* was printed at Burgos in 1683 and reprinted by J. Platzmann at Leipzig in 1888. Joseph Velazquez of Carabantes, O. M. Cap. (died 1694), wrote a grammar, a dictionary, and a catechism in the Carib language (Madrid, 1678).

Joseph of Ponte, O. M. Cap., a missionary in northwestern Venezuela for forty years, wrote a catechism in Arawak about 1750.

Bernard of Nantes, O. M. Cap., who labored among the Kariri Indians in the Province of Bahia during the latter part of the 17th century, wrote a catechism in their dialect. This was printed at Lisbon in 1709 (12 mo, 363 pp.), and reprinted by J. Platzmann at Leipzig in 1896. It contains some instructions and prayers. A Portuguese translation accompanies the Kariri text.

Stephen of Uterga, O. M. Cap. (born 1861), published a grammar and dictionary of the Goajira language (*Nociones elementales del Idioma Goajira con Vocabulario*, Rome, Propaganda, 1895). Another Capuchin published a catechism in the same language (*Catechismo Hispano-Goajira*, Rome, Propaganda, 1894).

The Cunas, sometimes called Darien or San Blas Indians, have their home on the Isthmus of Panama from the Chagres to the Atrato on the east coast. Pedro de Llissa, O. M. Cap. published a catechism in the Cuna-Cueva language in 1890.

STUDY OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE UNITED STATES

The earliest student of the Indian languages of the present United States was Friar Andrew de Olmos, O. M. Obs. (died 1571), who has been mentioned repeatedly. He crossed the Rio Grande into Texas as early as 1544. In 1547 he established a permanent mission among the wild tribes of the Chichimecs, and composed the first grammar and first dictionary in the language of these people.

The first books printed in any Indian language of the United States were the linguistic works of Francisco Pareja. O. M. Obs. (died 1628), in Timuquana, which was spoken in Florida. His various works in this language are: a large catechism (Mexico, 1612), a *Confessionario* (Mexico, 1613), the *Gramatica de la lengua Tumuquana* (ibid., 1614), another catechism (ibid., 1617), a third catechism (ibid., 1627). His dictionary, a treatise on purgatory and hell, and several other books of instruction in this language are still unpublished.

The Friars Minor were the first to study the Navajo language spoken by the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico. In 1910 they published a monumental work, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language* (St. Michael's, Arizona, 1910). Berard Haile, O. F. M., wrote the largest part of this work. They have also published a *Navajo-English Catechism* (St. Michael's, 1910), and a *Navajo-English and English-Navajo Dictionary* (ibid., 1912). Friar Berard is again chief author of this work. In 1913 a Navajo grammar and a Bible history were published at the same place.

The great Chippewa scholar, Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M., was born in Uden, Holland, in 1841, and entered the Order in 1879. He published in the Chippewa language (Harbor Springs) a prayer-book, a book of instructions, a Bible history, an explanation of the Sunday Gospels, and a grammar. He also did some work in preparing a Chippewa dictionary, and for several years he has been editing a Chippewa periodical.

Antony Mary Gachet, O. M. Cap. (died 1889), labored among the Menominee Indians at Keshena, Wisconsin, from 1859 till 1862. He compiled a small grammar of the Chippewa-Menominee language, and translated the gospels for the Sundays into this dialect. His works were never printed.

The Friars Minor have the distinction of having published the first linguistic work on any Indian language of Canada, as well as of the United States. Brother Gabriel Sagard, O.

Study of the Indian Languages of Canada

M. Recoll. (died about 1690), published a *Dictionnaire de la langue Huronne* (Paris, 1632), which contained 12 pages of introduction and 132 pages of the dictionary

proper. It forms the second part of his *Grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, a copy of which was sold a few years ago for \$100. Sagard's Huron dictionary was reprinted at Paris

in 1866 together with his *Histoire du Canada* by E. Tross. The Jesuit, Charlevoix, criticises Sagard's Huron dictionary as inaccurate when compared with later studies of the language. But as early as 1866 Emile Chevalier pointed out (*Notice sur Gabriel Sagard*, Paris, 1866) that Charlevoix never encountered pure Hurons when he arrived in Canada. The language spoken by the mixed Indians at the time of his arrival was corrupted to such an extent, that it formed a new Huron dialect. If the supplement to the dictionary, written by Sagard, a book of dialogues in Huron, had not been lost, this dictionary would be of still greater value.

The greatest linguist of the Micmac language at present is Pacificus Buisson of Valigny, O. M. Cap. (born 1863). He has been laboring among the Micmacs since 1894. To date he published the following works in Micmac (Restigouche, P. Q.): an almanac (1902), a prayer-book (1903), a catechism (1906), a Bible history (1908), an enlarged edition of the prayer-book (1912), a history of the Micmacs (1910), a short history and liturgy of the Church, a hymnal, and base ball rules. Since May, 1908, he has been publishing a monthly paper, *The Micmac Messenger* (4 pages). At present he is working on a larger hymn book. In 1921 he reissued Father Kauder's *Manual of Prayers, Instructions, and Hymns in Micmac Hieroglyphics*.

It was only in the 19th century that scholars began to recognize comparative philology as the science of language strictly so called. Still, we may not forget that centuries before, scholars had begun to compare languages with one another, in order to study their relations, their similarity or dissimilarity of structure, and their development. The Friars Minor were pioneers in developing the science of comparative philology.

William of Rubruck, O. Min. (died after 1256), was the first European to call attention to the relationship between German and the Indo-European group of languages (1255), as well as to the family unity of the Magyars, Bashkirs and Huns in the varieties of Finnish races. Eleven years later, Roger Bacon, O. Min. (died 1294), who had received first-hand information about Asiatic people and their languages from Friar William Rubruck personally at Paris, produced the first system of linguistic philology in his *Opus Majus*. This far-

sighted scholar adduced many reasons for the study of foreign languages, setting forth especially the advantages of language study for ecclesiastical purposes, as well as for social and political life. He inquired into the causes of language-making, and the physiological processes involved in speech. He even tried to solve the problem as to which was the original language spoken by man. E. Fluegel, professor at Leland Stanford University, Berkeley, California, in 1902, summarized Friar Bacon's merits as a linguist in these words: "We must admit that Roger Bacon deserves an honorable place in the history of philology. We cannot deny that this critic marks an important development in philological studies, and that he is a precursor of the philology of the Renaissance."⁹⁵ Three decades after Bacon's death, another Friar, Paul of Venice (died after 1334), grasped the importance of the study of the origin and ramifications of languages for scientific purposes. In the sixth chapter of his *Historia ab origine mundi* (still unpublished) he has a long dissertation about the causes of speech, the division of languages, and their alphabets. For the next two centuries all works on the comparison of languages were restricted to Latin, Greek and Hebrew, till in 1539 Theseus Ambrosius attempted a comparative study of the Oriental tongues spoken in the Near East. At the same time the study of the languages of America and the Far East had been taken up. These new fields furnished a vast store of material for comparative work. Widely divergent languages were sometimes compared, and questionable deductions often resulted. A unique distinction of the Japanese grammar of Friar Melchior Oyanguren, O. M. Disc. (died 1747), is the comparison of the Japanese language with Chinese, Tagala, Siamese, Hebrew, Basque, Spanish, and Latin. The linguistic observations enhance the value of this work considerably.⁹⁶

The science of linguistic philology developed out of the crude observations and wild deductions of earlier times. The discovery of the relationship of the Indo-European languages led to the founding of this science. This discovery, in turn, was, in a great measure, occasioned by the study of Sanskrit and the acceptance of this language as the basis of all language comparison. We meet with the first methodical and conclusive

⁹⁵ "Philosophische Studien," vol. XIX., Leipzig (1902), pp. 164 sq.

⁹⁶ "Arch. Franc. Hist.," I. (1908), p. 244.

proof of the fact of an Indo-European community of languages in a treatise of the Jesuit Gaston Cocurdoux, written as early as the year 1767. A few years later, Marcus da Tomba, O. M. Cap. (died 1803), took up these studies, and anticipated some of the great linguistic discoveries made by European Orientalists decades later. The principles ascertained by Indo-European philology were subsequently applied to other families of languages, and finally led to the founding of comparative philology as a distinct science. A very substantial work of comparative philology of American Indian languages is the *Clave armonica, o concordancia de los idiomas* by Honorio Mossi de Cambiano, O. M. Obs., published at Sucre (Bolivia) in 1859, and in an enlarged edition at Madrid in 1864. Bishop Anastasius Hartmann, O. M. Cap. (died 1866), published at Bombay in 1852 his *Tabellae synopticae conjugationum linguae graecae, arabicae, persicae, hindostanae et turcicae*.

The study of the extinct Babylonian-Assyrian and Old Egyptian languages was taken up by the Friars only in recent years. The first and only student of Assyriology among the Friars is Maurus Witzel, O. F. M., who published *Keilinschriftliche Studien* (vol. I, Leipzig, 1918, vol. II, Fulda, 1920, and vol. III, Fulda, 1922. There are 525 pages in all). Hilaire de Barenton, O. M. Cap., has the distinction of being the pioneer and only Friar student of Egyptology. He published a comparative philology in which he proves that the Etruscan language was a dialect of the Old Egyptian language (*La Langue Etrusque, dialect de l'ancien Egyptien*, Paris, 1920). By this work he settled a long disputed problem of philology, and bridged over the chasm between some very divergent languages. In 1922 he again astonished Orientalists when he deciphered accurately, completely and for the first time, the so-called Goudea Cylinders which are preserved in the Louvre at Paris, and which bear a pre-Assyrian or properly so-called Sumerian text inscription. These cylinders date from about 2100 B. C. and are perhaps the oldest records in existence. The so-called "Sumerian problem" which had perplexed Assyriologists for many years, was also solved by this Capuchin Friar. In the third volume of *Etudes Orientales* he solved the "Basque problem," by proving from the Goudea Cylinder text that the Basques and Oscans formed one empire at the time of Goudea (2100-2080 B. C.) independent of that of the Latins (*Le temple de*

Goudea et les origines Italiennes, Paris, 1922). The fourth volume of *Etudes Orientales* by the same Friar gives a reconstruction of the Egyptian chronology and a new solution of the problem of the date of the pyramids (*Le mystère des Pyramides*, Paris, 1923). The latest work of Barenton (*Abraham en Egypte et Chanaan*, Paris, 1924) attempts to connect the Celts with the Hamitic races which up till now have been treated as independent nations in the divisions of people. This Capuchin Friar is, beyond any doubt, the greatest living linguist among the Friars, and ranks very high among the great Orientalists of all ages.

Closely linked with the language studies are the works compiled by the Friars on the visible expression of words by writing. We may mention, incidentally only, models for calligraphy like the *Opera a scribere varie sorti di lettere* by Vespasian Amphiareo of Ferrara, O. M. Conv. (Venice, 1583, and again at Venice, 1620), or works about the problems of orthography, like the *L'esprit de l'orthographie universelle* by Francis of Meudon, O. M. Cap. (Paris, 1689). Of greater importance still are the works of the Friars on the propagation of American Indian hieroglyphics or picture-writing. The first missionaries found pictography as a widely developed system of writing among the Indians. This lasted down to modern times. Since, however, the more complex ideas could not be expressed in this crude manner of writing, the Indian hieroglyphics had to be perfected in order to serve as a help for the religious instruction of the people. The early missionaries did this at many places. James of Testera, O. M. Obs., who landed in Mexico in 1529, seems to have been the first to take such a step. His system was adopted by others and was long in use. Unfortunately this kind of pictography, like most others made by early missionaries, was virtually a new invention, and represented only a few traces of genuine picture-writing.

In one case, however, the Friars adopted the complete system of Indian hieroglyphics, and by slight improvements on it adapted it to literary purposes in the same manner as is found in Egyptian pictography. Chrestien Le Clerq, O. M. Recoll. (died about 1695), worked among the Micmac Indians of eastern Canada from 1675 till 1687. He invented the remarkable system of Micmac hieroglyphics in 1677, which he designated as an aid to the memory of his Indians in retaining Chris-

tian teachings or prayers. He tells us that this system was suggested to him in the second year of his residence in the mission. He noticed how the Indian children made marks and designs with charcoal on birch bark and counted these marks as they repeated each word of the prayer they were studying. The Indians had a good memory for material things, but found difficulty in studying any doctrinal piece or prayer by heart. To aid their memory along these lines the Indians had hit upon the method of associating each idea with a definite symbol or material thing, and arranging these symbols in the desired order. The Indians had been reading their wampum records for centuries by this method. The material thing serving as a symbol for a certain idea or a series of ideas was selected arbitrarily, so that different Indians used different symbols to express the same idea, while the same Indians would choose different symbols or ideographs for the same idea.

All these signs were originally of the picture-writing type, and more or less conventionalized pictures. Such was the foundation which Le Clerq had for his system when he began its elaboration. Although this system of picture-writing had been equally available to his predecessors, he was the first, as far as we know, to have the keenness to utilize it. No doubt, Le Clerq, in developing his system of Micmac hieroglyphics, made use of all existing symbols, but he had to form new ideographs to express Christian ideas. All that is left of Le Clerq's hieroglyphic system is found in an illustration embodied in his *New Relation of Gaspesia* (Paris, 1691) facing page 140. About half of the hieroglyphic characters shown there are identical with those still in use among the Micmacs. Le Clerq's system was changed and improved by later missionaries. The modern hieroglyphics still used by the Micmacs are the work of the French missionary, Pierre Maillard, who elaborated them in 1738. This missionary compiled a catechism and some prayers and instructions in these characters. These books were printed at Vienna in 1866 for the first time, and Pacificus Buisson of Valigny, O. M. Cap., brought out a new edition or facsimile reprint in 1921 (*Manual of Prayers, Instructions, Psalms, and Hymns in Micmac Ideograms*, Restigouche, 1921). This was hailed with delight by the Micmacs from Massachusetts to Newfoundland. The present writer had the good fortune to watch the Micmac children of Cape Breton studying their catechism

from Maillard's Micmac book, and to witness how easily these modern children learn to read the hieroglyphics which must be traced back in some form to the labors of Friar Chrestien Le Clerq.

This short survey of the linguistic studies of the Friars Minor, incomplete though it had to be, brings out the fact that the sons of St. Francis have cultivated all the principal as well as many of the minor languages of the globe.

Conclusion The Friars were the pioneers in many fields, in some languages they stand alone, in others their works are still unequalled. Again, this summary of the linguistic productions of the Friars does not give a complete idea of the language studies of the followers of St. Francis, since a very large number of Friar linguists did not compose any works. These receive no mention here. In some cases it is very hard to decide whether the linguistic proficiency of the Friars was the result of a supernatural gift of tongues, or the result of much toil and labor.

If we look over the long list of linguistic works of the Friars, we cannot fail to observe that the Friars have carried out the ideas of their holy founder in this branch of studies better than in any other departments of their varied activity. Studies in general are permissible, according to the ideas of St. Francis, only as far as they are helpful and useful to the active life. Studies which have no immediately practical end, but are merely for scientific purposes, are eliminated from St. Francis' program.⁹⁷ And the Franciscan linguists have adhered to these ideas of their holy founder. This explains why, during the Renaissance, when the cultivation of a good Latin style was made the supreme end of literary activity of many a humanist's life, the Friars Minor were not carried away by this craze. Accordingly the number of books which have no value apart from their stylistic qualities has remained a negligible quantity in St. Francis' Order. It is also worthy of note that whenever other scholars were cultivating certain fields of linguistics with any degree of success, the Friars refrained from entering into competition with them, being satisfied to use the linguistic works of others, and devoting their own time and energy to different languages. This explains, too, why the Friars have not produced a larger number of linguistic works. It also gives the reason why they have neglected either partially or entirely the

97 Felder, "Studien im Franziskanerorden," Freiburg (1904), pp. 16-31

study of certain languages. Franciscan "utilitarianism" has set up certain barriers which have never been removed, much to the benefit of the Church Universal, and of erring man in particular. Apostolic activity has ever been the ideal in St. Francis' Order, and science and studies are nothing but useful means to the realization of this high purpose. Where science and studies were supplied by others, there was no reason for a Friar Minor to devote his time to those branches.

DISCUSSION

FR. THEODOSIUS FOLEY:—Fr. John's paper is at once an evidence of his scholarly ability and painstaking research and an impetus to all his Brethren to follow the trail of historical exploration which he has so ably blazed for them. It was an intellectual treat. May God bless his untiring work for the glory of the Seraphic Order.

St. Francis as Poet, Linguist and Father of the Modern Drama

Out of the many suggestions for detail work with which the paper literally bristles I should like to emphasize one as bearing immediately on the subject of this Conference: St. Francis as Poet, Linguist, and Father of the Modern Drama.

That St. Francis is all this is clear to all who carefully analyze his "Canticle of the Sun" and his other literary and artistic achievements, such as for instance, his staging of the Mystery of the Nativity, as immortalized by the brush of Giotto.

Before the "Canticle" appeared Italy could lay claim to no particular literary production in its own so melodious tongue. This poem gave Francis' most literary disciple, Dante, the inspiration to take up the gifted pen of the Poet-Saint, snatched from his hand by Sister Death, and to continue constructive work until the Italian language, under the genius of this new Homer, reached its culmination. Thus, with the Poverello of Assisi as its Father and the great Florentine in whom, as Carlyle says, "ten silent Centuries found a voice" as its propagator, the rich Italian language saw its birth.

By nature St. Francis was fitted to be a poet. Lively imagination coupled with deep feeling caused him to view life always from the poet's standpoint. This constitutes a charm all its own in his life. This "Jongleur de Dieu" was, in the truest sense of the word, an apostolic poet or a poetic apostle. Nature and grace, as he interpreted them, received a highly poetic meaning that has irresistibly fascinated the ages succeeding him.

Avoiding the "superb sentimentalism," as Chesterton puts it, of the troubadours of his day, Francis purified the "Gay Science" and impregnated it with solid piety and truth. God, to him, is the source and the soul of everything created. Love is its expression. Thus his poetic philosophy of life assumed the characteristic of joyful praise. Note Chesterton's splendid tribute: "So arises out of this almost nihilistic abyss the noble thing that is called Praise; which no one will ever understand while he identifies it with nature-worship or pantheistic op-

timism. When we say a poet praises the whole creation, we commonly mean only that he praises the whole cosmos. But this sort of poet does really praise creation, in the sense of the act of creation. He praises the passage or transition from nonentity to entity; there falls here also the shadow of that archetypal image of the bridge, which has given to the priest his archaic and mysterious name. The mystic who passes through the moment when there is nothing but God does in some sense behold the beginningless beginnings in which there was really nothing else. He not only appreciates everything but the nothing of which everything was made. In a fashion he endures and answers even the earthquake irony of the Book of Job; in some sense he is there when the foundations of the world are laid with the morning stars singing together and the sons of God shouting for joy. That is but a distant adumbration of the reason why the Franciscan, ragged, penniless, homeless and apparently hopeless, did indeed come forth singing such songs as might come from the stars of the morning; and shouting, as a son of God." ("St. Francis of Assisi," pp. 112 f.)

It would be barbaric to add one word to this classical tribute, covering, as it does, the source of nature of the peculiar poetry, proper only to the Seraphic Poet of Assisi. Is it then an exaggeration to call St. Francis a poet of the truest nature? Would it not be doing literature and language, especially those of Italy, an injustice to pass over the great debt they owe to this inspired Minstrel of God? Dr. James J. Walsh in his "Greatest of Centuries," p. 254, writes: "Fortunately in recent years there has come, as we have said, a growing recognition of the fact that the real beginning of modern art lies much farther back in history, and that the real father of the Italian Renaissance is a man whom very few people in the last three centuries have appreciated at his true worth. Undoubtedly the leader in that great return to nature, which constitutes the true basis of modern poetic and artistic ideas of all kinds, was St. Francis of Assisi." Goerres asserts that if there had been no St. Francis at the beginning of the 13th century there would have been no Dante at the end. Renan proclaims Francis as the greatest religious poet of all times and styles the "Cantic of the Sun" as the greatest religious poem since the Hebrew Psalms were written.

One more testimony dealing with St. Francis' influence on drama and I have finished this short discussion. It is also from the pen of Dr. Walsh, pp. 238 ff.: "The last place in the world, perhaps, that one would look for a great impulse to the development of the modern drama, which is entirely a new invention, an outgrowth of Christian culture and has practically no connection with the classic drama, would be in the life of St. Francis of Assisi. . . . Those who know the life of St. Francis best will easily appreciate how dramatic, though unconsciously so, were all the actions of his life." This trait it was that led him to dramatize all the great scenes in the Savior's life, that he might place them before the people living, breathing, and carrying all—the simplest as well as the learned—captive in the stream of poetic influence. In this way he was truly a dramatist of world-wide significance and a power in literature and Matthew Arnold could summarize his position in this sphere with the words: 'Prose could not easily satisfy the „saw, „lyric poetry „his „lyric poetry „as Ozanam writes, "the first cry of a nascent poetry which has grown and made itself heard through the world."

These few words are modestly appended to the paper of Rev. Fr. John, not as though Fr. John had not done justice to his subject, but

to stimulate some gifted Friar to take up this rich subject and do justice to St. Francis as a Poet, Linguist and Dramatist, which sums up his place in the literature of Italy and of the Christian world.

FR. FELIX M. KIRSCH:—In view of what Fr. John has said on the work of the Oxford Franciscan School, it will not be amiss to record here a few passages from the letter sent by Pope Pius XI. on the

**Pope Pius XI.
on the Oxford
Franciscan School**

occasion of the seven hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Friars to England. It will be recalled that on September 10, 1224, a little band of three English clerics and five foreign lay brothers arrived at Canterbury under the Blessed Agnellus of Pisa whom St. Francis himself had commissioned to introduce the Order of Friars into England. Referring to the glorious work accomplished by the Friars for the good of England, the Pope said:

"Friars Minor were wont to defend the rights of the oppressed fearlessly and without hindrance before the King and the nobles of the Realm. And just as their Father Francis would act as peacemaker between the warring citizens of his own dear Umbria and of other Provinces in Italy, so, too, did these Friars, either on their own initiative or at the request of the contending parties, seek to settle the disputes and party quarrels. Further, they strove to restore and firmly establish the dignity and holiness of the priestly state.

"In order to reap these fruits more surely, both among the clergy and the people, not only did they equip themselves with the culture of solid learning, but furthermore they established theological schools both at the Universities and in the various custodies of the Province to which all might have access. Moreover, they published many books which priests might use with advantage, both for the right administration of the Sacrament of Penance and for the fruitful preaching of the Word of God.

"From this eager desire to promote Christian knowledge and to train the clergy for the apostolic ministry it came about that a 'Studium Generale' of the Friars Minor was established at Oxford, and so well established that it is deservedly reckoned amongst the chief glories of the whole Order, inasmuch as in the course of ages, of those who taught there as masters, or who studied there as students, many attained to the highest distinction and fame. And, indeed, if the University quickly gained a pre-eminent place and became conspicuous amongst the universities of Europe, this is attributed by learned and sagacious men to the friendly and almost family intercourse which continuously existed between the 'Studium Generale' of the Friars Minor and the University."

FR. CONRAD REISCH:—The poetic spirit manifested by St. Francis appeared also among his disciples.

**Early Franciscan
Poets**

Thomas of Celano, biographer of the Saint, wrote several hymns in his honor, one of them being the sequence, "Sanctitatis nova signa." Most probably he is also the author of that impressive poem incorporated into the Requiem Mass, the "Dies Irae,"

Julian of Speyer arranged offices for the feasts of St. Francis and of St. Antony with rhyming antiphons composed by himself.

St. Bonaventure not only wrote poetical prose but also formal poetry. The "*Lignum vitae*" is a series of meditations on the life of our Lord, the import of which is indicated by fifteen stanzas of poetry. For St. Louis, King of France, St. Bonaventure composed a little office of the Passion containing choice hymns, notably those of lauds and vespers. Another poem of his is the "*Laudismus S. Crucis*," a portion of which has been introduced as a sequence into the mass for the feast of the Way of the Cross celebrated by the Friars Minor. Among other poems attributed by some to the Seraphic Doctor are "*Corona B. Virginis Mariae*," detached portions of which occur in the sequence of the mass of the Seven Joys celebrated by the Friars Minor, and the exquisite "*Philomena*."

John Peckham is to be mentioned for his office of the Most Holy Trinity.

Jacopone da Todi wrote the wonderfully pathetic "*Stabat mater dolorosa*," and probably also its counterpart, the "*Stabat mater speciosa*." Besides he composed a great number of religious lyrics in Italian.

Giacomino of Verona wrote Italian poems on heaven and hell, and so figures as a precursor of Dante.

For further details, see Ozanam, *Poètes Franciscains*; Holzapfel, O. F. M., *Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, pp. 295 ff.; Baumgartner, S. J., "*Geschichte der Weltliteratur*," IV., pp. 448 ff.

FR. SALESIUS SCHNEWEIS:--I am almost afraid that if one tries to add something by way of discussion to the scholarly and comprehensive paper of Father John Lenhart, it will seem a case of the proverbial carrying coals to New Castle or of sending Fords to Detroit. Yet I hope it will not be found irrelevant

Language Difficulties of Missionaries

to the subject to call attention briefly to the difficulties connected with the linguistic efforts and triumphs of the Catholic missionaries, among whom the Friars have ever held such a commanding influence from the very dawn of the Seraphic Order.

The first difficulty was the great number and variety of languages especially in the New World and Africa. Frequently village differed from village in language as much as European countries, whilst Australia even had villages with three or four completely different languages. And to make matters worse, there was in former times no comparative study of languages or philology.

Another difficulty was found in the peculiar values of certain sounds of these languages. We all know how a German stumbles over the English "th" or how desperately an Irishman has to work on the German "z." The early missionaries of the Friars were beset with far greater difficulties in their linguistic efforts. The native tongue of the aborigines frequently contained sounds that could not be found in the European languages, e. g., a species of hissing, or again an inarticulate growl, or again an inimitable nasal twang. But the climax of this difficulty was the fact that some savages spoke not only with tongue, throat, and lips but even with hands and feet, e. g., touching the ears, rubbing the nose, etc. Moreover several consonants were sometimes missing entirely. Thus the Hurons had no b, f, l, m, p, x, z. But they made up for these deficiencies by sometimes having a variety of two or three consonants where the Latin alphabet is satisfied with one.

A third difficulty was the so-called custom of cancellation. Father Bauke, S. J., relates that the Abipones of South America cancelled every word as soon as the bearer of the name of this specified word died. This made it almost useless to compile vocabularies. Because a numerous tribe could within a generation or two change almost the entire language.

A fourth difficulty was the backwardness and deception of the natives. Their rudimentary stage of mental culture was devoid of abstract terms. Such terms as omnipotence, resurrection, holiness had to be paraphrased. And no matter how painstaking the missionary might be, there was always the possibility of being misunderstood by the natives. And if the missionary in his eagerness to get the correct form or word was too insistent, the natives would give the wrong information on set purpose. This deception was also practiced for the sake of having a good laugh on the missionary when he would use a word of the very opposite meaning he intended. One can hardly doubt that the father of lies instigated them to these rascalities because frequently immodest and blasphemous terms were thus foisted on the unsuspecting missionaries.

But despite these and a hundred other difficulties these intrepid heralds of the cross persevered and what is still better, triumphed so that to-day friend and foe alike acknowledge the indebtedness of the philological world to the Catholic religious missionaries.

FR. ANTONINE BROCKHUIS:—An important item in the history of language study of the present day is the linguistic work being done by the Friars of the Cincinnati Province in the country of the Navajo Indians.

**Linguistic
Work Done by
American Friars**

When the Friars opened their missions in Arizona in 1898 they found no books nor scholars to assist them in learning the language of these Indians. The little that was known of the speech and customs of the tribe was to be found in the books and articles written by Dr. Washington Mathews and Mr. James Stevenson. But even that consisted mainly of a fragmentary collection of Navajo songs, topographical and personal names. The Friars, therefore, were compelled to draw the language from the mouths of Indians word for word after the manner of object lessons. By persistent labor and intelligent observation they were able finally to obtain a workable language system.

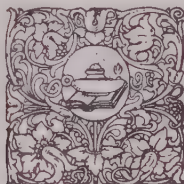
In 1910, twelve years after the arrival of the Friars, the first fruits of their labor issued forth from the St. Michael Mission Press—"An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language," and "A Navajo-English Catechism." The former was a joint work of the Friars and was limited to 200 copies, while the latter was by the pen of Dr. Anselm Weber. These works were followed in 1912 by "A Vocabulary of the Navajo Language," of which 325 copies were printed.

Fr. Leopold Osterman has translated a Bible History into Navajo and has collected copious grammatical notes on the various parts of speech. These are still in manuscript. Fr. Berard Haile also has in manuscript form a grammar almost complete and a text of the tribal legends. Lack of funds prevents all these works from being given to the press.

Naturally, in order to speed up the missionary work of the Friars, their language studies were done hastily. The Friars, therefore, admit that some of their first researches need revision. This might be expected since they had to rely mostly on the illiterate Indian for much information. Besides the language itself is most difficult.

The Educational Conference should commend and support these arduous labors of the Friars. Their ethnological research work is not receiving the sympathetic recognition it deserves. Fr. John's learned paper has proved to us that in pursuing such studies the Friars are maintaining the honored traditions of the Order. And to the honor and credit of the Friars in the Navajo missions be it recorded that the first product of their literary efforts included both a scientific and a religious work.

In the golden crown of the Franciscan Scientist-Missionaries I would have the following Navajo missionaries enrolled—Fr. Anselm Weber, Fr. Juvenal Schnorbus, Fr. Leopold Osterman, Fr. Berard Haile, and Fr. Marcellus Troester.



FRANCISCAN STUDIES

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

A series of monographs published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada.

BOARD OF EDITORS

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

REV. FELIX M. KIRSCH, O. M. Cap., Litt. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

REV. FERDINAND GRUEN, O. F. M.

REV. ERMIN SCHNEIDER, O. F. M.

REV. BERARD VOGT, O. F. M., Ph. D.

REV. JOSEPH F. RHODE, O. F. M., Ph. D., S. T. D., S. S. L.

REV. SIXTUS LIGARIO, O. F. M.

REV. CYRIL PIONTEK, O. F. M., J. C. D.

REV. ROBERT MOORE, O. F. M.

REV. BEDE HESS, O. M. C., S. T. D.

REV. CYRIL KITA, O. M. C., Ph. D., S. T. D.

REV. THEODOSIUS FOLEY, O. M. Cap.

REV. FRANCIS LAING, O. M. Cap.

REV. ALOYSIUS M. FISH, O. M. C., Ph. D.

Publication Office, 54 Park Place, New York, N. Y.

Correspondence in regard to contributions should be sent to Editorial Office, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 6

SEPTEMBER, 1927

FRANCISCAN MYSTICISM

*A critical examination of the Mystical Theology of the Seraphic Doctor,
with special reference to the sources of his doctrines*

(Essay Crowned by Oxford University)

By

DUNSTAN DOBBINS, O. M. Cap., B. Litt. (Oxon)



IN SANCTITATE ET DOCTRINA

New York
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.

NIHIL OBSTAT
HENRY B. LAUDENBACH,
Censor Librorum

IMPRIMATUR
✠ GUILLELMUS TURNER,
Ep̄us. Buffalensis

Buffalo, N. Y., August 12, 1927

PREFACE

THAT Oxford with its hoary traditions of scholarship should foster literature, history and the classics, is only what is to be expected of her. But to find her encouraging the study of mysticism, and Catholic mysticism at that, is as surprising as it is hopeful in these days, when the much-vaunted 'modern research' has with such apparent triumph ousted the mystics and replaced them by psycho-analysts.

Yet that is what the acceptance of the following Thesis as a fit subject for a Research Degree and its subsequent triumphant 'crowning' really imply. Oxford wisely recognizes that the day of the mystics is *not* over, and by her approval of a further examination of one of the theological wells of the thirteenth century she seems to be anxious to recover some of the sources of her mediæval greatness. For in those far distant days, Oxford owed most of her fame throughout Europe to those grand Masters of theology and science, her alumni, whose names are commonplace amongst the real scholars of to-day.

Adam Marsh, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Richard Middleton, William Occam, were illustrious sons of Oxford, of whom Oxford to-day is still proud. These men were not only the contemporaries but also the brethren of the great St. Bonaventure, whose Mystical Theology is examined in the following pages. Thus is there an old link between Oxford and St. Bonaventure, and doubtless it was this old memory which prompted the proper authorities to welcome such a Thesis as the present one, offered by a later son of St. Francis.

The subject is indeed a fascinating one: fascinating even to the very modern minds of our work-a-day scientists. For whilst they are perpetually busy upon the scientific examination of material problems, ever and again are they, seemingly, forced to turn aside and discuss the less material problem of God and the soul. For our comfort, several great men of science have already confessed to the existence of God; others have even gone so far as to admit an after-life, and have suggested that there may be in man some power other than that supplied by flesh and blood and the 'grey matter' of his brains. Others have become so 'spiritual' that the plain Christian is bewildered.

But there remain a few teachers in Israel, who speak with the voice of authority on these tremendous questions. St. Augustine,

St. Gregory, St. Bonaventure, still hold the field for Christianity. Their broad and sane principles of Mystical Theology are not merely the sign-posts for saints, but, one may say, the very supports of all true spiritual life. For if holiness be one of the marks of the truly Christian man, then must the principles of holiness be fundamental to the Christian life and the whole of Mystical Theology may be said to be concerned with nothing more nor less than this—the art of holiness.

The main principles of an art — we speak analogously — are fixed and stable, but just as in painting there are various schools of art, so too amongst the Masters and, one may say, the Mistresses, of mystical theology are there various divergencies of method which form a very interesting study for the attentive student. How fascinating such a study may be, becomes apparent when we come to reckon the number of books recently put forth on the subject of mysticism. Not all have been written in the spirit of critical research, and extravagances have abounded, especially where the lamp of faith has not attended.

How refreshing then to recur to one or more of those clear springs, whence flow to us the pure waters of holy knowledge and sound doctrine! The writings of St. Bonaventure which are here examined present us with one such spring, wherefrom we may safely draw.

FR. ALFRED BARRY, O. M. CAP.

CONTENTS

	Page
AUTHOR'S NOTE	9
CHAPTER I.	13
<p>Purpose of this Essay.—Brief sketch of Bonaventure's Life.—His contribution to mystical thought chosen as special subject of research because of the interest manifested in Mysticism in general, and the acknowledgment that Bonaventure is a great mystical writer.—This acknowledgment existing side by side with comparative neglect of his mystical teaching, and the belief that his works contain but rare references to Mysticism.—The diversity of opinion accounted for.—The works from which his doctrines have been gathered.—Reason why his Dogmatic and other writings relevant in our study.—The criterion adopted in selecting his mystical ideas.—Limits in the attempt to trace the sources of these ideas.—Reasons given for declaring him to be primarily indebted to Sacred Scripture and certain Patristic writers.—Defence of his claim to have continued the spiritual traditions set up by St. Francis of Assisi.—Bonaventure's teaching possesses the essentials of Franciscanism in spite of his legalism, and his tendency to the Monasticism repudiated by the 'Poverello.'—The question of possible Joachistic influence upon his thought discussed.—Declaration of method adopted in the development of Essay.</p>	
CHAPTER II.	45
<p>Sanctifying Grace the starting-point of the spiritual life.—Grace defined.—The necessity of it.—Grace gives unity to the whole spiritual life.—Mysticism the realization of the inherent possibilities of grace.—The Gifts of the Holy Ghost.—The Theological Virtues.—'Spiritual Senses.'—The Supernatural implies human endeavour.—Division of the Spiritual life into the 'Three Ways.'—Characteristics of this division.—This the normal Patristic scheme expressed in Pseudo-Dionysian terminology.—Bonaventure's doctrine on the 'Via Purgativa.'—The 'Via Purgativa' essentially internal.—External mortification an aid to interior purification.—His moderation with regard to bodily penances.—His ascetical doctrine that of the Gospels and of the Fathers.</p>	
CHAPTER III.	68
<p>The 'Via Illuminativa.'—This the title given to the imitation of Christ.—The title explained.—Bonaventure's doctrine in the major Theological and Scriptural works.—Same teaching in the <i>Opuscula</i>.—Christ the central Figure of his spiritual teaching.—Primary element in Bonaventure's 'Imitatio Christi' the renunciation symbolized by the Cross.—Christ in His Human Nature, the Exemplar of the full Christian life.—Love of Our Lord in His Humanity to be spiritualized by thought of His Divinity.—Basis of Bonaventure's 'Imitatio Christi' known to Origen, Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory.—Bonaventure immediately influenced by Anselm, Bernard, and by spiritual tradition set up by St. Francis of Assisi.—His doctrine on the 'Via Illuminativa' criticised.—A Christocentric spirituality.—Absence of any Quietistic conceptions of the Humanity of Christ.—Element of renunciation in the 'Imitatio Christi' does not give rise to a one-sided Christianity.—Purpose of renunciation.—Attempted explanation of great efficacy attributed by the mystics to suffering.</p>	
CHAPTER IV.	96
<p>Meditation and Prayer.—Discursus on Liturgical Practice.—Meaning of Meditation.—Meditation in the three ways.—Meditation upon creatures.—These stepping-stones to God.—Bonaventure's doctrine on 'Mediate Contemplation' best expressed in the <i>Itinerarium</i>.—Characteristics of the <i>Itinerarium</i> to be noted.—The main conclusion to the fundamental principle, that creatures are stepping-stones to God.—'Mediate Contemplation' ex-</p>	

plained.—Prayer.—Bonaventure's Philosophy of Prayer.—The degrees of Prayer.—'Mediate Contemplation' the only element demanding special comment.—Bonaventure's appreciation of its spiritual worth, the result of general tendency of former writers.—The special influence of Augustine.—Pseudo-Dionysian influence relatively unimportant.—Augustine's influence continued through the Victorines, Hugo and Richard.—St. Francis of Assisi, and his sensibility to nature.—Importance of 'Mediate Contemplation.'—Its spirit contrasted with tendencies of later Mysticism.—Symbolism.—Symbolism does not lead to a natural, as opposed to a supernatural Mysticism.—Bonaventure's doctrine of 'Mediate Contemplation' free from all Pantheism.—His idea of Divine Immanence and Transcendence explained.—Worth of 'Mediate Contemplation' in the spiritual life.

CHAPTER V. 124

Contemplation the reward of the ascetical life.—Meaning of the term and its synonyms.—Bonaventure's inconsistency in use of the term 'Contemplatio.'—The question of 'acquired' Contemplation.—Bonaventure manifests no acquaintance with later distinction between 'acquired' and 'infused' Contemplation.—His teaching that no special vocation is demanded for the attainment of mystical union.—Accessibility of the mystical state.—His encouragement of desire in relation thereto.—This desire balanced by making it extend to a strenuous preparatory asceticism.—The nature of mystical union or contemplation.—Some modern attempts to explain it.—Bonaventure's teaching that the experience of God in normal mystical union is indirect.—The soul conceived to commune with God, through the medium of a special interior effect.—Apparently contrary passages explained.—The two constitutive elements of the mystical act.—The enlightenment of the intellect.—This at once an 'Illuminatio' and a 'Docta Ignorantia.'—The consummation of the mystical act, found in the will-union of the soul with God.—The enlightenment of the intellect a subordinate factor.—Effects of mystical union.—The illumination of the intellect and the inflaming of the will, attributed to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, Understanding and Wisdom respectively.—The gift of Understanding founded upon Faith.—Bodily phenomena find no necessary place in mystical union.—Terms apparently implying external phenomena, explained.

CHAPTER VI. 158

Sources of Bonaventure's doctrine of Contemplation.—No attempt to give a full account of the teaching of any writer mentioned.—Pseudo-Dionysius.—St. Augustine.—St. Gregory.—St. Bernard.—The Victorines, Hugo and Richard.—St. Francis of Assisi and his reticence with regard to personal spiritual experience.—Bonaventure's doctrine criticised.—His directive principles.—The encouraging of desire for Contemplation does not lead to an unbalanced Mysticism.—The teaching that Contemplation is open to all, independently of special vocation, not repudiated by Sacred Scripture.—The value of Bonaventure's teaching to explain what is generally understood to take place in mystic experience.—Grace and its connection with mystic experience.—Limits to Bonaventure's explanation.—The objectivity of mystical states.—Utility of presenting the contemplative life as the goal of Christian endeavour.

CONCLUSIONS 196

BIBLIOGRAPHY 203

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THE following Thesis is the result of post-graduate studies pursued in the University of Oxford during the years 1922-25. It was submitted at the end of that period for the Research Degree, *Bachelor of Letters*. Since the examination, the writer has frequently been asked to publish in book form, and the requests have come from members of the University itself, as well as from a number of scholars interested in things Franciscan.

Many reasons, however, have contributed to the delay. University methods of Research demand the quotation of original works. The results attained are not usually suitable for popular perusal, though they may and do furnish the basis of more popular works.

It is felt that this is true of the present treatise with its multiplicity of Latin quotations. But it is to be questioned whether, published with a translation of these Latin quotations, it would find a wider circle of readers. Indeed, the writer was assured by his Examiners in the University, who were kind enough to recommend its publication, that to attempt a translation would not merely entail a great deal of useless labour, but would also do positive damage to the treatise in the eyes of those who are likely to be drawn to a study of St. Bonaventure's Mystical Theology. For, it was argued, Mystical Theology, in spite of the phenomenal amount of literature that has been produced on that subject during these last few years, is still, on its scientific side at any rate, a subject which only fully-equipped students will approach. To such, the Latin quotations will offer no difficulty. The majority will probably prefer to examine the contributions of the Seraphic Doctor to Mystical Theology in their original form. Be this as it may, the writer himself ventures to think that the scientific study of Mystical Theology should not be attempted until towards the completion of normal courses of Philosophy and Theology, both Dogmatic and Moral. For it is all too often forgotten that the great Mystics have written their works, aided by that special illumination which is part of the reward of their life of stern asceticism. Christian Philosophy and Theology will enable us to enter into their thought and to appreciate rightly their 'difficult sayings.' Hence, no doubt, St. Teresa's preference for a Confessor who was a well-trained theologian. But it will always

remain true that, to be in entire sympathy with the thoughts and feelings of a mystic, one must be a mystic oneself. And that, as St. Bonaventure insists in the following pages, means that one must first be an ascetic.

Another reason bids the writer pause before offering translations of the quotations. It is this. Excerpts from an author, if they are well chosen, frequently lead to the direct examination of the major works of the author himself. This has been clearly shown of late years in the case of Bonaventure's great contemporary and friend, St. Thomas Aquinas. Books abound in which St. Thomas is directly quoted in the original Latin. Such books are largely responsible for the present wide reading of the *Summa*. It is matter for rejoicing that the *Summa* grows more popular every day, but it is matter for regret that the works of the Seraphic Doctor, excellently edited by the scholarly Fathers at Quarrachi, are still too seldom opened.

Where Franciscan students are concerned, this is surely a lamentable fact. The Constitutions of the Capuchins commend the study of St. Bonaventure. Nothing has yet been defined which would commend the relegation of his works to unused bookshelves. On the contrary, all Franciscan tradition seems to call for a keener interest in his teaching. For St. Bonaventure gives us a theology which, in its powerful and appealing synthesis of Dogma and Devotion, is eminently suited to the Sons of St. Francis: a theology too, which we should do well to popularize in these days when it is so frequently declared that Creeds and personal religion are mutually antagonistic. The Seraphic Doctor shows so clearly that Dogma is the only sound basis of personal devotion: that Creeds are in truth the very life and breath of true religion, which is the service of God. Bonaventure's rôle in the realm of Catholic teaching is akin to the rôle of that eminent Oxford scholar, Cardinal Newman. It needs no proficiency in mental gymnastics to follow the Franciscan theologian as he writes of the great Christian mysteries. But it does require love. "Nolo Te cognoscere nisi ut Te diligam" prayed St. Bonaventure. He received the knowledge himself and he can still impart it. But with the knowledge comes a greater love of God, and a more deeply-felt yearning after the better things of life.

This work then is sent forth in the earnest hope that Bonaventurian Theology, that rich inheritance of the Franciscan Order, will not be neglected in the present enthusiastic movement towards

the illustrious figures of the past. If only the following pages serve to draw a few more students to the *Opera Omnia Sancti Bonaventurae*, they will have justified the present publication.

The writer's expression of gratitude is due to the Very Rev. Fr. Cuthbert, O. M. Cap., M. A. (Oxon), whose *Life of St. Francis* is now known wherever the *Poverello* is known and loved. At his suggestion the work was first undertaken, and under his kindly direction it was completed for the purpose of examination. Also he is indebted to the Most Rev. Fr. Symphorien, who, before his death, frequently sent valuable help from Rome where he was acting as Definitor-General of the Capuchin Friars Minor. His indebtedness to Professor C. C. J. Webb, Oriel Professor of Christian Philosophy in the University of Oxford, is likewise gratefully acknowledged. In his capacity as University Supervisor, he did much to eliminate from these pages many of those literary defects which may even yet be present. He it was too, who initiated the writer into the difficult art of critical research. The writer's thanks are now offered to another, who does not wish his name to be mentioned, who, in his brotherly devotion, spent many laborious days verifying references and assuring a faithful presentation of the teaching of the Fathers and the Seraphic Doctor. Finally, to the FRANCISCAN STUDIES, whose editor, the Very Rev. Fr. Felix M. Kirsch, O. M. Cap., first suggested the publication of the following Thesis in book form.

FR. DUNSTAN DOBBINS, O. M. CAP.

FRANCISCAN MYSTICISM

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF THE SERAPHIC DOCTOR, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SOURCES OF HIS DOCTRINES

DUNSTAN DOBBINS, O. M. CAP., B. LITT. (*Oxon*)

CHAPTER I.

Purpose of this Essay.—Brief sketch of Bonaventure's Life.—His contribution to mystical thought chosen as special subject of research because of the interest manifested in Mysticism in general, and the acknowledgment that Bonaventure is a great mystical writer.—This acknowledgment existing side by side with comparative neglect of his mystical teaching, and the belief that his works contain but rare references to Mysticism.—The diversity of opinion accounted for.—The works from which his doctrines have been gathered.—Reason why his Dogmatic and other writings relevant in our study.—The criterion adopted in selecting his mystical ideas.—Limits in the attempt to trace the sources of these ideas.—Reasons given for declaring him to be primarily indebted to Sacred Scripture and certain Patristic writers.—Defence of his claim to have continued the spiritual traditions set up by St. Francis of Assisi.—Bonaventure's teaching possesses the essentials of Franciscanism in spite of his legalism, and his tendency to the Monasticism repudiated by the 'Poverello.'—The question of possible Joachistic influence upon his thought discussed.—Declaration of method adopted in the development of Essay.

THE present treatise represents an attempt to examine the works of St. Bonaventure, with the primary purpose of discovering his ideas on Mystical Theology, and, within certain limits, the main sources of those ideas. Since his teaching is found scattered throughout several of his works, we have tried to synthesize it, and it is hoped that both in the synthesis itself and in the indication of the sources to which he seems to have been indebted, the principal characteristics of his doctrine will reveal themselves. The remarks added by way of conclusion to the various sections are merely intended to emphasize such characteristics, and, where possible, to point out individuality of thought or expression.

The life of Bonaventure, or, to give him the title consecrated by centuries of use, the 'Seraphic Doctor,'¹ has been written again

1. He was also known as 'Doctor Devotus,' 'Doctor Mellifluus;' see *Analecta Franciscana*, ed. ad. Claras Aquas, MDCCCLXXXV, T. I, pp. 258-261.

and again. So too, his place in the history of Theological and Philosophical thought, his position within the Order of Friars Minor, the attitude he adopted towards the various problems which made themselves felt during his Generalate, have frequently formed the subject matter of critical research. It would be difficult to add anything new to what has already been written. Since we wish to concentrate upon his Mystical Theology, we have not attempted to do so.

With regard to the details of his life there is an extraordinary diversity of opinion: a diversity which will continue, as the Quarachi Editors of his works have declared, until the biography written by Frater Aegidius Zamorra has been recovered.² It seems to be generally accepted that Bonaventure was born in the year 1221 at Bagnorea,³ near Viterbo. According to local tradition, his parents were Giovanni di Fidenza and Maria Ritella. Of his early youth, little is known beyond the incident narrated in his own *Legenda Sancti Francisci*, namely, that whilst still a child he was preserved from death by the intercession of St. Francis of Assisi.⁴ It is also to a prophetic utterance of the 'Poverello' on this occasion, 'O buona ventura,' that pious tradition has traced his name within the Franciscan Order.

The nature of the studies he pursued before he received the habit is clouded in uncertainty.⁵ Equally uncertain is the date of his entrance into the Order. Wadding,⁶ and Père Van Ortroty of the Bollandists,⁷ are united in favour of the year 1243, whilst Sbaralea⁸ and the Quarrachi Editors⁹ have formulated weighty arguments to prove that it was in 1238. To us, this seems to be the more probable date. Bonaventure calls Alexander of Hales, who died in the year 1245,

2. See *Opera Omnia*, T. X, p. 39.

3. See Salimbene, *Catalogus Generalium*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, T. XXXII, p. 664.

4. 'Ad huius tam venerabilis viri vitam omni imitatione dignissimam describendam indignum et insufficientem me sentiens, id nullatenus attentassem, nisi me Fratrum fervens incitasset affectus, generalis quoque Capituli concors induxisset instantia, et ea quam ad sanctum Patrem habere teneor devotio compulisset, utpote qui per ipsius invocationem et merita in puerili aetate, sicut recenti memoria teneo, a mortis faucibus erutus, si praecordia laudis eius tacuero, timeo sceleris argui ut ingratus.' *Op. cit.*, T. VIII, p. 505.

5. Clop, however, basing his assertions upon the numerous quotations found throughout the works of Bonaventure, declares that he was very well grounded in the liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. See his *Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, 1922, pp. 4-15.

6. See his *Annales Minorum*, Romae, MDCCXXXII, T. III, pp. 83 sqq.

7. See *Analecta Bollandiana*, Bruxellis, 1903, T. XXII, p. 362.

8. See *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci*, Romae, MDCCCVI, p. 169.

9. See *Opera Omnia*, T. X, pp. 40-41.

'patrem et magistrum'¹⁰ and according to Franciscus de Fabriano, he was 'licentiatus sub Magistro Alexandro, primo Magistro Ordinis.'¹¹ Now, even at that period of the history of the Order, every new candidate for admission had to undergo a certain time of probation, and even though we limit that time, in the case of Bonaventure, to a few months, it is difficult to reconcile this last statement of Fabriano with the date assigned by Wadding and Van Ortoy to his entrance into the Friars Minor. There are many reasons why we are inclined to favour a more prolonged connexion between Alexander and Bonaventure. The 'Doctor Irrefragibilis' as Salimbene testifies, had time to determine the personal worth of his pupil: 'Tanta bone indolis honestate pollebat (Bonaventura), ut magnus ille magister frater Alexander diceret aliquando de ipso, quod in eo videbatur Adam non peccasse.'¹² In addition to this, he seems to have taken his pupil through the whole course at Paris, for Bonaventure, when he delivered in due time his own Commentaries on the Sentences, asserted more than once, that he was continuing the teaching received from Alexander.¹³ It is admitted that these points prove nothing conclusively, but they indicate a longer acquaintance than Wadding's or Van Ortoy's date can account for.

Whether he entered in 1238 or 1243, it is certain that he was speedily sent to the University of Paris, to study at the Franciscan Friary. There he came under the influence of others besides Alexander of Hales: John of Parma and the Dominican Hugo a S. Charo for example.¹⁴ The best authorities declare that he began to teach privately, that is, under the guidance of a Master Regent, in the year 1245. Three years later, at the command of the Minister General, John of Parma, he began to lecture publicly. He continued to do this till the year 1257, during this time producing much of the literature upon which our study of his Mystical Theology is based.

It was during this time, too, that the quarrels between, the University authorities and the Mendicant Orders arose. The Friars, both Dominican and Franciscan, appealed to the Pope, Innocent IV,¹⁵ whose successor, Alexander IV, attempted to reconcile the opposing parties by promulgating the

10. II. S., D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, ad finem, T. II, p. 547.

11. Cited by Sbaralea, Supplementum, p. 143.

12. Catalogus Generalium, in Mon. German. Histor., p. 664.

13. See II S. Praelocutio, T. II, pp. 2-3.

14. See De fontibus Commentarii S. Bonaventurae in Ecclesiastem, art. in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, Quarrachi, T. X, pp. 257-270.

15. See Denifle, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, Parisiis, MDC-CCLXXXIX, T. I, p. 247.

Bull, *Quasi Lignum Vitæ*.¹⁶ On the contrary, his Bull only served to intensify the quarrel. From a mere attack upon the general policy of the Friars, and their refusal to fit in with the time-honoured customs of the University, it changed into a direct onslaught upon their mode of life. Bonaventure had at one time satisfied himself, rather weakly perhaps, that the quarrels were due to jealousy on the part of the secular clergy,¹⁷ but the entrance of Guillaume de Saint-Amour into the lists made him concentrate his whole attention upon establishing the Evangelical origin of the Mendicant ideal. Guillaume, in his *Tractatus de periculis novissimorum temporum*,¹⁸ tried to prove that mendicancy threatened the very existence of true morality and religion. Bonaventure's *Quæstiones Disputatæ de Perfectione Evangelica*¹⁹ aimed at destroying the arguments of the *Tractatus*, by showing that, far from being so many hypocrisies, the various practices of the Friars had been adopted in a sincere effort to imitate Christ.

Unfortunately for the Friars, the Introduction to the *Evangelium Aeternum* written by Gerard de Borgo San Donnino,²⁰ the staunch Joachite, gave Guillaume and his followers an opportunity which they immediately seized. To the other charges they added that of open heresy. We mention the quarrel here, because it is very often from works written during it that we have drawn much of Bonaventure's ascetical teaching. He was eager to defend the Poverty which Francis had made the corner-stone of his Order; consequently, we find in them a rigidity which is not so apparent elsewhere. The *Tractatus* was eventually condemned by Alexander IV, on the fifth of October, 1256,²¹ and later on, in the same year, the Pope promulgated certain decrees which he compelled the University Authorities to obey. The quarrel had delayed the reception of Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas into the ranks of the 'Magistri.' Their reception was to be delayed no longer.²² The Pope, however, was not obeyed at once, for it was

16. See Bullarium Romanorum Pontificum, Romæ, MDCCXL, T. III, pp. 353 sqq., also Denifle, Chartularium, pp. 279 sqq.

17. See his Determinationes Quaestionum, pars I, quaestio XXVII, T. VIII, p. 355.

18. Contained in Opera Omnia M. Gulielmi a S. Amore, Constantii, 1632.

19. Opera Sti Bonav. T. V, pp. 117 sqq.

20. See Denifle, Chartularium, T. I, p. 297. For further information concerning Gerard's book, see infra.

21. See Denifle, Chartularium, T. I, p. 333.

22. 'Secundo, quod fratres Predicatores et Minores Parisiis degentes, magistros et auditores eorum et specialiter ac nominatim fratres Thomam de Aquino de Ordine Predicatorum et Bonaventuram de Ordine Minorum doctores theologie ex tunc quantum in eis esset in societatem scholasticam et ad Universitatem Parisiensem recipere, et expresse doctores ipsos recipere ut magistros.' Ibid. p. 339.

not till the following year, October 23rd, 1257, after the promulgation of another Bull, that the University complied with his command.²³

From this concession, Bonaventure derived very little benefit, for in the meantime, he had been called upon to govern the whole Order, in succession to the saintly John of Parma. On the third of June, 1273, he was created Cardinal and Bishop of Albano by Gregory X, in whose election he had played no small part. He did not, however, relinquish his Generalate, until the close of the Chapter which he had convened at Lyons at Pentecost, 1274. On May the seventh, in the same year, the Council of Lyons was opened, and Bonaventure's services were much in demand. After preaching an eloquent sermon on the principal end of the Council, the reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, he fell ill, and died. This was on the fifteenth of July, 1274. He was canonized on the fourteenth of April, 1482, and in 1587, his name was placed on the list of the Doctors of the Church.²⁴

These had been years of labour for the Franciscan General. During his term of office, he had worked incessantly for the benefit of his Order, striving with all his power to make it a well-organized society. With sound organization in view, he had held six General Chapters, that of Narbonne, in 1260, being the most important, and the best proof of his ability in this direction.²⁵ On the outbreak of the old feud between the University of Paris and the Mendicants, he had resumed his rôle of apologist, composing his *Apologia Pauperum*²⁶ in reply to the newly-worded accusations. He had checked the growth of Joachinism within the Order: but of this, we must treat in another place. The study of his life reveals him as a man of many abilities. He was more than the dogmatic Theologian, more than the writer of devotional literature; he was one of those rare personalities who combine in themselves lofty ideals with regard to an organized society, and a practical knowledge of the weaknesses of its individual members.²⁷

Several facts have inspired the selection of his contribution to Mystical Theology as the subject of special research. In the first place, there is the general interest in Mysticism witnessed during

23. Ibid. p. 366.

24. See Opera Omnia, T. X. pp. 67-71.

25. See Ibid., T. VIII, pp. 449 sqq.

26. Ibid., pp. 233 sqq.

27. All the materials for his life and work will be found in the *Dissertationes de Scriptis et Vita S. Bonaventurae*, Opera Omnia, T. X. A more complete account is given by L. Lemmens, *S. Bonaventura*, Milano, 1921. Less critical is the account of E. Clop, *Saint Bonaventure*, cited above.

the last few years. Secondly, there is the frequency with which Bonaventure's name is mentioned as a great mystical writer of the thirteenth century, without any, or with but little, attempt to give a detailed account of his doctrine. Again, there is the all too common belief, that from the fusion of Scholasticism and Mysticism we can scarcely hope to obtain a living and powerful spiritual teaching.

It is felt that the general interest should extend to Bonaventure's contribution to mystical thought. Interest in the subject there undoubtedly is, and it is so widespread, that in itself, it would furnish the competent critic with sufficient material for a work of great historical, psychological and religious value. Attempts are repeatedly being made to trace the development of Mysticism: to exhibit its powerful influence in human life and thought. Within the Church, endeavours are being made to synthetize the subject in much the same way as Dogmatic and Moral Theology have been synthetized. New editions of the writings judged mystical by common consent appear in abundance; lesser known mediaeval works are gradually being made accessible to the general public. The mystical experience itself is approached from every possible point of view, and there is no evidence for the belief that this great interest is on the wane.²⁸

Again and again, Bonaventure's name is mentioned in the enormous amount of literature which stands as proof of the widespread interest in Mysticism. But, as was said, anything approaching a detailed account of his mystical doctrine is rarely given. In critical treatises, his name is all too often connected with works, which, in deference to most recent research, we must cease to associate with him directly. The position he holds is indeed peculiar. On the one hand, there are many, evidently acquainted to some extent with his genuine works, who enthusiastically acknowledge his claim to be regarded as one of the great lights of Western Mysticism. Pope Leo XIII, is responsible for the assertion that in the common opinion of the most learned he is 'facile princeps' in the realm of Mystical Theology.²⁹ He is referred to as having attempted to establish a school of Mystical Theology,³⁰ and those who have examined his works for various purposes seem to be

28. It is curious that when non-Catholic writers approach the subject they nearly always look to the Catholic Saint as the highest type.

29. See *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, ad an. 1890, Romae, p. 177. 'Is, (Bonaventura) postquam maxime arduas speculationis summitates conscendit, de mystica theologia tanta perfectione disseruit, ut de ea communi hominum peritissimorum suffragio habeatur facile princeps.'

30. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme Latin au XIII^eme siècle*, Fribourg, 1899, p. CXIII. 'Thomas engage son école et son Ordre

agreed that he was preëminently a great Christian mystic.³¹ He is quoted as a great figure in the attempt to unite the contemplation of the mystic with the dialectics of the Schoolman,³² and practically every critical treatise on our own English mystical writings connects them with his name.³³ It must be admitted, too, that works written principally on the spirituality of Continental writers seldom fail to assign an important place to him.³⁴ In this manner, information of a valuable nature is frequently given. It is also given by the few minor works and articles which have been written with Bonaventure's mystical theology as the central subject of interest.³⁵

On the other hand, side by side with this general acknowledgment that Bonaventure finds a place among the greater Mystical Theologians of his century, there is the direct assertion that, though an ecstatic himself, he has no place in his intellectual system for the subject with which we are concerned: that his works contain but rare references to Mysticism.³⁶ This opinion is traceable, no doubt, to the very indefinite understanding of what is meant by Mysticism, which, like Socialism, seems to admit of an unlimited number of interpretations, as well as to the fact that the Seraphic Doctor did not leave any work which we may

dans un puissant intellectualisme philosophique et théologique, tandis que Bonaventure vise à établir une école de théologie mystique en maintenant autant que possible la théologie augustinienne antérieure.'

31. See for example, Jourdain, C., *La Philosophie de Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, Paris, 1858, T. II, pp. 56 sqq. Haureau, B. *Histoire de la Philosophie*, Paris, 1880, Seconde partie, T. II, pp. 5 sqq.; Picavet, F. *La place de Roger Bacon parmi les Philosophes du XIIIe siècle*, art. in *Roger Bacon Essays*, ed. by A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914, p. 70.

32. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, B. V. c. 2, p. 154. This writer is not trustworthy.

33. Thus, Deanesly, M. *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole*, Manchester, 1915, pp. 58-9; Horstman, C. *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London 1895, vol. I, p. XIII; Underhill, E., *The Scale of Perfection by Walter Hilton*, London, 1923, p. XIX; idem, in the *Introduction to The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life*, trans. by F. Compier, London, 1914, p. 23.

34. See Bremond, H. *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France*, Paris 1916, T. II, pp. 137 sqq. Pourrat, *La Spiritualité Chrétienne*, Paris 1921, T. II, pp. 261-277; Saudreau, *La Vie D'Union à Dieu*, Paris, 1921, pp. 187 sqq.

35. As far as possible we have obtained all these, and some have proved very useful. We mention the most accessible: Richard, J. *Le Mysticisme spéculatif de saint Bonaventure*, Heidelberg, 1869. This little work is not properly referenced. Many quotations come from works now judged to be spurious. Peralta, V. *El pensamiento de S. Buenaventura sobre la contemplacion mistica*, art. in *Estudios Franciscanos*, 1912, T. VIII, pp. 426-442. Longpré, P. E. *La Théologie mystique de saint Bonaventure*, art. in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, T. XIV, 1921, pp. 36-108. This is a brief synthesis, without reference to sources, but otherwise very valuable. Tempesti, C. L. *Mistica teologia secondo lo spirito e le sentenze di S. Bonaventura*, Venezia, 1748. Unfortunately, this is rendered practically useless, since it is based almost entirely upon the many devotional works falsely attributed to the Seraphic Doctor.

36. Chapman, art. *Roman Catholic Mysticism in the Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by Hastings, vol. 9, p. 95, holds this view. His opinion is endorsed by Butler, in his *Benedictine Monachism*, London, 1919, p. 115.

quote as a sum of his mystical teaching.³⁷ If Mysticism have as its end the fullest possible communing of the soul with God in this life; if the mystical experience be regarded as the highest development of the love of God; if, moreover, the science of Mystical Theology be understood to comprehend all those principles of a directive or explicative nature, which are intimately connected with that experience, it must surely be confessed that, scattered though they are, Bonaventure has definite ideas on the subject. Tradition seems to be right when it regards him as a Prince among Mystical Theologians. He recognizes the validity of the experience described by the most saintly among men; he determines the means to be used to attain to that desired experience; he has defined views as to what takes place during the phenomenon which he calls 'ecstasis,' and he is well aware of the particular dangers to which the mystics are exposed.

It is a little disappointing that all his teaching is couched in purely objective language. The nearest approach to information concerning personal religious experience is his confession that he was guided in his own inner life by certain spiritual counsels, which he formed into the *Epistola continens viginti quinque Memorialia*.³⁸ True, from his works both as Theologian and as organizer of his Order, we may judge his personality, but on the whole, the man has disappeared behind the work.³⁹ He is not an outstanding figure like St. Francis of Assisi. We are forced by the very nature of the case to treat our subject in very much the same way it is treated in the *Opera*. If Bonaventure views the mystical experience as a possibility in the Christian life, it is with the characteristically objective attitude of the Scholastic.

The works from which his doctrines have been gathered are numerous.⁴⁰ There are the Commentaries on the Sentences of

37. The *Mystica Theologia* often attributed to him, and contained in the Vatican Edition of his works, is now proved spurious. See *Opera Sti. Bonaventurae*, Romae, MDLXXXVIII, T. VII, pp. 699 sqq. Examination of the genuine *De Triplici Via*, shows that this can hardly be called, in a strict sense, a perfect compendium of all that is best in Christian Mysticism. See *infra*, chap. III.

38. 'Haec autem, carissime, non ideo tibi scripsi, quia te crederem talibus indigere, sed quia haec eadem collegeram pro me ipso, cernensque meae constantiae parvitatem, cogitavi ea tibi tanquam coadjutori fideli communicare.' *Op. cit.* T. VIII, p. 498.

39. Gilson, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, 1924, p. 9. 'Pour saint Bonaventure, plus encore peut-être que pour saint Thomas d'Aquin, on peut dire que l'homme disparaît derrière l'oeuvre.'

40. Throughout this work unless otherwise noted, the most recent edition of Bonaventure's writings has been used: *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae S. R. E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia*, 10 vols. Ad Claras Aquas (Quarrachi), 1882-1902. This edition has been continually praised by competent critics. See Pelzer, *A. Revue néo-scholastique*, 1903, p. 98; Gilson, *É. La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, pp. 40-41.

Peter Lombard, the principal source of his Theological ideas. Herein, Theology is presented as being preëminently one science; there is no sharply drawn distinction between Dogmatic, Moral, Ascetic and Mystical Theology, such as is met with in modern manuals. His method of approaching the great Christian truths makes these major works relevant in a study of his mystical teaching. For him, the *Scientia Divina* is primarily a practical science: 'Pro fine habet tum contemplationem, tum ut boni fiamus, et quidem principalius, ut boni fiamus.'⁴¹ He reveals the direct application of this principle when he continues: 'Nam cognitio hæc iuvat fidem, et fides sic est in intellectu, ut, quantum est de sui ratione, nata sit movere affectum. Et hoc patet. Nam hæc cognitio, quod Christus pro nobis mortuus est, et consimiles, nisi sit homo peccator et durus, movet ad amorem; non sic ista: quod diameter est asymeter costæ.'⁴² But a slight acquaintance with his works is needed, to discover that, to Bonaventure, the Church, her dogmas and her ordinances, are all directed towards one end: the arousing of Divine Love, and the desire of attaining to mystic communion with God. All knowledge, even of the most exalted mysteries of faith, the Incarnation and the Blessed Trinity, is vain, he would argue, unless it serves to increase within the soul a more intense love of God: unless it is acquired with a view to perfecting the spiritual life. Consequently, his Mysticism repudiates intellectualism, though it by no means repudiates intellect. No matter to what heights of speculation in the realm of Theological truth his intellect may soar, he remains ever the 'Doctor Devotus,' the 'Doctor Seraphicus,' eager to discover the practical application of the Christian Mysteries.

In the Commentaries and other theological works, the science of Theology is set forth, as proceeding from the Revelation contained in Sacred Scripture and Tradition, safeguarded and explained by the Church throughout the ages. It becomes a coördinated system of revealed truths, with their manifold consequences: a system whose precepts and counsels are founded upon, and inseparable from, such revealed truths. It is the one science that treats in apparently speculative language of the mysteries of faith, and which shews how, by the steadfast practice of Christian virtue, and by the obedience to the impulses of the Holy Ghost, the soul may attain to something more than a mere belief in these revealed mysteries. Bonaventure the

41. I. S. Proem. q. III. T. I. p. 13.

42. Ibid.

Theologian, the Master of the Schools, is revealed in his major works, as the soul striving after Christian perfection, and making all forms of knowledge stepping-stones thereto: as one who would help others to attain to a like end. His dogmatic works are obviously the result of his obedience to two instincts; we might legitimately call them the mystical instincts. The one is a desire to know, as far as is possible to the human mind when aided by grace, the great truths emanating from the Father of Lights; the other is a craving to be united, again as far as is allowed in this mortal life, to the Supreme and Infinite Good, by the bonds of pure, indissoluble friendship. In the following, which may rightly be called his Theological works, the intellect guides, and its discoveries are not despised; but love strives to penetrate still further. It stretches forth in all purity to the God still hidden in the depths of His Being, from the finite intellect.

DOGMATIC WORKS.

1. *Commentarii in quattuor libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi.*
2. *Quæstiones disputatæ de Scientia Christi, de Mystério SS. Trinitatis.*
3. *Breviloquium.*
4. *Itinerarium mentis in Deum.*
5. *Opusculum de reductione artium ad Theologiam.*
6. *Collationes in Hexæmeron.*
7. *Collationes de septem donis Spiritus Sancti.*
8. *Collationes de decem præceptis.*
9. *Sermones selecti de rebus theologicis.*⁴³

From the above works too, his Philosophy must be gathered. Next in importance are his

SCRIPTURAL COMMENTARIES:

1. *Commentarius in Librum Ecclesiastes.*
2. *Commentarius in Librum Sapientiæ.*
3. *Commentarius in Evangelium Lucæ.*
4. *Collationes in Evangelium Joannis.*

These Scriptural works all become, with the above mentioned theological treatises, relevant in our study, since Sacred Scripture, as we hope to show, is the principal source of his Mystical Theology.

43. These are in various volumes of the Quarachi Edition. Whenever they are quoted, the number of the volume is always noted.

His works pertaining to the Order, defending its interests, or explaining its mode of life, are likewise relevant, as they contain to a large extent his ascetical doctrine; and for him Asceticism is the indispensable preliminary to Mysticism.

WORKS PERTAINING TO THE ORDER.

1. *De Perfectione Evangelica.*
2. *Apologia Pauperum.*
3. *Epistola de tribus quæstionibus.*
4. *Determinationes quæstionum.*
5. *Quare Fratres Minores prædicent et confessiones audiant.*
6. *Epistola de sandaliis Apostolorum.*
7. *Expositio super Regulam Fratrum Minorum.*
8. *Sermo super Regulam Fratrum Minorum.*
9. *Constitutiones Generales Narbonenses.*
10. *Epistolæ Officiales.*
11. *Regula Novitiorum.*
12. *Epistola continens XXV memorialia.*
13. *Epistola de imitatione Christi.*
14. *Legenda S. Francisci.*
15. *Legenda minor S. Francisci.*

To these we must add his sermons, which, although they lack the fire and the striking illustrations of a St. Anthony of Padua, or a Berthold of Regensburg, to mention only two of the many popular Franciscan preachers of his generation, contain a rich spiritual doctrine. Notwithstanding his many labours in other spheres, his activity in the pulpit was great. His audiences were diverse, and included the Roman Curia, the assembled Chapters of the various Religious Orders, the Universities of Italy and France, and the less learned laity of the large cities of these two countries. His most recent Editors have grouped these sermons under the following headings:⁴⁴

1. *Sermones de Tempore.*
2. *Sermones de Sanctis.*
3. *Sermones de B. Virgine Maria.*
4. *Sermones de Diversis.*

However, it is naturally to the *Opusculæ*, gathered together under the title *Mystica*, that we should look with especial care, to discover his ideas on Mystical Theology. The following have been proved authentic:

44. Cf. Lecoy de la Marche, A. La Chaire Française, Paris. 1868, pp. 133 sqq.

1. *De Triplici Via, alias Incendium Amoris.*
2. *Soliloquium de quattuor mentalibus exercitiis.*
3. *Lignum Vitæ.*
4. *De Quinque Festivitatibus pueri Jesu.*
5. *Tractatus de præparatione ad Missam.*
6. *De Perfectione Vitæ ad Sorores.*
7. *De Regimine Animæ.*
8. *De Sex Alis Seraphim.*
9. *Officium de Passione Domini.*
10. *Vitis Mystica.*⁴⁵

To us, it seems that the title *Mystica* has not been chosen too happily. They are not all genuinely mystical works, unless we use the term in a very wide sense. Nevertheless, like the Theological, Scriptural, and other writings, they do contain ideas of great importance. It would be better, it seems, to retain the title 'mystical,' when applied to a definite work, for that which deals expressly with the secret communing of the soul with God. As it is, a few of the above would never be regarded as mystical in these days. The *De Præparatione ad Missam*, is written for priests, and contains counsels for the devout celebration of Mass; the *De Sex Alis Seraphim* is intended for the guidance of those placed in authority as superiors of religious communities; the *Officium de Passione Domini*, is but a collection of psalms and prayers, drawn up according to the pattern of the Roman Breviary. The other works are far more helpful, and have in view a fuller development of personal religion.

To make this treatise as representative as possible, we have tried to use all Bonaventure's writings. But the urgent question is: For what precisely are we to seek in the literature produced by his pen? There is perhaps no subject which has been defined so often and so diversely as Mysticism.⁴⁶ Doubtless, to a few,

45. For a right understanding of these Opuscula, it is necessary to bear in mind what he himself has to say regarding his literary method. The method of expounding a doctrine, he declares, differs according to the class of readers addressed. There are the 'intelligentes' and the 'sensuales.' He makes his meaning clear in his Commentary on St. Luke: 'Iterum (beatitudines) in Mattæo proponuntur pluraliter et in tertia persona, quia loquitur ad intelligentes; in Luca particulariter et in secunda persona, quia loquitur ad sensuales. Ex his colligi possunt rationes aliarum diversitatum; quia pro diversitate audientium, diversimodus est sermo Doctorum, secundum illud Apostoli: (Coloss. iv, 6). Sermo vester semper sit in gratia sale conditus.' Op. cit., cap. VI, n. 63, T. VII, p. 152. Bonaventure manifestly addresses his *De Triplici Via*, to the 'intelligentes' who are able, with ease, to call to mind the concrete cases included in the extension of the general ideas. His *Soliloquium*, and *De Perfectione Vitæ ad Sorores*, are written for the benefit of the 'sensuales,' who must be addressed directly, and instructed in details.

46. See the imposing list of definitions gathered by W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899, Appendix A, pp. 335-348.

the doctrine which has been gathered together here may seem to have no claim to be regarded as definitely mystical. To call Mysticism the Love of God, as some have done,⁴⁷ is to express the truth, but it is too wide a definition. Bonaventure's teaching, centring in the possibilities of this love of God, will certainly be included among doctrines judged truly mystical on such a basis. But with what treatment will it meet at the hands of those who only see in Mysticism the opposite of rationalism: the result of the despair of the intellect which has begun to doubt the power of reason, and to dream of direct communion with God: the blind faith which will acknowledge no medium between God and man, either in the sensible universe or in reason: the substitution of effortless contemplation in the place of all endeavour, intellectual and moral? Mysticism has been made to mean all these things and much more; in popular esteem it has even degenerated to the extent of being classed with the patter of the magician.

Now, whilst we despair of offering a definition which will meet with universal acceptance, we must in some manner, establish Bonaventure's claim to have treated of that which may in truth be called Mystical Theology. Amid all the confusion which surrounds the subject, it does seem possible to discover points upon which the best accredited authorities are agreed. This can only be done by the elimination of the purely accidental. In the descriptions of the individual mystics who have tried to translate their experiences and their whole conception of human life into language, even as in the case of those who have attempted, like the Victorines, and Bonaventure, to sketch an objective path to God, there are, and must be, various psychological characteristics which should in no way be identified with the essence of Mysticism. Thus, if, in St. Francis of Assisi, the spiritual Father of Bonaventure, we discover an extraordinary power of finding traces of God in nature, and an intense love of created things, born of the recognition that in His Power they find their origin, and in His Providence their sustenance, we should hesitate before identifying these characteristics, however attractive they may be, with the essence of mystical religion. There have been others who have been mystics, but to whom created things were but so many stumbling blocks. Again, if certain mystics, in a disgust with

47. See the following:—Id. *Studies of English Mystics*, London, 1906, p. 37; see also Joly, *The Psychology of the Saints*, London, 1898, p. 38; Tyrrell, *The Faith of the Millions*, (First Series) London, 1901, pp. 261 sqq. These represent Mysticism as the love of God. This proposition is true, but it is not convertible; for not all love of God is Mysticism, though, as Bonaventure teaches, all love of God contains the rudiments of Mysticism.

the puerilities of a degenerate Dogmatism, or in a depression due to a failure to satisfy their soul's cravings by plunging into a world of speculative thought, have turned away from these things, there are many reasons why we cannot say that herein we have discovered the basis of Mysticism. There have been others, whose Mysticism we may not lightly reject, to whom intellectual speculation, systematized dogma, Scholasticism itself, with its maze of division and subdivision, have been as the very breath of life. St. Thomas Aquinas is no less a mystic because of the energy he expended in composing his *Summa*.⁴⁸

To us it seems that the more correct attitude to be adopted in approaching the problem, is to separate whatever is obviously due to diversity of temperament from the fundamental claim made by the best accredited mystics. That claim, expressed in the widest manner possible, is to an experience of a union with God of a more exalted nature than that enjoyed by the majority of men. The methods by which they have attained to this end have differed in various details, but it is from some form of union with God, known only to those who have experienced it, as Bonaventure declares, and hidden in its nature from those who have not experienced it, that they derive their strength. To establish our claim to have discovered in the writings of the Seraphic Doctor a teaching which may be called mystical in the true sense of the word, we must trace in them the recognition of such a union: we must discover what place it occupies in the whole spiritual life, as well as his directive principles. He has not left us what might be called a strict definition of Mystical Theology. That frequently ascribed to him, though expressive of his own thought, is not his: 'Mystica Theologia est animi extensio in Deum per amoris desiderium.'⁴⁹ But he has sufficiently emphasized his idea, that Mystical Theology centres in the vital act of union between God and the soul, effected by grace, and increasing in intensity according to the threefold order of Purgation, Illumination and Perfection, or Union. The primary task of the present work, is to set forth his various ideas on this union, and all relating to it.

We have, however, attempted to go still further, and to trace the origin of his ideas. This must needs be within certain well

48. See *The Mysticism of St. Thomas Aquinas*, by V. McNabb, O. P., Oxford, 1924.

49. Cited by W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Appendix A, p. 335. It is taken from the spurious work, *Mystica Theologia* mentioned above. See Vatican Edition of his Opera, T. VII, p. 699. For declarations concerning the spurious character of this work, see Quarrachi Edition, T. X, p. 24.

defined limits. It would have been possible to go to sources other than Scriptural and Patristic teaching: to Platonism and Neo-Platonism for example. There can be little doubt that such influence should be recognized. But, apart altogether from the gigantic proportions such a task would assume, it does not seem absolutely necessary to do this. Bonaventure's knowledge of non-Christian literature, is, for the greater part, indirect. It is mainly through St. Augustine that he is acquainted with Platonism and Neo-Platonism. If such sources are neglected here, it is not because we have adopted the attitude of those who think it absurd, that the writers of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries should be indebted in any way to non-Christian thought. Bonaventure's debt to Plato or to Plotinus is none the less real because of its indirectness. He has been guided by those who, in turn, drew largely upon the expressed ideas of these two great thinkers, who, in their own way, made the supreme happiness of man to consist in union with the Uncreated Godhead.⁵⁰ Bonaventure's first source is Sacred Scripture, which is so intimately bound up with the expression of his ideas on the spiritual life, that it finds its due place in the attempted synthesis. He expressly declares that the first duty of the Theologian is to consult the Scriptures,⁵¹ in this, demonstrating St. Francis' love for this source of spiritual wisdom.⁵² His faithfulness to this principle is evidenced by the copious use he makes of the Bible. Texts are joined together to form whole passages; they are made to bear upon every conceivable subject, and the facility with which he quotes, demonstrates

50. The following is interesting as showing his attitude not only towards Plato, but also towards Aristotle: 'Indubitanter tamen verum est, secundum quod dicit Philosophus, cognitionem generari in nobis via sensus, memoriae et experientiae, ex quibus colligitur universale in nobis, quod est principium artis et scientiae. Unde quia Plato totam cognitionem certitudinalem convertit ad mundum intelligibilem sive idealem, ideo merito reprehensus fuit ab Aristotele; non quia male diceret, ideas esse et aeternas rationes, cum eum in hoc laudet Augustinus; sed quia, despecto mundo sensibili, totam certitudinem cognitionis reducere voluit ad illas ideas; et hoc ponendo, licet videretur stabilire viam sapientiae, quae procedit secundum rationes aeternas, destruebat tamen viam scientiae, quae procedit secundum rationes creatas; quam viam Aristoteles e contrario stabiliebat, illa superiore neglecta. Et ideo videtur, quod inter philosophos datus sit Platoni sermo sapientiae, Aristoteli vero sermo scientiae. Ille enim principaliter aspicebat ad superiora, hic vero principaliter ad inferiora.'

Christus unus omnium magister, n. 18, T. V, p. 572.

51. 'Sunt ergo quattuor genera scripturarum, circa quae oportet ordinate exerceri. Primi libri sunt sacrae Scripturae. Qui ergo vult discere quaerat scientiam in fonte, scilicet in sacra Scriptura. Studere debet Christi discipulus in sacra Scriptura, sicut pueri primo addiscunt a, b, c, d, etc.' Coll. in Hex., col. XIX, nn. 6-7, T. V, p. 421.

52. See Celano, *Legenda Secunda*, cap. LXXI, p. 249 (Ed. P. Eduardus Alenconiensis, Romae, 1906).

not only the width and depth of his scriptural studies, but also his truly Franciscan love for Holy Writ.⁵³

It is at times quite erroneously taught that Bonaventure has no use for Scripture, except in its mystical sense.⁵⁴ His commentaries disprove this entirely. Throughout these, he continually dwells upon the literal sense of Scripture, and makes no attempt to give a mystical interpretation of every single text. We do not think he ever violates the principle he enunciates in his *Breviloquium*: 'Qui litteram sacræ Scripturæ spernit ad spirituales eius intelligentias nunquam assurgit. Attendat autem expositor, quod non ubique requirenda est allegoria, nec omnia sunt mystice exponenda.'⁵⁵ It remains true that he has a well balanced predilection for the mystical interpretation of Scripture: well balanced, because his allegories never become authoritative and dogmatic. He had witnessed the evil consequences of making the meaning of Scripture subservient to a present need; the havoc wrought in the Order by the Joachite Friars with their fanciful interpretations would suffice to make him guarded in this respect.⁵⁶

An interesting point to be noted here is his use of the Synoptic Gospels. Appeal is not infrequently made to the Johannine group of writings, as if in these alone can be found the more inward spirituality of the mystics. On the contrary, as one of the best authorities on the subject of Mysticism and its sources has remarked, even the Synoptic Gospels embody the fundamental principles of the Mystical life.⁵⁷ It is to them that Bonaventure turns to illustrate the mystical possibilities awaiting a sincere attempt to imitate Christ.⁵⁸ Assuming as it does so important a place in Bonaventure's view, it is only natural that we should regard Scripture as the primary source of his Mystical Theology.⁵⁹

The second source of his doctrine is the enormous amount of literature bequeathed to the Church by the Fathers. Their writings, Bonaventure argues, help us to understand Holy Writ.⁶⁰

53. See *Breviloquium*, Prologus, T. V, pp. 201-8.

54. Thus P. Cornely, S. J., *Historicæ et criticæ Introductionis in V. T. libros sacros compendium*, Parisiis, 1909, p. 162.

55. *Op. cit.*, T. V, p. 207.

56. One exception is noted at the end of the present chapter. It is in connection with his interpretation of the vision of St. John recorded in Apocalypse V. 7.2.

57. Baron Von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, vol. I, pp. 31-2. Quoted *infra*.

58. See *infra*, chap. III.

59. Whenever we have quoted the Scriptures in English, we have used the Douay Version.

60. 'Ad hanc intelligentiam (S. Scripturæ) non potest homo pervenire per se, nisi per illos quibus Deus revelavit, scilicet per originalia Sanctorum, ut Augustini, Hieronymi et aliorum.'

Coll. in Hexaëm., col. XIX, n. 10, T. V, p. 421.

They give valuable testimony to the great spiritual traditions which have remained within the Church, and for him their use becomes an objective act of faith in the Divine origin of these traditions. His respect is for the Fathers as a body; he is convinced that all cannot err on any particular point.⁶¹ But individuals may do so. Consequently, Bonaventure's reverence never degenerates into a blind credulity. Even his beloved Augustine is not credited with infallibility.⁶² Of course, he has quoted the writings of others besides those whom we shall mention.⁶³ In declaring that he is indebted principally to Pseudo-Dionysius,⁶⁴ Augustine, Gregory, Anselm, Bernard, and to those two scholars of the Abbey of St. Victor, Hugo, and Richard, we have been guided, not only by the frequency with which he quotes all these, but also by his expressed predilection for their writings. They have not all influenced him in the same way. We feel convinced that, in spite of the difference of outlook upon various subjects manifested in their works, it is largely from them that Bonaventure has derived his ideas. Augustine's principal contribution to his thought is the vast dogmatic background of religious life. Augustine it is who unites in himself the best qualities of Plato and Aristotle.⁶⁵ Through the influence of Gregory and Bernard, he has become eager to find the practical bearings of all dogmatic truth. Pseudo-Dionysius and Richard have led him to the heights of contemplation. He writes: 'Tota sacra Scriptura hæc tria docet, scilicet Christi æternam generationem et incarnationem,

61. 'Firmitas fidel est ex testificantium concordia plena, quae est in tribus: in eloquiis Scripturarum, in decretis Conciliorum, in documentis Sanctorum.' Coll. in Hexaëm., col IX, n. 19, T. V, p. 375.

62. He differs from him on various points; see II. S. D. XVII, A. I, q. III, T. II, p. 417; *ibid.*, D. XIII, a. 1, q. 1, p. 312.

63. A full account of all the writings used by Bonaventure will be found in the Quarrachi Edition of his works, T. X, pp. 265 sqq.

64. The literature concerning Pseudo-Dionysius and his works is enormous. He was in all probability a Syrian monk, of about the year A. D. 500, who chose to issue his profound treatises under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, (Acts, XVII, 34) thus gaining for them a quasi-apostolic authority. Their authenticity seems to be undoubted by Bonaventure, who gives to 'Beatus Dionysius' the reverence given by many previous writers. John Scotus Eriugena translated the works of this elusive character into Latin, at the instance of Charles the Bald, and was himself profoundly influenced by his thought. Careful comparison of Bonaventure's quotations from the Dionysiaca, with the Latin Versions of Eriugena and others, proves sufficiently that it was through the medium of this translation that the Seraphic Doctor became acquainted with the works. Eriugena's translation will be found printed in Migne, P. L., T. CXXII, cols. 1030 sqq. J. de Ghellinck, S. J., in his *Le Mouvement Théologique du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1914, p. 70, declares moreover, that this was the version used by Hugo of St. Victor, for his Commentary, and by St. Thomas Aquinas, etc.

65. 'Utique autem sermo, scilicet sapientiae et scientiae, per spiritum sanctum datus est Augustino, tanquam praecipuo expositori totius Scripturae, satis excellenter, sicut ex scriptis eius apparet.' Christus unus omnium magister, n. 19, T. V, p. 572. Cf. S. Bonaventura Doctor Seraphicus Discipulorum S. Augustini Alter Princeps, P. Dominicus Facin, Venetiis, 1904.

vivendi ordinem, et Dei et animæ unionem. Primum respicit fidem, secundum mores, tertium finem utriusque. Circa primum insudare debet studium doctorum, circa secundum studium prædicatorum, circa tertium studium contemplativorum. Primum maxime docet Augustinus, secundum maxime docet Gregorius, tertium vero docet Dionysius. Anselmus sequitur Augustinum, Bernardus sequitur Gregorium, Richardus sequitur Dionysium, quia Anselmus in ratiocinatione, Bernardus in prædicatione, Richardus in contemplatione. Hugo vero omnia hæc.⁶⁶ There are several reasons, however, why we cannot concentrate entirely upon the last mentioned: reasons which will manifest themselves in the examination of Bonaventure's ideas.

It will be noticed that all these, with the single exception of Pseudo-Dionysius, with whom he was acquainted only through the medium of a Latin translation, are Western writers. With the Greek Fathers he does not seem very familiar. St. John Chrysostom and St. John Damascene are frequently quoted, as their works had recently been made accessible to him.⁶⁷ To the other Greek Fathers, references are decidedly fewer in number. We very much doubt whether he was able to go directly to any Greek source, for we can find no real evidence for his knowledge of the language. One author professes to have been sufficiently persuaded that Bonaventure knew Greek.⁶⁸ But his persuasion seems to be traced to the numerous quotations from the Greek Philosophers which he has found throughout Bonaventure's *Opera*. These prove nothing. Aristotle⁶⁹ had already been used as extensively by Alexander of Hales; with Plato and Plotinus he could become acquainted through St. Augustine. It is a minor detail, but we do not think that any importance should be attached to his quotations of the Greek Philosophers.

We have also claimed throughout this Essay, that Bonaventure has been directly influenced by the spiritual traditions initiated by St. Francis of Assisi. This is probably one of the most difficult points to establish. The two seem so diametrically opposed. Francis is the saint to whom, it is frequently asserted, all legislation is repugnant; he stands for a freer spiritual tradition

66. De Reductione art. ad Theol., n. 5, T. V, p. 321.

67. See J. de Ghellinck, op. cit., pp. 245 sqq; compare Haskins, C. H., Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 206 sqq.

68. Clop, Saint Bonaventure, pp. 6-7.

69. For the works of Aristotle known to the Scholastics, and for the translations extant at the time of Bonaventure, see Jourdain, C., Recherches sur les anciennes traductions latines d'Aristote, Paris, 1843, pp. 21 sqq. Also Haskins, C. H., op. cit., pp. 223 sqq.

than that which could possibly be known to Bonaventure, who is above all things a legalist. Francis, without being illiterate—his magnificent *Canticle of the Sun*, and his knowledge of the poetry of his day, make it impossible for us to associate illiteracy with him—had not the scientific training of the Schools;⁷⁰ Bonaventure is the Master of the University of Paris, and wholeheartedly adopts the scientific methods of his day. Francis cries out for the perfect observance of his Rule, 'simpliciter et sine glossa';⁷¹ and he will leave it to the individual conscience to dictate to what extent it is binding. Bonaventure calmly interprets the Rule, and determines its degrees of obligation.⁷² Francis steadfastly repudiates Monasticism;⁷³ Bonaventure undeniably monasticises his Order to no small extent. Francis refuses to see the worldly wisdom of large and well appointed houses for the Friars;⁷⁴ Bonaventure, in deference to such worldly wisdom, forcibly defends them.⁷⁵

Before declaring that the spirituality of the two must needs differ because of these and similar contrasted characteristics, it is as well to remember the state into which the Franciscan Order had fallen, at the time when Bonaventure was called upon to rule over it. In the first place, it had increased to an almost incredible degree; difficulties which could hardly have been visualized by the 'Poverello' were continually making themselves felt most acutely. Far from declaring that Bonaventure's methods of meeting the problems were decidedly unfranciscan, we are inclined to think that he dealt with them with the spirit of Francis himself. The increase of the Friars had brought to the Order many who could in no way be compared with the devout men who surrounded the 'Poverello' during his lifetime, and whose power among the people was due to their constant communings with God. The main end of the Order was still the preaching to the people. What prayer and devotion did for many of the first Friars, could, for a later generation, only be supplied by study. It was a recognition of the fact that there can be but few Fran-

70. For further evidence on this point, see Felder, *Histoire des Études dans l'Ordre de saint François*, Paris, 1908, pp. 66 sqq.

71. See his Testament, ed. Sabatier, in *Speculum Perfectionis*, Paris, 1898, p. 313.

72. *Expositio super Regulam F. F. Minorum*, T. VIII, pp. 391 sqq.; also *Constitutiones Generales Narbonenses*, *ibid.* pp. 449 sqq.

73. See *infra*.

74. See the account of the manner in which he regarded the building of a large house for the Friars by the people of Assisi, in *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. VII, ed. Sabatier, p. 17.

75. See *Determinationes Quaestionum*, Pars II, Quaestio XV, T. VIII, p. 567: 'His de causis magis diligimus magnos conventus quam parvos, videlicet, quia maior disciplina potest ibi servari,' etc.

cises, but few like to his companion Brother Leo, that urged Bonaventure in his promotion of scientific training. Apart from this, St. Francis had never intended his followers to be ignorant men; he merely forbade them to make study their primary end.⁷⁶ Study of whatever kind was to be made subservient to prayer, but not entirely excluded. Bonaventure's promotion of studies within the Order did not militate against the desire of its Founder. Francis wanted his Friars to be effective preachers. For the majority of men, effective preaching could only follow upon the scientific study of Theology.⁷⁷ Theology, in turn, depends for its right understanding upon many subsidiary sciences. These must all be included, argues Bonaventure, in the mental equipment of the true Friar who is to fulfil his vocation within the Church. His *Reductio artium ad Theologiam*, a little work whose title is sufficiently indicative of its contents, admirably illustrates his reasons for urging his Friars forward in the quest for knowledge.

Granting the validity of his arguments, is it not likely that his own scholastic attainments would remove him to a sphere in which he could not fully appreciate the simple spirit of Francis? The answer to this objection will be found in his works. That which made Francis the powerful Saint he was, was his love: love which led him to dedicate himself and all else to God. Bonaventure has not done otherwise. It is the spiritual inheritance received from Francis, which makes him write: 'Non est perfecta cognitio sine dilectione.'⁷⁸ and again, 'Curiosus autem devotionem non habet. Unde multi sunt tales, qui vacui sunt laude et devotione, etsi habeant splendores scientiarum. Faciunt enim casas

76. We are well aware that we have touched upon a much debated point. Certainly Bonaventure did not formally disregard his Founder's wishes. His sincere belief seems to have been that Francis wanted his Friars to study, though to study with devotion. Thus, he writes in his *Legenda Sti. Francisci*, cap. XI, n. I, T. VIII, p. 535: 'Quaerentibus aliquando Fratribus, utrum sibi placeret, quod litterati iam recepti ad Ordinem intenderent studio sacrae Scripturae, respondit: Mihi quidem placet, dum tamen exemplo Christi, qui magis orasse legitur quam legisse, orationis studium non omittant nec tantum studeant, ut sciant, qualiter debeant loqui, sed ut audita faciant, et cum fecerint, aliis facienda proponant.' See also his *Epist. de tribus quaestionibus*, n. 10, T. VIII, p. 334. Modern writers, using the material at hand, have widely differed. Jørgensen, *St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. by T. O'Connor Sloane, London, 1912, pp. 226-235, represents him as distrusting, but not wholly condemning scientific study; Sabatier in his *Vie de Saint François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894, pp. 318 sqq., thinks Francis viewed it as the worst enemy of his Order; F. Cuthbert, *St. Francis of Assisi*, London, 1921, pp. 346 sqq., emphasizes his plain disregard of learning for its own sake, and considers that he only valued knowledge in its relation to character and action. Felder, *Histoire des Études dans l'Ordre de Saint François*, pp. 72 sqq., makes Francis positively encourage studies.

77. 'Sanctus Franciscus, ex quo volebat Fratres suos in praedicatione et studio per consequens exerceri.' *Expositio super Reg. cap. III, n. 2, T. VIII*, p. 407.

vesparum, quæ non habent favum mellis, sicut apes, quæ mellificant.⁷⁹ Such sentiments as these are expressed continually in his works. We do not declare categorically that St. Francis expressly wished to have eminent Theologians in his Order; but we feel it perfectly safe to say that had he wished them to add to its prestige in the eyes of the world, he would have desired them after the pattern of Bonaventure. When we find Bonaventure, both in theory and in practice, combining the highest intellectual attainments with the steadfast purpose of making all endeavour, intellectual and other, subservient to the spirit of prayer, to the love of God, we are unable to discover any barrier to his inheritance of the true Franciscan spirit.

Nor could his Scholasticism, too often represented as an enemy of mystical religion, prevent his full appreciation of that same spirit. After all, Scholasticism is only a mode of expression. When he is said to have attempted, with Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, to unite Mysticism and Scholasticism, there seems to be the implication that they are poles asunder: or at least that they do not usually exist side by side. It is perfectly true that Scholasticism, the outcome of the rational tendencies of the times, gravitated in the direction of the intellectualism which the author of *Christian Mysticism* has rightly judged to be the enemy of mystical religion.⁸⁰ Also, it seems to be an indisputable fact, that it frequently ran the risk of degenerating into a system altogether divorced from concrete human life. All this is acknowledged. But the generally recognized sanctity of men like Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and the earlier writers of both Mendicant Orders, is sufficient proof that scholasticism is not the very antithesis of Mysticism. What was best in Scholasticism was inspired by mystical devotion. We may, and do, very often regret the form in which some of Bonaventure's finest spiritual conceptions appear, but because of his phraseology, we can hardly, in justice, declare that he has missed anything of the inner spirituality of St. Francis of Assisi. In fact, the scholastic method continued to be that of many succeeding generations of mystical writers.

78. I. S. D. X., a. I, q. II, ad 1mum T. I, p. 197.

79. Coll. in Hex., col. I, n. 8, T. V, p. 330. The same ideas are expressed in the following places: Itinerarium, prologus, T. V, p. 296; Soliloquium, cap. II, n. 5, T. VIII, p. 46; Sermo V de Dom. II post Pascha, T. IX, p. 304. This last is very beautiful and worthy of full quotation: 'Vae illis! qui toto tempore vitæ suæ student in logica, physica vel in decretis, et nihil saporis in ista scientia inveniunt; si in ligno crucis Christi studerent, scientiam salutarem ibi invenirent.'

80. W. R. Inge, *Studies of English Mystics*, p. 32.

Those who have treated of Bonaventure and his relationship to the true Franciscan ideal, have emphasized his attitude towards studies. To us it appears that if there had been any element preventing his inheritance of the spirit of the 'Poverello,' it would have been an unnecessary legalism, an unnecessary reversion to Monastic principles. These appear to be more opposed to Franciscanism than anything else. For Francis's message to his Friars, was that they should give themselves up willingly to the service of God and their fellow men; it was after the careful examination of the well formulated Rules of the older Monastic Orders, that he drew up his own Rule of life.⁸¹ He fully appreciated the value of other Orders, but the dominant characteristic of the spirituality which he wished to embody in the Community of Friars was that of freedom. So long as he had those around him who could use that freedom as it was meant to be used, he could find little to regret in the consequences of his principle.

When Bonaventure entered the Order, and when he became General, the situation had very much changed. His legalism, and his tendency to Monasticism, were both the result of unfortunate circumstances. They were necessary, if the Order was to be saved; they were necessary if any element in the Franciscan ideal was to be conserved. As General of the Order, he had his finger on the very pulse of Franciscan life in his day, and he saw that the existence of the Order as a society, based upon the vow of absolute poverty, was threatened from without by economic conditions, and from within, by the never-ending quarrels among the Friars themselves, as to what was, and what was not, according to the mind of Francis. Added to this, there were the lamentable abuses of so-called Franciscan liberty, of which he was the witness. Only legislation of the most subtle form, centring in the vow of poverty, and having a direct bearing upon the obligations of the Friars in their many spheres of activity, could meet the problems of the hour, and quiet the consciences of those who

81. Celano, *Legenda Prima*, cap. XIII, ed. Alencon, p. 34, narrates how Francis went to Rome to obtain Papal confirmation of his Rule of Life, and was charitably received by a certain Joannes de Sancto Paulo, who evidently enjoyed a certain amount of influence in the Roman Curia. He continues: 'Verum, quia homo erat providus et discretus, coepit eum de multis interrogare, et ut ad vitam monasticam seu heremiticam diverteret suadebat. At sanctus Franciscus suasionem eius humiliter, prout poterat, recusabat, non persuasa despiciendo, sed alia pie affectando altiori desiderio ferebatur.' See also his answer to certain Friars at the Chapter of Mats: 'Fratres mei, fratres mei, Dominus vocavit me per viam simplicitatis et humilitatis et hanc viam ostendit mihi in veritate pro me et pro illis qui volunt mihi credere et imitari. Et ideo volo quod non nominetis mihi aliquam regulam neque sancti Benedicti, neque sancti Augustini, neque sancti Bernardi, neque aliquam viam et formam vivendi præter illam quae mihi a Domino est ostensa misericorditer et donata.' *Spec. Perfectionis*, cap. 68, ed. Sabatier, p. 132.

were disturbed. Francis's simple Gospel Rule must fit in with the needs of an organized body. With these convictions, Bonaventure proceeded to effect a reconciliation. Corporate and individual poverty, the specific element in the Franciscan ideal, was safeguarded by the well defined doctrine of use. The Friars were not to be owners of property. This was vested in the Holy See. Only the simple use of all things, houses, lands, and libraries, was allowed them.⁸²

On the other hand, his tendency to Monasticism was the result of an endeavour to check the many abuses within the Order itself. He found it impossible to grant to so large a body of men the same liberty of action enjoyed by Saint Francis and his first companions. He does not gloss over the faults he finds existent when he assumes the Generalate, but he emphasizes their serious nature in the first letter he had to write on assuming his new office. The greed and laziness of many of the Friars, their familiarities which gave rise to so many scandals, their eagerness to obtain legacies, their constant unnecessary wanderings to and fro, all these are abuses which he denounced in vigorous language.⁸³ But he does this without the bemoanings of the 'Spirituals,' who are sweeping in their denunciations, and whose writings are characterized by an almost inhuman perfectionism. Bonaventure realizes the gravity of the evils he denounces, but can make the hopeful assertion: 'Plurimi reperiuntur, qui non sunt culpabiles in aliquo prædictorum.'⁸⁴ The writings of the 'Spirituals,' which are responsible for many mistaken conceptions of Bonaventure's influence on the Order, contain nothing so well balanced as this.⁸⁵

In the face of such dispiriting conditions, Bonaventure's only course lay in recalling the whole Order to a stricter internal and external discipline: to a discipline ruling lives more monastic than those of the Friars were intended to be. Liberties hitherto enjoyed and found capable of so many abuses were withdrawn;

82. See *Constitutiones Narbonenses*, Rub. III, T. VIII, p. 452; *Apologia Pauperum*, cap. XII, *ibid.*, p. 323.

83. 'Sane perquirenti mihi causas, cur splendor nostri Ordinis quodam modo obfuscatur, Ordo exterius inficitur, et nitor conscientiarum interius defoedatur; occurrit negotiorum multiplicitas, qua pecunia, nostri Ordinis paupertati super omnia inimica, avide petitur . . . Occurrit quorundam Fratrum otiositas . . . Occurrit exagatio plurimorum . . . Occurrit importuna petitio. Multiplicatio familiaritatum . . . improvida commissio officiorum . . . sepulturarum et testamentorum avida quaedam invasio . . . mutatio locorum frequens et sumptuosa,' etc., etc. *Epistolae Officiales*, ep. I, n. 2, T. VIII, pp. 468-9.

84. *Ibid.*

85. See the *Arbor Vitae Crucifixe Jesu* of Ubertino da Casale, ed. Venetilis, 1485. To Ubertino da Casale, Bonaventure is only a cowardly compromiser. *Lib. V*, cap. V, f. 427.

obligations with regard to the recital of the Divine Office in choir were carefully worded so as to admit of no wilful misunderstanding; new customs were introduced to rule the normal day spent within the Friaries; journeys which hitherto had required only the permission of local superiors were to be undertaken only after referring the matter to those in a more central position of authority.⁸⁶

It cannot be doubted that his spirituality is thereby monasticised to a certain extent, but we think that it remains fundamentally Franciscan. Bonaventure must be credited with an attempt to save what could be saved of the Franciscan ideal, in times of distress. When possible, he makes a deliberate effort to safeguard the essential elements of Franciscanism. With St. Francis he shares a deep reverence for Holy Writ, and encourages its study among the Friars.⁸⁷ As for Francis, so for him, the Figure of Christ is the centre of devotion. With St. Francis, he shared an abomination for idleness parading under the cloak of contemplation, and a zeal that the Brethren should work for their sustenance.⁸⁸ Finally, with Francis, he exhibits a love of Nature and all created things, because of their association with Christ, the Lord of the World. These are but few of the reasons why we have insisted upon connecting his spiritual ideas with the traditions associated with the 'Poverello.' Had his Monasticism been due to anything but the deplorable conditions he found, we might have been otherwise persuaded.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding due to our dwelling upon this point, a word must be added. It is fully recognized that Monasticism will produce and has produced Saints: Saints whose service to Religion and Humanity is appreciated by every historian.⁸⁹ But we are concerned with types of spirituality, and the monastic type differs very much from the Franciscan. A St. Bernard and a St. Francis, both mystics, both powerful in their own way, could be contrasted in many details. The one insists

86. See *Constitutiones Narbonenses*, passim, T. VIII, pp. 449 sqq.

87. Indeed, for Bonaventure, *Scientia Sacrae Scripturae* and *Scientia Theologiae* are synonymous. See his *Breviloquium*, Prologus, T. V, pp. 201 sqq.

88. Laziness is the vice of which he seems to make most frequent mention. See *Legenda Sti. Francisci*, cap. V, T. VIII, pp. 517-8, where he denounces it, with especial reference to the good example given in this direction by St. Francis of Assisi. Compare *Epistolae Officiales*, ep. I, cited supra. For further information concerning Francis' vigorous actions against laziness, see Celano, *Legenda Secunda*, cap. CXVIII, ed. Alencon, p. 289.

89. See Montalembert, C. F. *Les Moines d'Occident*, Paris, 1860; Han-nay, J., *Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism*, London, 1903; Lecky, W., *History of European Morals*, London, 1911.

upon an absolute seclusion from the world of men, and to guarantee that seclusion for future generations he provides his monks with places well adapted in every respect to the fostering of the contemplative spirit. The other gives a practical example of how it is possible to live literally in the world, and yet to struggle against its current; he will allow his Friars no guarantee of future security. Even the peaceful possession of the places wherein they dwell is denied them. Bernard and Francis stand for two modes of approach to the fulness of the Christian life. It is undeniable that both modes can lead to the desired end.

Frequent mention has been made of the 'Spirituals,' and we know that these were in no small degree agitated by the strange doctrines emanating from that equally strange character, Joachim of Flora. It must be decided whether any of Bonaventure's mystical ideas are traceable to this source. The class of Friars known as the 'Spirituals' arose out of the struggles within the Franciscan Order, which lasted well-nigh a hundred years after the death of the 'Poverello.' These struggles raged around the Rule of St. Francis, whereby the Friars were legally bound, and his Testament, which carried with it a moral obligation.⁹⁰ The Rule declared that the life of the Friars was to be a simple observance of the Gospel of Christ, according to the three vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. They were strictly enjoined not to receive coin or money, either personally or through the medium of others, and were forbidden to appropriate to themselves any place or house or any other thing. In the Testament, they were warned against the receiving of churches and dwellings built for them in a manner not befitting the poverty they had vowed. Even to save themselves from persecution, they were not to apply to the Roman Curia for letters, and all glosses upon the Rule were expressly forbidden. Francis appealed for a simple and plain observance. The contents of the Rule being such as they were, it was inevitable that many should find the restrictions expressed in the Testament irksome in the extreme. To the immediately succeeding generation of Friars, the Rule, without glosses, seemed impossible of observance. Times had changed; so too, had the spirit of those who were swelling the ranks of the followers of Francis.

90. The Rule, approved by Honorius III on November 29th, 1223, will be found, together with the Testament in the *Opuscula S. Franciscl*, ed. Quarrachi, 1904. Sabatier has reprinted the Testament in his edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis*, pp. 309 sqq. One of the best English Translations has been given by P. Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi*; Philadelphia, 1906.

One party of Friars immediately made its influence felt. It made war, not so much upon the letter of the Rule, as upon the Testament which represented Francis's direct repudiation of the measures they were anxious to adopt. With the Testament out of the way, they could, with ease of mind and with due regularity, multiply the relaxations of the Rule according to the exigencies of the hour. Only four years after Francis's death, Gregory IX, in his Bull *Quo elongati a sæculo*,⁹¹ replying to a number of questions submitted to him by the Minister General and his delegates, placed the desired power in their hands. The Bull quite rightly declared that the Testament did not carry with it the force of law, and it added, that the Rule itself only demanded a literal observance of the Gospel counsels expressed therein, by way either of command or of prohibition. The embarrassment of those to whom the romanticism of Francis was all in all, may well be imagined. To them, the Pope's action, and the solicitations of the more worldly-minded Friars which were responsible for the promulgation of the Bull, were the direct betrayal of the dearest wishes of their Founder.

Their embarrassment was to increase with the coming of Brother Elias in 1232 as Minister General. Under his influence, the Order lost still more of its primitive character. A vast number of the Friars settled down to a mode of life impossible to reconcile with the original Franciscan ideal. Their relaxations, their lands and possessions, their sumptuous dwellings, caused them no disquiet, however, since for every relaxation of the Rule they could point to a Papal dispensation.⁹² Without going to such extremes, there were others, of whom Bonaventure was to become the leader, to whom unnecessary relaxation was repugnant. The needs of the time demanded certain glosses, but they were anxious to safeguard the spirit of their Founder. To the more zealous these were but compromisers. The 'Spirituals' claimed Francis's own authority for the direct refusal of all relaxations, and all interpretations of the Rule. Theirs was undoubtedly the distress of men who had embraced a mode of life, with their imagination fired by the Christ-like example of the 'Poverello.' In the one Order wherein they could reasonably hope to follow in his footsteps, they found their way barred by what they fiercely denounced as so many attacks

91. Printed in the edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis*, by P. Sabatier, pp. 314 sqq.

92. Interesting details as to the many relaxations of the Friars are given in Eccleston's *De Adventu Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little, Paris, 1909, p. 40.

upon Christ Himself. In their tribulations they betook themselves to lonely hermitages, and there gave themselves to the study of a literature which admirably corresponded with their feelings. This was the literature produced by Joachim of Flora.

Joachim, whose life and works have formed the subject-matter of detailed studies,⁹³ was born at Celicio near Cosenza, about the year 1132. He seems to have travelled in Palestine as a pilgrim, and in Italy as a preacher of the Gospel, before settling down as a Cistercian monk. It was as a monk, that he embodied the results of his Biblical studies in the three works: *Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, *Apocalypsis Nova*, et *Psalterium Decem Chordarum*. In these works, the pseudo-Prophet mapped out a scheme of the world's history, which he had deduced from the Bible. Though there is a deal of confusion and obscurity in the details, and the main theme is overlaid with a bewildering complication of allegory, his fundamental idea is simple enough.

It is, that there are three Epochs in the history of the world from the Creation to the Last Judgment, during which the world is under the successive special government of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Each Epoch is marked by its own characteristics, and forms a stage in the progress of the world towards the final consummation of all things. The first Epoch, from Adam to Christ, and already a thing of the past, had been under the jurisdiction of the Father; the second Epoch, beginning with Christ, was about to close at the time when Joachim wrote. It was upon his description of the third and last Epoch, about to begin, that the 'Spirituals' concentrated their attention. This was to be a new dispensation, in which disciplinary institutions would be superfluous, inasmuch as men's lives would be ruled according to the Spirit. It would be the Epoch of the Holy Ghost, since under His influence, a spiritual understanding of the Gospel would reign in place of the letter. In the spiritual regeneration of mankind, a principal part was to be played by an Order following closely in the footsteps of Christ.⁹⁴

Ideas such as these, handed down by a man of great sanctity, came as light to the 'Spirituals' in their gloom. They themselves were the heralds of the new reign of the

93. See Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore*, Paris, 1909; E. G. Gardner, *Joachim of Flora*, in *Franciscan Essays*, Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1912, pp. 50 sqq. To these two studies we are principally indebted for the few details given concerning Joachim and his works.

94. There are, however, several passages in Joachim's works, which seem to point to two orders. See Fournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-46; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Holy Spirit. Their very sufferings were but proof that the war had already begun between the chief disciplinary institution, the Church, and the new spiritual awakening. Joachim's writings not only comforted them; they gave them fresh energy in the sphere wherein disciplinary activity was particularly harmful to their ideals. They fully realized that Joachim's doctrines had been expounded with much obscurity. Unless that obscurity were dispelled, they could not fully use them in their cause. Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, one of their leaders, compiled at Paris a book containing the three authentic works of Joachim, together with an introduction and glosses written by himself. To the whole, he gave the name *Evangelium Aeternum*. As a result of his work, the obscurity had indeed been dispelled to a great extent, but it was at the cost of foisting upon the pseudo-Prophet, many ideas of which he himself had been wholly ignorant.⁹⁵ Gerard's work is known to us only from the extracts made in the report of the Commission summoned at Anagni for the purpose of examining it.⁹⁶ This Commission finally condemned it. The 'Spiritual' had left notheing doubtful. He made it clear that Joachim had foretold the coming of a barefooted Order, consisting equally of clerks and lay people. This Order was to be the especial depository of the *Evangelium Aeternum*, which in his hands had become, not an unwritten spiritual understanding of the Gospel of Christ, but a written book, which was to supersede that Gospel.⁹⁷ He stated, moreover, that the 'Angel having the sign of the living God,' seen in the vision of John the Evangelist,⁹⁸ had appeared about the year 1200, and was none other than St. Francis.⁹⁹ It is certainly correct to discriminate between the teachings of Joachim himself, and those of the Franciscan enthusiasts.

The story of the manner in which Bonaventure proceeded against Gerard and another friar, named Leonard, is already familiar. Those who are disposed to rule out the possibility of his being influenced by the apocalyptic literature which was creating such havoc within the Order, rely very much upon his uncom-

95. This was recognized by the Friars apparently. Salimbene remarks that Gerard introduced many new things into his work. See Cronica F. Salimbene, ed. in Mon. German. Histor., T. XXXII, p. 455.

96. The text of the Protocol of the Commission of Anagni will be found in Archiv für Litteratur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, I, pp. 99-142.

97. See Protocol, 91, b. *ibid.*, pp. 101-2. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 63, declares that it is this very point which separates Gerard from the authentic creed of Joachim.

98. Apocalypse, VII, 2.

99. Protocol, 91 b. *loc. cit.*, p. 101.

promising attitude on the occasion of the trial.¹⁰⁰ He sentenced Gerard and Leonard to a life-long imprisonment; his saintly predecessor in the Generalate, John of Parma, was allowed, through the intervention of powerful influence, to retire with dignity to a hermitage at Greccio.¹⁰¹ However, the later Ubertino da Casale was well aware of Bonaventure's action, and something he has to say in his *Arbor Vitæ*, suggests that the Seraphic Doctor was not wholly guiltless in this matter himself. Ubertino's testimony is indirect. On the authority of a certain learned doctor who had heard Bonaventure speak at a General Chapter in Paris, he declares that Bonaventure expressed with certainty his belief, that St. Francis was the Angel of the sixth seal, whom John the Evangelist had seen in his vision.¹⁰² As we shall see, Ubertino could have found the same assertion in the *Legenda Sancti Francisci*.

It was the expression of this belief, which seems to have been one of the most cherished doctrines of the Joachists, that persuaded us to examine the *Opera* more thoroughly, for any signs of direct influence. This examination has revealed but one direct reference to the pseudo-Prophet; it is the bare statement that his book on the Trinity had been justly condemned at the Lateran Council.¹⁰³ When he was in Paris, delivering his *Collationes in Hexæmeron*, he had an excellent opportunity of popularizing the Joachistic method of Scriptural interpretation. He was speaking at a time when the most burning question of the hour was that concerning the three Epochs. He is emphatic in his denial that any new dispensation will make void the Eternal Gospel of Christ: 'Post novum testamentum non erit aliud, nec aliquod sacramentum novæ legis subtrahi potest, quia illud testamentum æternum est.'¹⁰⁴ Joachim's influence, direct or indirect,

100. See René de Nantes, *Histoire des Spirituels*, pp. 198-205. Van Ortoy, *Analecta Bolland.*, T. XVIII, pp. 205-6; see also T. XX, p. 232.

101. For the history of the trial, see *Historia Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*, ed. in *Archiv für Litt.*, II, pp. 285 sqq.

102. 'Et ego audiui a solemnī doctore istius ordinis quod frater Bonaventura tunc generalis minister et doctor solemnīs præsente præsato doctore qui mihi dixit quod in capitulo parisiensi solemniter prædicavit: quod ipse erat certus et certificatus quod beatus Franciscus erat angelus sexti signaculi et quod ad litteram de ipso et ejus statu et ordine evangelista Joannes intellexit et quod in spiritu ipsum vidit quando prædicta verba protulit . . . Et hic prædictus frater Bonaventura ibidem cum maximo fervore asseruit, ut ab illo (solemnī doctore) audiui si memoria me non fallit: scire se certissime per solemnēs et indubitabiles revelationes factas talibus personis, quod de hoc non poterat dubitare.' *Arbor Vitæ*. Lib. V, cap. II, f. 404.

103. 'Et ideo ignoranter Joachim reprehendit Magistrum, et quia, cum esset simplex, non est reveritus Magistrum, ideo iusto Dei iudicio damnatus fuit libellus ejus in Lateranensi Concilio, et positio Magistri approbata.' I S. D. V. Dub. IV, T. I, p. 121.

104. *Op. cit.*, col. XVI, n. 2, T. V, p. 403.

seems to manifest itself, however, in a few tentative statements concerning the signs which are to herald the end of the world. The assaults of anti-Christ, and of his fellow workers for evil, are to be combatted by the efforts of a Contemplative Order: 'Malignitatibus ipsorum iudicium Deus pauperibus tribuet, ut sint iudicantes duodecim tribus Israël; et in hac vita talibus debetur contemplatio.'¹⁰⁵

Bonaventure even seems willing to identify this Order with that of St. Francis: 'Contemplatio non potest esse nisi in summa simplicitate; et summa simplicitas non potest esse nisi in maxima paupertate; et hæc est huius ordinis. Intentio beati Francisci fuit esse in summa paupertate.'¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere, he shows that he does not possess the same dogmatic beliefs as the 'Spirituals,' for he declares: 'Quis autem ordo iste futurus sit, vel iam sit, non est facile scire.'¹⁰⁷ Generally speaking too, he is far more reticent than the 'Spirituals' in his assertions concerning other future events. One of the signs of the approach of the consummation of all things will be a greater outpouring of the Holy Spirit, but not one which will result in the dethroning of the existing Gospel. Under the influence of the third Person of the Blessed Trinity, there will be a more wide-spread understanding of the Law of Christ.¹⁰⁸ This is not Joachimism.

In the *Legenda Sancti Francisci*, he does, as was said, identify the 'Poverello' with the Angel of the sixth seal, just as Gerard of Borgo San Donnino had done. Yet he shows clearly, that Francis appeared among men, primarily in the likeness of Christ, and as a perfect example of the only perfection which will save mankind: the perfection based upon the everlasting Gospel. He says nothing which may be constructed as a belief that Francis was the herald of a new Epoch in the Joachimistic sense. Francis, he affirms, is not unfittingly thought to be set forth in the true prophecy of John the Evangelist, under the similitude of the Angel ascending from the sunrising, and bearing the seal of the Living God.¹⁰⁹ He adds: 'Hunc Dei nuntium amabilem Christo, imitabilem nobis, et admirabilem mundo, servum Dei fuisse Franciscum,

105. Ibid., col. XX, n. 30, p. 430.

106. Ibid.

107. Col. XXII, n. 22, p. 441.

108. See Col. XVI, n. 29, p. 408; col. XX, n. 15, p. 428.

109. 'Ideoque alterius amici Sponsi, Apostoli et Evangelistae Joannis vaticinatione veridica sub similitudine Angeli ascendentis ab ortu solis signumque Dei vivi habentis astruitur non immerito designatus. Sub aperitione namque sexti sigilli vidi, ait Joannes in Apocalypsi, alterum Angelum ascendentem ab ortu solis, habentem signum Dei vivi.' Op. cit., Prologus, T. VIII, p. 504.

indubitabili fide colligimus, si culmen in eo eximiae sanctitatis advertimus, qua, inter homines vivens, imitator fuit puritatis angelicæ, qua et positus est perfectis Christi sectatoribus in exemplum.¹¹⁰ It is strange that Bonaventure, usually so careful in his statements, should write in this manner. Francis certainly never regarded himself as the fulfilment of any prophecy. Is this an entirely independent interpretation? We are inclined to think that it is not, especially in view of what he has to say with regard to the Order which is to combat the assaults of Anti-Christ.

But if there be any Joachistic element here, further reading of the *Legenda* will reveal that Bonaventure has not gone to the extremes of the 'Spirituals.' Francis, he is convinced, will bring about a spiritual awakening among men as an imitator of Christ, but not as the forerunner of any new Epoch. Even though we accept Joachistic influence to this extent, it is in a relatively unimportant detail. It may be said with perfect truth that it alters nothing in the scheme of his spiritual doctrine. The foundation of this is Our Lord Himself. His Mysticism, unlike that of Gerard and his companions, is the outcome, not of a disappointment with the existing scheme of things; it springs from a living trust in the possibilities awaiting those who will tread faithfully in the footsteps of the Saviour of the Word. For Bonaventure, Christ's Testament, and His Testament alone, is everlasting.

It is acknowledged that, except with regard to a few details having direct relation to Bonaventure himself, nothing in the above historical account is new. What has been said concerning his attitude towards the various problems confronting him as General of the Franciscan Order simply aims at correcting the idea, not infrequently expressed, that he cannot be regarded as continuing the spiritual traditions of the 'Poverello.' We hope to show that he certainly has retained all that is essential to those traditions, even though by force of circumstances his teaching lacks the picturesqueness associated with St. Francis' spirituality. The fact that the vagaries of Joachim and his Franciscan interpreters have had no deep and important influence upon his Mysticism is a sign of the well balanced mentality with which he viewed the problem of the relations between God and the human soul. We do not think that, in the following exposition of his teaching, anything will be said which will cause the critic to deny that he retains that same mentality in all his principles.

110. Ibid.

In this exposition, the Seraphic Doctor has been allowed, as far as possible, to speak for himself: this moreover, in the Latin in which he is acknowledged to have been proficient.¹¹¹ The same treatment has been given to the Patristic sources to which he was indebted. In this manner, similarity of thought seems to be made the more apparent. With regard to the division of the Essay itself, this has been made as natural as possible, and is based upon the lines adopted in many independent synthetic accounts of Mystical Theology.

¹¹¹. See the appreciation of his style in Taylor, H., *The Mediaeval Mind*, London, 1914, vol. II, p. 210.



CHAPTER II.

Sanctifying Grace the starting-point of the spiritual life.—Grace defined.—The necessity of it.—Grace gives unity to the whole spiritual life.—Mysticism the realization of the inherent possibilities of grace.—The Gifts of the Holy Ghost.—The Theological Virtues.—‘Spiritual Senses.’—The Supernatural implies human endeavour.—Division of the Spiritual life into the ‘Three Ways.’—Characteristics of this division.—This the normal Patristic scheme expressed in Pseudo-Dionysian terminology.—Bonaventure’s doctrine on the ‘Via Purgativa.’—The ‘Via Purgativa’ essentially internal.—External mortification an aid to interior purification.—His moderation with regard to bodily penances.—His ascetical doctrine that of the Gospels and of the Fathers.

It is proposed to group together in this section of our Essay discussions concerning three points, which, however commonplace they may seem, must be fully understood before Bonaventure’s thought can be rightly appreciated. At first sight it may appear that apart altogether from their being, in a sense, commonplace, the points in question are not correlated; but it was precisely the realization that they actually do bear upon one another, that led to the present grouping. It must also be borne in mind, that concerning each particular point, whole treatises might be written, though it is difficult to believe that research would reveal anything original in Bonaventure’s doctrine.

We refer, first, to his teaching on Sanctifying Grace and its concomitants, the Theological Virtues, and the Gifts of the Holy Ghost: secondly to his conception of the threefold division of the life of Grace as a whole: thirdly to the initial stage of that same life of Grace, which, along with most spiritual writers, Bonaventure deems absolutely necessary, before any progress can be made: that is, the serious attempt with the help of grace to free the soul from sin and its evil effects. This last, he calls the ‘Via Purgativa.’

Concerning the first point, it would be too great a task to attempt more than a very brief exposé. Acquaintance with the enormous amount of literature on the subject, contained in the works of Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, to mention only a few of the better known Scholastic Theologians, will testify to the truth of the statement, that all these dealt with the subject in almost identical sense. There were differences of opinion, it is true, as to

minor and purely speculative details;¹ but, for the rest, they follow one another with monotonous fidelity. To produce a synthesis of the doctrine of one, would be, allowing for the masterly treatment of Thomas Aquinas, and the added subtleties of Scotus, to produce the substantial teaching of all.

Bonaventure has covered the same ground as these theologians; he has the same doctrine to offer. In his teaching on Sanctifying Grace, however, he undoubtedly emphasises the fact that the fullest experience in the Christian life is but the culmination of the supernatural life begun in the soul by the first outpouring and reception of Grace. He makes no reference to the personality of man as possessing a mystic faculty or sense co-natural with it, which, if it be developed, will result, apart altogether from grace, in the enjoyment of the highest favours spoken of by the Mystics. If there is anything absolutely indispensable to the ultimate realization of the mystical experience, it is the primary sanctification of the soul.

Like all mediaeval theologians he defines Grace principally by its effects. Though it is really one,² definitions abound, probably the most comprehensive and characteristic being that contained in the *Breviloquium*: 'Ipsa (gratia) est donum, quod a Deo immediate donatur et infunditur. Etenim cum ipsa et in ipsa datur Spiritus sanctus, qui est donum increatum, optimum et perfectum, quod descendit a Patre luminum per Verbum incarnatum Ipsa nihilominus est donum, per quod anima perficitur et efficitur sponsa Christi, filia Patris æterni et templum Spiritus sancti; quod nullo modo fit nisi ex dignativa condescensione et condescensiva dignatione Maiestatis æternæ per donum gratiæ suæ. Ipsa denique est donum, quod animam purgat, illuminat et perficit; vivificat, reformat et stabilit; elevat, assimilât et Deo iungit, ac per hoc acceptabilem facit.'³ Whilst his works admirably illustrate that recognized characteristic of Franciscan theology in general, the insistence upon the necessity of human coöperation with the Divine work effected through grace, and expressed so fully in this

1. Thus there was the speculative question as to the distinction between the Virtues and the Gifts. Such a distinction is insisted upon by Bonaventure; see III S., D. XXXIV, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1, T. III, p. 736, but it was rejected by Duns Scotus. See III S., D. XXXIV, quaestio unic., *Opera Omnia* Joannis D. Scoti, Parisii apud Vivès, MDCCCXCIV, T. XV, pp. 464 sqq. He directly refutes Bonaventure in the *Scholium*, p. 474.

2. 'Cum gratia una sit, multiplices tamen habet divisiones secundum diversas considerationes. Habet enim gratia comparari ad suum principium a quo, habet comparari ad suum subiectum in quo, habet nihilominus comparari ad suum oppositum contra quod, habet comparari ad suum effectum, ad quem ordinatur.' II S. D. XXVII, Sub. 1. T. II, p. 669.

3. Op. cit., pars V, cap. 1. T. V, p. 252.

definition, they also emphasize the idea that it is precisely in the Divine activity, that we are to find the real starting point of all spiritual life. Without grace, even the desire of the mystical experience is wholly impossible. '*Nec desiderat (contemplationem) nisi quem ignis Spiritus sancti medullitus inflamat.*'⁴ In another place, comparing grace and its concomitants to wings with which the soul is endowed to return to its Creator, and the mystical experience to the heights whereon this return is accomplished, he writes: '*Sine his autem pennis, nullus potest conscendere ad montana.*'⁵ Perhaps he could choose no more forcible language to express the truth, that mystical contemplation, far from being the result of study or of any other form of purely natural activity, can only be the outcome of grace, than when he says, referring expressly to the delights of mystic union: '*Si autem quæras, quomodo hæc fiat, interroga gratiam, non doctrinam; desiderium, non intellectum; gemitum orationis, non studium lectionis; Sponsum, non magistrum; Deum, non hominem.*'⁶

Together with this insistence upon the absolute necessity of grace as the essential starting-point of the mystical life, we find an attempt to put into bold relief the dispositive value of ordinary sanctifying grace in relation to mystical contemplation. Thus he establishes what may be called a dynamic bond between all the stages in the spiritual life, from the lowest to the highest, from the very first response to the Divine impulse, to the final states: to the '*excessus mentis*' of the mystic. In this, he in some measure removes the confusion surrounding the division frequently made between the ascetic and the mystic life. We see more clearly how the ascetic, accepting the term as applicable to all who are seriously striving after Christian perfection, such a striving demanding as it does continuous correspondence with sanctifying grace, is really the potential mystic. Possessing sanctifying grace, he has within his soul, if he will but follow whither it will lead, the radical principle, which, when combined with individual effort, can produce a St. John of the Cross, or a St. Teresa.

Nor in this stressing of the dispositive value of ordinary Sanctifying Grace, is he necessarily thrown back upon that watering down of the mystical life which would make all, even those who recite the '*Our Father*' with devotion, mystics in reality. A middle course is struck between this and the other extreme view, which

4. *Itin.*, cap. VII, n. 4, T. V, p. 312.

5. *Comment. in Luc.*, c. IX, n. 49, T. VII, p. 232.

6. *Itin.*, c. VII, n. 6, T. V, p. 313; and cf. *Soliloqu.*: c. II, n. 13—n. 16, T. VIII, pp. 49-50.

makes of the mystics a class absolutely apart, and subject to a distinct economy of grace: a view largely responsible for the identifying of the mystical life with a quasi-miraculous state characterized by wondrous visions, Divine locutions and other extraordinary phenomena, more often than not affecting the body. His is a middle course, inasmuch as grace is viewed as leading the soul gradually along a path already mapped out by Divine Law. The soul begins the spiritual life by ordinary acts of prayer and mortification; but let it progress faithfully, making the development of the spiritual life its one end, not necessarily indeed to the neglect of all else, but certainly to the bringing of all other affairs into direct relationship to that end: let it do this with continuous fidelity, and it is Bonaventure's conviction that the inherent possibilities of the established order of grace will be realized. The time will come when the 'Dona Spiritus Sancti,' especially the gifts of Understanding and Wisdom, will be fully exercised on the soul's behalf by their Divine Author. This full exercise of the gifts which all possess who are in the state of grace, constitutes the normal mystic experience in his Theology, as will be seen. Thus it becomes quite clear that, though all pious men and women are not actually mystics, they are mystics potentially. If therefore, the mystics are a class apart, it is certainly not because God has willed it so, for they are the subjects of no special economy of grace, and are by no means lifted out of the established sphere of the Divine relations with mankind in general. They are mystics, simply because they are among the few who have heroically determined to make of their whole sojourn upon earth a veritable pilgrimage to God. Cost what it may, they will pass through the way of purgation; they will concentrate their whole attention upon God, their whole endeavour upon imitating the perfect Guide to the fullest Christian life, Christ Himself: all this with the indispensable aid of grace and its concomitants, which set the mystics on their road, and, according to the progress made, manifest their inherent possibilities.

Ideas such as these, emphasizing as they do the essential unity of the spiritual life, occur again and again throughout Bonaventure's dogmatic and spiritual treatises. They form the basis, for example, of the comment he makes after he has described the attractions offered to the devout soul by the mystic union: '*Qui igitur vult in Deum ascendere necesse est, ut vitata culpa deformante naturam, naturales potentias supradictas (i. e. sensus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus, intelligentia, et apex mentis) exerceat*

ad gratiam reformantem, et hoc per orationem; . . . ad sapientiam nemo venit nisi per gratiam . . . Sicut igitur gratia fundamentum est rectitudinis voluntatis et illustrationis perspicuæ rationis; sic primo orandum est nobis, deinde sancte vivendum, tertio veritatis spectaculis intendendum et intendendo gradatim ascendendum, quousque veniatur ad montem excelsum, ubi videatur Deus deorum in Sion.⁷ Furthermore, the whole spiritual life is embraced within the threefold division of the Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive ways, and he declares that throughout these, grace itself is the active principle: 'Ipsa est donum quod animam purgat, illuminat et perficit.'⁸

So persuaded is he of the fact that the mystic experience is but the full realization of the life of grace, that of ordinary grace he can employ certain expressions, consecrated by the use of the great descriptive mystics to the highest states of union with God. He writes: 'Gratia gratum faciens facit animam templum Dei, sponsam Christi, et filiam Patris æterni. Et quia hoc non potest esse nisi ex summa dignatione et condescensione Dei; ideo illud non potest esse per habitum aliquem naturaliter insertum, sed solum per donum divinitus gratis infusum; quod expresse apparet, si quis ponderet, quantum est esse Dei templum, Dei filium, Deo nihilominus indissolubiliter et quasi matrimonialiter per amoris et gratiæ vinculum copulatum.'⁹ After all, it is merely a St. Teresa's claim to have been thus 'quasi-matrimonialiter' united to God, that persuades all who are willing to admit the validity of the mystic experience, to enrol her among the religious geniuses of the Western Church. Yet Bonaventure teaches that the union itself, consciousness of which constitutes the mystic experience, is radically effected by Grace.

Intimately connected with and accompanying grace, are the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. He has written long treatises on these;¹⁰ their nature is discussed; weighty arguments are adduced to exhibit them as distinct from the Virtues; and at length they appear as divinely infused habits, whose purpose is to make the soul more readily responsive to supernatural impulses and to urge it on to the spiritual heroism of the saints. They are defined thus: 'Habitūs expedites recte dicuntur dona, pro eo quod dicunt quandam ulteriorem abundantiam bonitatis ad agendum,

7. Itin., c. 1, n. 8, T. V, p. 298. It must be noted, too, that 'sapientia' is frequently used as referring to the mystic experience.

8. Breviloq., p. V, c. 1, T. V, p. 252.

9. Ibid. p. 255; cf. II S. D. XXVIII, a. 1, T. pp. 674 sqq.

10. See Collationes de Donis Spiritus Sancti, T. V, pp. 457 sqq.

ac per hoc magis attestantur divinæ liberalitati; et propter hoc recte censentur nomine doni.¹¹ These gifts, namely, Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety and Fear of God, are represented as being bestowed upon the soul in Justification, and as expediting the work of leading it to the fulness of the Christian life. This work is admirably illustrated in the *Breviloquium*: 'Ad expeditionem in contemplando dona Spiritus sancti sunt in septenario numero. Nam ad vitam hierarchicam et contemplativam necessarium est animam purgari, illuminari et perfici. Purgari autem oportet a concupiscentia, a malitia, ab ignorantia, ab infirmitate seu impotentia; primum facit timor, secundum pietas, tertium scientia, quartum fortitudo. Illuminari autem indigemus in operibus reparationis et primariæ conditionis; primum dat consilium, secundum intellectus. Perfici autem habemus per accessum ad summum, quod consistit in uno, et hoc per donum sapientiæ; et sic arcanum contemplationis a lato consummatur quasi in cubito.'¹²

To these same supernatural agencies, is attributed the removal of the spiritual obstacles, the evil habits created in the soul by sin,¹³ and the quickening of the natural faculties, intellect and will especially, that they may play the part imposed upon them by the mystical quest.¹⁴ The two gifts, Understanding and Wisdom, will be met with again, and explained more fully, since it is by recourse to them that Bonaventure illustrates his teaching on the mystical union.¹⁵ One further remark may be made here; it is this. Bonaventure shows quite clearly that it is not the ordinary use of these gifts that constitutes the mystical experience. If this were so, the majority of Christians would be mystics, since they are operative on lower levels of the spiritual life. Rather, it is their special use, made possible by their Divine Author, at a particular stage of progress.¹⁶

Then there are those other concomitants of Grace: the Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope, and Charity. These too, remain with the soul throughout the whole spiritual life. Thus, he does not concede to the mystic any knowledge of God which may not rightly be termed a knowledge of faith. No doubt it is a more fruitful faith that animates him, for, without comprehending

11. III S. D. XXXIV, p. 1, a. 1, T. III, p. 738.

12. Op. cit., P. V, c. V, T. V, p. 258.

13. Ibid., p. 257.

14. Ibid.

15. Cf. Chaps. V and VI.

16. An excellent and comprehensive summary of the doctrine concerning these gifts, in their theological aspect, will be found in Dict. de Théol. Catholique, art. Dons du Saint-Esprit, T. IV, cols. 178-1781.

them, he understands more of those mysterious truths in which he professes belief; but, no matter to what extent his intellect may be described as being 'illuminated as to Divine things,' he must render the same obedience of the intellect as that demanded of the very beginner in asceticism. With characteristic unwillingness to separate faith from love, Bonaventure defines it thus: '*Fides non est aliud nisi habitus quo intellectus noster voluntarie captivatur in obsequium Christi*,'¹⁷ and he insists that it remains the principal guiding light of the soul 'in via.' '*Est enim ipsa fides omnium supernaturalium illuminationum, quamdiu peregrinamur a Domino, et fundamentum stabiliens et lucerna dirigens et ianua introducens; secundum cuius etiam mensuram necesse est mensurari sapientiam nobis divinitus datam, ne quis sapiat plus quam oportet sapere, sed ad sobrietatem, et unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei*.'¹⁸ Whilst it is Hope, that encourages the soul in the pursuit of God, and of as full a foretaste of future blessedness as may be granted in this life, it is in Charity, the love of God, whereby He is loved as the Object of future Beatitude, that the soul finds the whole reason of its ardent longings.

It only remains to be added, to conclude this brief mention of his supernatural agencies, that in Bonaventure's Theology we not infrequently meet with the mysterious 'spiritual senses' to which many descriptive writers have recourse to make their soul-states understood more easily. Thus, they refer to a more direct communication with God, to a deeper appreciation of things Divine than that experienced in a Christian life lived on a lower level: all this in language properly applicable only to sense-experience. God is 'tasted;' He is 'touched' or 'felt;' even the sense of smell is translated to the field of spiritual experience.

To such an extent is this method of self-expression carried, so often moreover is there an absence of the warning that the writer is using purely metaphorical language,¹⁹ that in recent treatises on the subject of Mystical Theology, the question is seriously debated: Does the soul possess intellectual spirit-

17. III S. D. XXIII, a. 1, q. 1, T. III, p. 471.

18. Breviloq.: Prologus, T. V, p. 201. The Scriptural references are to II Cor. 5, 6; Rom. 12, 3. Also cf. IV, S. D. III, p. 1, a. 1, q. III, T. IV; p. 201; Coll. in Hex. col. 1, n. 13, T. V, pp. 334 sqq.; col. XXIII, n. 16, p. 447.

19. St. Teresa, however does not leave us in doubt. Speaking of 'Spiritual scent' she writes: 'When reciting the Divine Office in choir without seeking to penetrate the sense, one may be seized with a delightful fervour, as if suddenly encompassed with a fragrance, powerful enough to diffuse itself through all the sense. I do not assert that there really is any (material) scent, but make use of this comparison because it somewhat resembles the manner by which the Spouse makes His Presence understood.' Interior Castle, Sixth Mansion, ch. II, 14, p. 149. (Stanbrook Ed.), 1906.

ual senses, having some resemblance to bodily senses so that in an analogous manner, and in various ways, it is able to perceive the presence of God?²⁰ What good may be done by insisting upon the existence of such mysterious faculties, of which most people seem entirely ignorant, it is difficult to imagine; but as Bonaventure's authority has been quoted in support of a thesis pre-supposing their reality,²¹ it is as well to discover his meaning when he refers to them.

He leaves us in no doubt. 'Spiritual senses' imply nothing beyond the secret appreciation of things divine, and the name is given, curiously enough, not to new agents of spiritual activity, but rather to the terms of such activity. The ability to become the subject of spiritual appreciation is recovered with the infusion of the three Theological Virtues: '*Anima igitur credens, sperans et amans Jesum Christum . . . dum per fidem credit in Christum . . . recuperat spiritualem auditum et visum, auditum ad suscipiendum Christi sermones, visum ad considerandum illius lucis splendores. Dum autem spe suspirat ad suscipiendum Verbum inspiratum, per desiderium et affectum recuperat spiritualem olfactum. Dum caritate complectitur Verbum incarnatum, ut suscipiens ab Ipso delectationem et ut transiens in illud per ecstaticum amorem, recuperat gustum et tactum. Quibus sensibus recuperatis, dum sponsum suum videt, et audit, odoratur, gustat et amplexatur, decantare potest tanquam sponsa Canticum canticorum.*'²² Even language such as this implies for him no new soul faculties. Elsewhere,²³ he declares that he is using expressions with which he was made familiar by the works of Augustine and Richard of St. Victor.

For Augustine in an especial manner expresses his thought in such fashion. His own answer to his question: '*Quod autem amo cum te amo?*' is a striking example of this transferring to the spiritual realm, the language proper to sensation. It is not the beauty of bodies, nor the fair harmony of time that he loves when he loves his God; nor yet the brightness of light, nor sweet melodies, nor the fragrant smell of flowers and ointments; nor

20. See Poulain, *Graces of Interior Prayer*, London, 1921, pp. 88-98.

21. Thus A. Hamon professedly quotes Bonaventure, but his quotation is taken from the spurious *De septem Itineribus aeternitatis*, (c. 1350) and adds: '*Il nous est bien difficile de comprendre ce que sont les sens spirituels dont parle le saint docteur, mais quelle bonne raison avons nous de les nier, quand les mystiques nous parlent sans cesse de voix, d'odeur, d'aliment?*' He concludes: '*Il-y-a donc au témoignage des mystiques, dans cette expression, sens spirituels, autre chose qu'une métaphore: c'est une réalité dont ils se rendent compte, bien que nous ne la comprenions pas.*' *Art. Exstase*, in *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, T. V, col. 1891.

22. *Itin.*, c. IV, n. 3, T. V, p. 306.

23. III S. D. XIII, dub. 1, T. III, pp. 291-2.

manna and honey. But only by use of analogous language, finding its basis in such sense experience, can he describe his communing with God. Ruling out all these things, he hastens to add: 'Et tamen amo quamdam lucem, et quamdam vocem, et quemdam odorem, et quemdam cibum, et quemdam amplexum, cum amo Deum meum, lucem, vocem, odorem, cibum, amplexum interioris hominis mei; ubi fulget animæ meæ quod non capit locus, et ubi sonat quod non rapit tempus, et ubi olet quod non spargit flatus, et ubi sapit quod non minuit edacitas, et ubi hæret quod non divellit satietas. Hoc est quod amo, cum Deum meum amo.'²⁴ Similar passages might be quoted from the works of Richard of St. Victor.²⁵ Just as truly, however, as the spiritual senses are not new agents in Augustinian psychology, so they are not elevated in Bonaventure's scheme to this rank. Bonaventure makes this apparent when he writes: 'Sensus nominat usum alicuius potentiæ existentis in re vivente et a re vivente secundum naturam. Per hunc etiam modum in spiritualibus sensus dicit usum donorum gratuitorum, quæ quidem dona sunt eo vitalia, quo sunt gratuita. Potest igitur sensus accipi large pro quocumque usu gratiæ perfecto et evidenti . . . Alio modo sensus potest dici stricte; et sic sensus spiritualis dicitur usus gratiæ interior respectu ipsius Dei secundum proportionem ad quinque sensus.'²⁶ His 'spiritual senses' are manifestly the uses of grace.

It has already been said that there appears to be no immediately discoverable advantage to be gained by insisting that the 'spiritual senses' represent soul faculties. We are inclined to think that neither is there any advantage to be gained by their introduction into Mystical Theology, even when, as in Bonaventure's case, it is made so clear that they have reference merely to more intense uses of the graces sent by God. The realities they stand for may indeed be facts of experience. If we credit, as indeed we do, such witnesses as St. Augustine and St. Teresa, they are certainly facts. Their introduction, however, under such terminology, does nothing to remove the confusion already surrounding the subject, and, in view of the Seraphic Doctor's teaching of the gifts of Understanding and Wisdom, they are superfluous, and even misleading. The only good the repeated

24. Confess. Lib. X, c. VI, P. L. T. XXXII, cols. 781-3.

25. See e. g. De quattuor gradibus violentiæ charitatis. P. L. T. CXCVI, col. 1218. 'Saepe sub hoc statu Dominus descendit de coelis, saepe visitat sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis . . . Sic tamen præsentialiam suam exhibet ut faciem suam minime ostendat. Dulcorem suum infundit, sed decorem suum non ostendit,' etc.

26. III S. D. XIII, a. II, q. III, dub. 1, T. III, p. 291; and cf. *ibid.* D. XXIV, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1, p. 737.

mention of 'sensus spirituales' can do, is to bring home the nature of mystical communion with God, and mystical appreciation of things Divine. Yet this can be done with equal force, without reference to 'senses' at all, no matter how ancient the usage may be.²⁷ The passage quoted from St. Augustine's *Confessions* is an example. True it is, that only the enjoyment of an experience similar to that described by the great Doctors of the Church can make us fully understand what they are referring to when they use such mysterious language, but we are not further enlightened when we are told of these 'spiritual senses.' In the minds of those already disposed to discredit the mystic claim, mention of such exalted spiritual experience, coupled with an apparently artificial terminology, might conceivably lead to the denunciation of the whole, as a purely subjective creation. What is this mysterious experience that needs artificialities to explain it? Such is the question which is often asked in a spirit of antagonism. Add to this, that not all the writers subsequent to Bonaventure had the foresight to make clear that when they referred to 'spiritual senses,' they were using only metaphorical language. From the writings of many it certainly would appear that they have in mind new and genuine agents in spiritual activity. Herein we find an example of the Scholastic tendency to carry the process of division and sub-division to such a degree that the original basis on which the division may have been made is lost sight of, and what are really mere aspects of one and the same thing, become distinct entities: a tendency so justly resented by Scotus and his disciple Occam. The so-called 'spiritual senses' are, in ultimate analysis, nothing more than aspects of grace: of grace regarded from the point of view of its reception on the part of the devout soul.

Understanding that this meaning is to be given to the 'spiritual senses' whenever they are introduced into the Bonaventurian synthesis, we are now in possession of the supernatural elements in which the Franciscan Doctor's Mystical Theology centres. Doubtless, there will be an immediate temptation in the minds of non-Catholics to dismiss the whole as a rigid and artificial system of supernaturalism, attributing all to mysterious supernatural agencies, and nothing to human endeavour. Nothing could be further removed from the truth. Grace, the Virtues and the Gifts, only represent the Divine Love which is ever working to draw back souls to Itself. Without the Divine activity which

27. Origen uses the same terminology, though he too, makes his meaning clear. See Hom.: in Levit.: Hom. 3, n. 7, P. G. T. XII, col. 432,

they represent, not only the mystical experience, but salvation, and even the very thought of salvation, is impossible. This Bonaventure declares in common with his contemporaries. But if the wealth of Augustinian and Pseudo-Dionysian Theology is concentrated in his insistence upon the need of Divine Grace, he has not gone to the extreme which would make the whole spiritual life a continuous passive reception of supernatural favours, demanding no effort on the part of the soul. There is no question of remaining entirely passive, in the expectation that God will effect the wonders of mystic union with Himself, apart altogether from human industry and effort. His ascetical doctrines bring this out plainly enough. If, in the following, we understand by 'consensus' (and it must be given this interpretation in his Theology), not merely a willingness to receive grace, but also an efficacious desire to follow whither it will lead, and to perform the tasks demanded in following it, no more concise statement regarding the necessity of human coöperation with the Divine workings on the soul could be found. He expresses his thought thus: '*Per gratiam fit matrimonium inter Deum et animam; sed lex matrimonii est, ut non fiat absque mutuo consensu: ergo videtur, nulli adulto gratia debeat dari, nisi præcedat consensus.*'²⁸ There is no need, however, to stress the point here: it will be made clear by what he has to say regarding that arduous process of self-purgation, which must be the preliminary to every mystical life.

Understood in the above sense, Bonaventure is certainly to be classed among the supernatural mystical writers. These, as a modern student of Mysticism has pointed out, have a distinct tendency to schematization.²⁹ Not only do we find grace, acknowledged as objectively one, divided and subdivided, but the whole spiritual life meets with like treatment. In Bonaventure's case, the tendency leads to the familiar division into the three ways: the ways of Purgation, Illumination, and Union or Perfection. These are really stages of spiritual development, and as such, they must each receive special treatment. Here we are concerned with the place they occupy, like the supernatural agencies mentioned above, in his doctrine.

For him, the mystic way, or the ascent to God, is the gradual development of an entirely new life. It is the returning to God, through the power that comes from Him; a return, moreover, really involving all that is implied by the terms he makes use of:

28. II S., D. XXIX, a. II, q. II, ad. 4, T. II, p. 793; cf., *ibid.*, pp. 694-6.

29. Inge, W. R., *Christian Mysticism*, p. 147, note 3.

'Necesse est igitur . . . per tres gradus ascendere, secundum triplicem viam, scilicet purgativam, quæ consistit in expulsiōe peccati; illuminativam, quæ consistit in imitatione Christi; unitivam, quæ consistit in susceptione Sponsi.'³⁰ Herein we find not only a careful delineation of each 'way,' but also an exact statement of what he considers must take place in each stage of the spiritual life. Thus each 'way' is primarily indicative of a personal soul state. At the very outset, the soul must be purified by self-discipline, and freed from all sin and its consequences. Then only is it at liberty to appreciate in any practical sense the personal duty of following Christ, by imitating His Virtues, and living, as far as possible, His life.

'Via Purgativa' is certainly, in itself, sufficiently expressive of the first process; it is reminiscent, too, of the Gospel declaration that only the clean of heart shall see God.³¹ Since the practice of those virtues of which Christ is the supreme Exemplar, is viewed as gradually perfecting the soul's vision with regard to spiritual matters, 'Via Illuminativa' admirably describes the second phase. By the practise of such virtues, moreover, is a likeness to Christ effected within the soul, and when the likeness is as complete as may be in this life, God allows the enjoyment, in some way conscious, of union with Himself; a state surely best described by the term 'Via Unitiva, or 'Via Perfectiva.'

No apology therefore need be made for Bonaventure's choice of nomenclature in this respect; nor indeed for the division he has made. He can hardly be said to have originated the division. Nor is he the first to have given, as some have asserted,³² a complete exposé of the threefold way. He emphasizes the division, it is true: it is made to embrace the whole spiritual life, but, to claim for him more than this, is to claim too much. He has given what he considers to be the best expression of the normal Patristic scheme of development.

For Saint Augustine, not in nomenclature, yet certainly in fact, has the same threefold division, especially in his *De Quantitate Animæ*.³³ We can trace it easily in the works of Saint Gregory,³⁴ and in Saint Bernard's mystical inter-

30. De Triplici Via, T. VIII, p. 12.

31. Matth. 5, 8.

32. Thus Pourrat, *La Spiritualité Chrétienne (Le Moyen Age)*, T. II, p. 267.

33. Cf. Butler, C., *Western Mysticism*, London, 1922, p. 37.

34. See e. g. *Super Canticum Cantici: Expositio*; P. L. T. LXXIX, cols. 471 sqq., also *Moral: Lib. XXIV*, cap. XI, T. LXXVI, cols. 300-307. Gregory here comments on Job XXXIII, 29: *Haec omnia operatur Deus tribus vicibus per singulos.*

pretation of the 'three kisses of the feet, the hands and the lips of the Lord,' which, throughout the sermons on the *Canticle of Canticles*, are made to symbolize the sorrow and repentance with which the spiritual life must begin: the advancement in virtue: and finally the end of the mystic quest—union with God.³⁵ With less precision, may be, it is found in the writings of the Victorines. Thus, Hugo makes express mention even of the terms afterwards used by Bonaventure, in his exposition of the Pseudo-Dionysian *Heavenly Hierarchy*. This exposition, so full of enthusiastic appreciation of the *Dionysiaca*, reveals Hugo, as reading them in much the same way as the later Franciscan Theologian. Speaking of the spiritual development of devout souls, he writes: 'Primum purgantur, postea illuminantur, deinde perfectiuntur. Nisi enim præcederet purgatio, non sequeretur illuminatio; et nisi esset illuminatio, non veniret consummatio.'³⁶ Hugo here translates to the spiritual field of the individual soul, the threefold operation of purging, illuminating and perfecting, which the author of the *Hierarchies* had attributed to angelic activity. This angelic operation disappears, and, as with Bonaventure, grace is made to perform the same work. Hugo does not, it is true, make this same terminology his own throughout his mystical works, such as the *De arca Noë mystica*, *De arrha animæ*, and the *De vanitate Mundi*,³⁷ but he recognizes that by use of the terms supplied by Pseudo-Dionysius the spiritual development may be explained.

It is to Pseudo-Dionysius that Bonaventure is indebted when he constructs his *De Triplici Via* by means of the terminology in question. As far as possible, he makes his division correspond with the mind of that master of mediaeval Mysticism, but with him, 'Purgatio,' 'Illuminatio' and 'Perfectio,' never assume the philosophical meaning originally given to them. Perhaps one example may be given, illustrating what is meant. Pseudo-Dionysius begins, as is generally acknowledged, on a very high level; his works seem to be written for the benefit of those who are already mystics. Hence Purification, understood as a cleansing from sin, need only be mentioned in passing; the other form of Purification, of a more philosophical order, is dwelt upon at length. This last is effected by mental abstraction from all

35. Op. cit., Sermo III, P. L. T. CLXXXIII, col. 794; Sermo IV, *ibid.*, col. 796.

36. Op. cit., Lib. IV, P. L. T. CLXXV, col. 998.

37. See Mignon, A., *Les origines de la Scolastique et Hugues de Saint-Victor*, Paris, 1896, T. II, pp. 326 sqq.

things sensible. But, in Bonaventure's hands, the same term is made to stand for the more moral process of cleansing the soul from sin, and thus it is given a meaning better understood of the multitude. None the less, his indebtedness to Pseudo-Dionysius for his terminology remains. He had often met with it in his study of Eriugena's Version of the works,³⁸ and, taking the substance of the Evangelical and Patristic teaching, he encloses the whole, if the expression may be used, within the three ways: Purgation, Illumination, Union or Perfection.

These three stages do not form, however, a rigid framework excluding one another, in the sense that Purgation necessarily ends where Illumination begins, or that only in the ultimate stage can union with God be experienced. Bonaventure's primary idea is that of a real spiritual evolution. It is, he declares, with these three ways, even as with the various orders of angels. These angelic orders are named in the Scriptures, not so much by reason of characteristics which the others do not possess in any degree, but by their predominating activity. All, for example, have Charity, but in Charity the Seraphim excel, (in Seraphim maior plenitudo charitatis) hence to them alone is the name given. It is the same with the other orders or classes of angels.³⁹ The Purgative way is so named, because, in the process which it denotes, the predominating spiritual activity is the endeavour to free the soul from sin and sinful habits; the Illuminative way owes its name to the fact that it refers to the stage wherein the principal act is the enlightening of the understanding to know Christ as the most perfect example of the Christian life; to the final stage is given the name 'the way of Union or Perfection,' simply because the predominating activity is that of the will: of the will in possession of its Object. Far from being guilty of a rigid objective schematization, Bonaven-

38. There is the oft-repeated comparison of the Power of God with a circle, which, after running its course throughout all created beings, returns to its primal source, having purified, illumined, and perfected them. See, *De Divinis Nominibus*, cap. IV, P. L. T. CXXII, cols. 1130-1 (Eriugena's Version); and compare P. G., T. III, cols. 697-9.

Also there is the exposition of the Sacraments of Baptism, Eucharist and Unction, as themselves symbolizing this threefold operation of purifying, illumining and perfecting. See *De Eccles. Hierarchia*, cap. II-IV, P. L. T. CXXII, cols. 1071-1096; compare P. G. T. III, cols. 391-500. Finally, we have the direct attribution of this threefold operation to the Heavenly Hierarchy. See *Coelest. Hierarchia*, cap. VII, P. L. T. CXXII, cols. 1050-53; compare, P. G. T. III, cols. 206-211.

39. This idea is taken from Hugo; see *De Sacramentis Lib. 1*, p. 5, c. XXXII, P. L. T. CLXXVI, col. 262. It is fully explained in II, S. D. IX, a. 1, q. IV ad 2um, T. II, p. 249. 'Quamvis omnes ordines (angelorum) a dono charitatis denominari possent, quia tamen donum illud in supremo ordine prae-cellit, solus ille ordo ab eo debet denominari . . .'

ture would be quite willing to admit, both that at no period of the spiritual life can the work indicated by the term 'Via Purgativa' be dispensed with, and that even in the preliminary struggle to obtain mastery over the lower self, the soul may be the subject of those transient divine movements, spoken of by St. Augustine in his *Confessions*.⁴⁰ All this is made clear in his *Soliloquium*.⁴¹ Nor is there any question of assigning definite periods of time to each of these three ways. The later and more subjective Richard Rolle of Hampole does this,⁴² and had Bonaventure written personally, he too, might have done likewise. As it is, he writes objectively, regarding the development of the spiritual life from the point of view of one who wishes to manifest the normal dealings of God with mankind in general.

It may be objected, that the terms discussed are at first sight mutually exclusive, and that writers like St. Thomas Aquinas who speak of the souls who are taking the spiritual life seriously, as 'incipientes,' 'proficientes' and 'perficientes'⁴³ are not so open to the charge of rigid schematization. In this there is a certain amount of truth, but it would seem that Bonaventure's terminology expresses with greater force, what is on all hands admitted to take place. Beneath the terms 'purgatio,' and 'illuminatio,' lies a wealth of Platonic and Christian thought. Together, they emphasise the ancient axiom, that before man can obtain any knowledge of the Divinity, he must cleanse the mirror of his mind. Moreover, its worth may be judged from the fact that since the time of Bonaventure, some of the best accredited spiritual writers have adopted his identical terminology, as eminently expressive of the stages through which the soul passes in its journey towards mystical union.⁴⁴

His doctrine on the 'Via Purgativa' takes its natural place in this chapter for several reasons. Though this is the most import-

40. He seems to refer to such a case when he writes, having in mind the first period of Conversion: 'Et cum te primum cognovi, tu assumpsisti me, ut viderem esse quod viderem, et nondum me esse qui viderem.' *Op. cit.*, Lib. VIII, cap. X, P. L. T. XXXII, col. 742.

41. *Op. cit.*, T. VIII, pp. 28 sqq.

42. See the *Incendium Amoris*, (ed. by Deanesly, Manchester Univ. Press), cap. XV, p. 187.

43. See his *Sum. Theol. Secunda Secundae, Quaest. XXIV, art. IX. Opera Omnia S. Thomae, Romae, MDCCCXCV, T. VIII, p. 191.*

44. The Author of the *Imitation of Christ* certainly does so. Consult Raynor Storr, *Concordance . . . De Imitatione Christi*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1910, for 'purgatio,' 'illuminatio,' 'unio.' So too, it is definitely used in the *Theologia Germanica*. 'Now be assured that no one can be enlightened unless he be first cleansed or purified and stripped. So also, no one can be united with God unless he be first enlightened. Thus there are three stages: first, the purification; secondly the enlightening, thirdly the union.' Chapter XIV, trans. from the German of Dr. Pfeiffer's Edit. by S. Winkworth, London, 1874, p. 44.

ant point as far as ultimate attainment of mystical union is concerned, it does not offer sufficient matter for a separate chapter. It is appended here, both as giving us a clearer insight into the nature of the threefold division just dealt with, and as emphasising the idea, that this supernaturalism is not developed to the extent of ruling out all individual endeavour. His 'Via Purgativa' stands as a protest against the oft-repeated accusation that mystical writers of his class make the supernatural do what the natural must perform. The supernatural will help in this, but, no matter how necessary it may be, it never assumes the entire burden of the natural. In addition to this, it serves as a warning against that well known temptation to which many so-called mystics have often fallen victims: the temptation to clutch at the fruition of mystical experience before the difficult task of preparation by way of self-discipline. Bonaventure can endorse the declaration of St. Bernard, one which he quite conceivably made after his experience as director of his monks, that it is a reversing of the proper order to ask for the reward before having earned it: to grasp at the mid-day meal before performing the labour.⁴⁵

This truth finds repeated expression in the *Soliloquium*.⁴⁶ Here we find him restraining rather than encouraging the soul's longing for spiritual raptures, the restraining element being his insistence upon the arduous preparation required.⁴⁷ Whereas moral laxity, and a dreamy form of piety built entirely upon imagination, are too often the characteristics of those lives in which this difficult self-discipline finds no place, those whom by common consent we have come to regard as the great Christian mystics, have been unanimous in asserting, and in demonstrating by their own actions, that the essential first step in the way leading to mystic union, is that implied by the term 'Purgatio.' There may be no unanimity with regard to those extraordinary self-inflicted bodily sufferings familiar to all who have read the lives of types such as St. Peter of Alcantara, St. John of the Cross, and Blessed Henry Suso.⁴⁸ There is, however, insistence upon interior purification and self-restraint, to the obtaining of which, the body-buffetings

45. 'Sed et praeposterus ordo est, ante meritum exigere praemium, et ante laborem sumere cibum, cum dicat Apostolus: Qui non laborat non manducet., (II Thess. III, 10), Auct. cit., Sermones in Cant. Sermo XLVI.

46. Op. cit., cap. II, n. 18, T. VIII, p. 51.

47. Ibid.

48. St. Teresa is a witness to the bodily penances of St. Peter of Alcantara, with whom she was personally acquainted. See *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus*, written by herself. (Trans. from the Spanish by D. Lewis), London, 1904, p. 232. See, too, the remarkable list of mortifications drawn up for personal use by St. John of the Cross, in 'Saint Jean de la Croix, Vie et Oeuvres,' (Paris, 1893), T. II, pp. 94-9. Suso gives his own list of his

were, for many, such potent means. This stressing of the preliminary purification is the result of a consciousness of the evil of sin, be it the sin under which the whole human race labours, or that directly and personally committed before conversion.⁴⁹

It has already been remarked, but it is necessary to emphasise the fact, that Bonaventure does not consider the 'Via Purgativa' as having any termination in the present life. There is no period in which the soul can afford to abandon self-purification: no period in which self-restraint may be thrown aside in the belief that the lower self has been transformed. In the most exalted states of the spiritual life, there can be no correspondingly lofty disregard of human failings and weaknesses. The downward drag threatens not only the actual mystic, but the very beginner, even though it be conceded that for the first, because of virtuous habits, it is not so powerful. The 'Via Purgativa' is merely the name given to the period when the soul's attention is wholly concentrated upon obtaining that cleanness of mind and heart, without which, not only the vision of God, but the appreciation of spiritual things, is unthinkable.

Psychologists interested in the subject of Mysticism often refer to this as the 'annihilation' of the lower self, and it may be conceded that such an expression finds sufficient warrant in the writings of the mystics, and in Bonaventure's Theology, if it be interpreted in the sense that no progress can be made until there is a genuine abandonment of all that does not lead to God, or cannot be brought into relation with Him. An expression, however, more in keeping with what he has to say, would be 'a reordering of disordered love;' better still, 'a remaking of the entire self,' since 'Purgatio' implies a readjustment of the whole man in conformity with a new and deeper realization of the meaning of life. Life is one long pilgrimage to God: a pilgrimage easy enough in the state of innocence, but now rendered difficult of accomplishment because of sinfulness. It is the first duty of the mystic to restore, as far as is possible, the original state of man.

In the *De Triplici Via*, therefore, the Purgative Life appears as a war upon sin, which, its author maintains, finds its root in 'negligentia, concupiscentia, et nequitia.'⁵⁰ This, however, does

various forms of self-torture in his autobiography. See *The Life of the Blessed Henry Suso* by himself, (tr. by T. F. Knox), London, 1865, pp. 49, 54, 77.

49. Bonaventure expresses it: 'Peccata . . . sive contracta, sive acta.' *De Trip. Via*, T. VIII, p. 4.

50. *Ibid.* He adds: 'Fere omnia peccata et mala nostra, sive contracta, sive acta, reduci possunt ad haec tria.'

not exhaust the whole purpose of the preliminary stage. It is not enough that man should obtain full mastery over himself, or an ease in restraining the lower passions. The purgative life must be an attempt to effect a reformation of the interior man. The Patristic teaching is reproduced. Sin both obscures the intellect and weakens the will. The soul must first 'enter into itself' and understand its actual state by contemplating the effects sin has had on these, the two principal faculties.⁵¹ Such introspection he would have result in a genuine effort to restore these faculties to their primitive state; it is designed as revealing to the soul, not only its actual littleness and low estate as a consequence of sin, but its greatness, and high calling.

Its low estate is best described in the *Itinerarium*. The soul of man, in the perfection of its threefold powers, memory, understanding and will, reflected the image of the Blessed Trinity so clearly, that by introspection, it could at once be brought into relationship with God: this without the aid of any special grace, but by simple use of what he calls the 'oculus rationis,' to distinguish it from the 'oculus contemplationis,' so familiar in mystical writings.⁵² In its present condition, distracted as it is by mundane cares, the soul cannot use its memory aright; beclouded by sense-images, it cannot use its intellect as it should be used; its will, which should always tend towards God, is drawn away from Him by pleasure in the things of sense. Then, in a beautiful passage, after depicting the soul as lying prostrate among the things of sense, and helpless in regard to the attainment of its true end, Bonaventure shows how it is offered a means of restoration by Christ, the Redeemer: 'Et quoniam, ubi quis ceciderit, necesse habere ibidem recumbere, nisi apponat quis et adiiciat, ut resurgat; non potuit anima nostra perfecte ab his sensibilibus relevari ad contuitum sui et æternæ Veritatis in se ipsa, nisi Veritas, assumpta forma humana in Christo, fieret sibi scala reparans priorem scalam, quæ fracta fuerat in Adam . . . Necesse est igitur, si reintrare volumus ad fruitionem Veritatis tanquam

51. See Soliloq., cap. 1, T. VIII, pp. 29 sqq. 'Quomodo anima per mentale exercitium debeat radium contemplationis reflectere ad interiora sua, ut videat, qualiter sit formata per naturam, deformata per culpam et reformatam per gratiam.' Also see De Perfectione Vitæ, cap. 1, T. VIII, p. 108 sqq. 'De vera sui ipsius cognitione.'

52. These terms are explained elsewhere. 'Triplicem homo acceptit oculum, sicut dicit Hugo de sancto Victore, scilicet carnis, rationis, et contemplationis; oculum carnis quo videret mundum et ea quæ sunt in mundo; oculum rationis, quo videret animum et ea quæ sunt in animo; oculum contemplationis, quo videret Deum et ea quæ sunt in Deo.' Breviloq., cap. XII, T. V, p. 230. Hugo's doctrine is found in De Sacramentis, Lib. 1, p. 10, c. II, P. L. T. CLXXVI, cols. 327-331.

ad paradisum, quod ingrediamur per fidem, spem, et caritatem mediatoris Dei et hominum Jesu Christi, qui est tanquam lignum vitæ in medio paradisi.⁵³ The further commission of sin can only increase this helplessness. Not only must this be avoided, therefore, but there must also be a living, full use of the grace coming from God: a continuous self-training in concentrating the mind and heart upon the things pertaining to Him. Various exercises are suggested throughout the *Opuscula Mystica*, as useful to this end. They are chiefly prayer and meditation: prayer being based upon the need of Divine aid in so arduous a task: meditation, centring around the consciousness of the low estate of sinful nature. In the light of such meditation, the soul is to arouse the conscience and stimulate it into activity.⁵⁴

We cannot help noticing that wherever Bonaventure speaks of the 'Via Purgativa' the work contemplated is primarily internal. It is a directing of mind and heart into new channels. This is surely the very essence of asceticism when rightly understood. Yet he has realized that in the concrete life, an internal reordering of this nature can rarely be divorced from what is known as outward or bodily asceticism. We find him dwelling at length, and with manifest approval, upon those typical forms of outward penance, fasting, strict observance of Franciscan poverty and other bodily mortification, so highly valued, in mediaeval times especially. Such outward penances by no means exhaust his notion of asceticism; they remain throughout but as the auxiliaries to the obtaining of internal purity. It is a Manichaean tendency, he maintains, to give them a greater value than this.⁵⁵ His doctrine of bodily asceticism is condensed in his principle: 'Tanto magis relevatur spiritus et homo interior, quanto magis mortificatur homo exterior.'⁵⁶ a principle which in turn he explicitly derives from St. Paul's statement: 'Though the outward man is corrupted, yet the inner man is renewed day by day.'⁵⁷ External mortification of whatever kind it may be, is only a means to an internal renewal of spirit: never an end in itself, and never represented as such. It is intended to bring the body into full subjection to the spirit, and is but the external expression of the great mystical axiom, that he who would gain all must surrender all. There must be, even in those physically incapable of harsh

53. *Op. cit.*, cap. IV, n. 2, T. V, p. 306.

54. See *De Trip. Via*, passim. Prayer and Meditation are given their due place elsewhere.

55. See *Apol. Pauperum*, cap. V, n. 11, T. VIII, p. 260.

56. II S. D. XIX, a. 1, q. 1, n. 7, T. II, p. 459.

57. II Cor., 4, 16.

external penance, the total sacrifice, not only of the pleasures brought by the satisfaction of the baser instincts, but of the natural instincts too, where these clash with the demands of the higher life of the spirit. Into the asceticism of some, therefore, bodily penance must enter as an integral element. Elsewhere, when dealing with the 'Via Illuminativa,' we shall see how this discipline is not confined to the stage of spirituality with which we are dealing at present, but must be carried on throughout the whole life, since, in an imitation of Christ, the basis of the illuminative life, Our Lord, in His physical sufferings offers Himself as Guide.⁵⁸

In addition to this clear recognition of the fact that bodily austerities are but auxiliaries, we find him extremely moderate in his teaching with regard to them: at least when he is not writing polemically. Thus, the discretion and prudence of St. Francis is frequently commended, as for example when he writes: 'Licet autem pro viribus ad vitam austeram Fratres induceret, non tamen ei placebat distractionis severitas quæ pietatis non induit viscera, nec est discretionis sale condita.' To illustrate this discretion he narrates how on a certain night when one of the brethren, by reason of excessive abstinence, was so tormented with hunger that he could take no repose, Francis, perceiving the danger, called the brother, set bread before him, and, to remove any cause for confusion, began first to eat himself, and then gently bade him partake.⁵⁹ He hands down, too, Francis' own advice to follow discretion as the 'charioteer' of all the virtues: 'Docuit (Franciscus) insuper eos discretionem sequi ut aurigam virtutum, non eam, quam caro suadet, sed quam edocuit Christus, cuius sanctissimam vitam expressum constat esse perfectionis exemplar.'⁶⁰ His bodily asceticism can never be judged as leading to a stunting of the healthy human life, but rather to the freeing of the self from the shackles placed upon spiritual development, by the constant pandering to the cravings of the body.

This discretion is most noticeable when he is not writing apologetically, as was said: hence in his *Soliloquium* and *De Perfectione Vitæ*. In the *Apologia Pauperum* and the *De Perfectione Evangelica*, he does indeed appear rigid and stern, reminding the reader not so much of the gentle St. Francis of his *Legenda*, as of the Fathers of the Desert, whose example he often quotes. But he is writing both works with a brief, and not as director of souls. The

58. See Itin., Prologus, n. 3, T. V, p. 295.

59. *Legenda Sti. Francisci*, cap. V, n. 7, T. VIII, p. 518.

60. *Ibid.*

two works should be called commentaries on the spirituality of the Fathers of the Desert, and of St. Jerome, whose proneness to rigid austerity is marked, rather than the expression of his own doctrine. Augustine and Bernard are only quoted here, when they write enthusiastically on the benefits of self-denial. These works were written after the whole life of the Mendicant Orders had been attacked by Guillaume de St. Amour; it became his duty, first as a teacher in the University of Paris, and secondly as the Minister General of his Order, to defend its many forms of outward austerity: fasting, poverty, the wearing of sandals and of rough habits. The pivot on which both treatises turn is given, when he writes in the *Apologia Pauperum*: 'Quamquam certum sit omnibus in christiano exercitatis agone, abstinentiæ sanctæ rigorem pernecessarium esse his qui perfectionem adipisci et defensare conantur; quia tamen novæ adinventionis dogma perversum subintroductum est ad probandum contrarium, roboranda est huiusmodi veritas, tam per exempla, quam per documenta Sanctorum.'⁶¹ Not from works written with such a purpose could we reasonably expect to derive his representative doctrines. Their severity should in no way alter our previous estimation of his asceticism. Primarily internal, it is, in its external aspect, moderate and sane.

The end of all asceticism, he declares, is to obtain peace of mind and heart. Only in a state of true peace can the Revelation of Christ in its application to human life be grasped. Hence the 'Via Purgativa' is made to end in peace, 'via purgativa quæ in pacem ducit,'⁶² and the constant hope he keeps before the soul in its war upon sin, is the 'tranquillitas et serenitas ex qua oritur spiritualis iucunditas, qua adepta, promptus est animus ut sursum tendat.'⁶³

We cannot quote Bonaventure as having added anything to the ascetical doctrine of his day; neither, however, has he narrowed it down. The substance of his doctrine could be traced back to pre-Christian sources, apart, however, from what has been said regarding the grace necessary. Pre-Christian philosophers were almost unanimous in this, that the wise man must reconquer himself, and imitate the Divine Purity, before he can advance in the wisdom that ennobles him. One of the fundamental ideas of Patristic teaching is that the knowledge of God, not only that which is mystical, but any knowledge helpful to the

61. Op. cit., cap. V, n. 1, T. VIII, p. 257.

62. De Trip. Via, T. VIII, p. 3.

63. Ibid., p. 14.

spiritual life, is as a light which cannot penetrate through the darkness created by sin. Quotations in great number could be given to show this. Phrases similar to Origen's 'Cor enim contaminatum Deum contemplari non potest,'⁶⁴ are met with again and again in Bonaventurian literature. His ascetical doctrine might easily be reduced to a principle taken from the same source: 'Id quod Deum videt, est cor purum.'⁶⁵ He is so much more in sympathy with human failings than Pseudo-Dionysius, to give this mysterious person a special place in connexion with this point. As already remarked, the 'Via Purgativa' of the one, is, in appearance at least, mainly a philosophical process;⁶⁶ that of the other is definitely ethical.

In Augustine's *Confessions*, Bonaventure found a living example of a purgative process which was not only a gradual emerging from intellectual error, but also from moral perversity. Throughout his works, St. Augustine is no less practical than theoretical, with regard to the idea that the knowledge of God is as a light which cannot penetrate into the depths of the soul till sin is removed. The theory gives rise to an asceticism similar to Bonaventure's.⁶⁷ Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, Bernard's *Sermones*, and the many little works of the Victorines continue the tradition. Finally, in the life of his Father, St. Francis of Assisi, he has seen whither the 'Via Purgativa' will lead.

There is no need to prove that in the case of all the writers mentioned above, bodily mortification of various kinds has been admitted to be the element which gives life to an asceticism which is essentially inward. At least it is upon numerous quotations taken from their works, as well as upon the examples of the saints and the more severe doctrines of St. Jerome, that he constructs the above mentioned apologetic treatises in defense of the Mendicant Friars.

In conclusion: Bonaventure's asceticism, both internal and external, is guided by right reason, aided by the Revelation contained in Sacred Scripture, and by the traditions derived from

64. Auct., cit., *Contra Celsum*, Lib. VI, n. 69, P. G. T. XI, col. 1404.

65. *Ibid.*, Lib. VII, n. 33, col. 1467.

66. There is of course no intention here of maintaining that Pseudo-Dionysius was unaware of the need of the moral purifying process. There can be no doubt that his 'Via Purgativa,' consisting as it does in an attempt to expel from the mind all sense images, and to create that necessary void wherein grace could have free play, implied a prior effort to rid the soul of sin and its consequences.

67. See Op. S. Augustini: *Enarratio in Ps. XLI*, P. L. T. XXXVI, cols. 465-6; *De Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. 1, cap. X, T. XXXV, col. 23; *De Trinitate*, Lib. VIII, n. 5, T. XLIII, col. 950; In *Epist. Joannis*, Tract. VII, n. 10, T. XXXV, cols. 2033-4.

Patristic sources. It comprehends the true nature of man, his destiny and his obligations, viewing him as the creature elected to a supernatural state. It seeks to illumine man's mind and to strengthen his will by supernatural grace. Aware that he has to control his lower passions and to withstand many trials and temptations, it not only permits, but upon some it enjoins the practice of bodily penance. In a word, it is a method adopted in a sincere endeavour to observe, and to teach, the full law of God.



CHAPTER III.

The 'Via Illuminativa.'—This the title given to the imitation of Christ.—The title explained.—Bonaventure's doctrine in the major Theological and Scriptural works.—Same teaching in the *Opuscula*.—Christ the central Figure of his spiritual teaching.—Primary element in Bonaventure's 'Imitatio Christi' the renunciation symbolized by the Cross.—Christ in His Human Nature, the Exemplar of the full Christian life.—Love of Our Lord in His Humanity to be spiritualized by thought of His Divinity.—Basis of Bonaventure's 'Imitatio Christi' known to Origen, Augustine, Cassian, and Gregory.—Bonaventure immediately influenced by Anselm, Bernard, and by spiritual tradition set up by St. Francis of Assisi.—His doctrine on the 'Via Illuminativa' criticised.—A Christocentric spirituality. Absence of any Quietistic conceptions of the Humanity of Christ.—Element of renunciation in the 'Imitatio Christi' does not give rise to a one-sided Christianity.—Purpose of renunciation.—Attempted explanation of great efficacy attributed by the mystics to suffering.

From the first it was intended to develop this essay as far as possible, on lines running parallel with Bonaventure's conception of the development of the spiritual life itself, that is, with the 'scala perfectionis' found to be substantially the same in most mystical writings. The next point to be dealt with, therefore, should be the 'Via Illuminativa.' Here the difficulty, due to the fact, that, unlike the Victorines and the German mystics of the fourteenth century, he has left no synthetic treatise on Mystical Theology, is especially felt. There are but few references throughout his works, to the illuminative way, understood as a further stage of spiritual progress,¹ and even when they do occur, no attempt is made to give a full account of what he understands by the term, or to describe the spiritual experiences which objectively constitute the stage in question. This criticism extends even to the *De Triplici Via*, notwithstanding the fact that it deals professedly with the threefold way, and in spite of the further fact, that certain critics have praised it as a compendium of all that is best in Christian Mysticism.² On the present matter it is

1. This qualifying clause seems necessary, since frequently his system of knowledge, which is Augustinian in origin, is referred to as the 'Via Illuminativa,' for an exposition of which, see *De Humanae Cognitionis Ratione* . . . Sti. Bon., ed. studio et cura P. P. Coll. S. Bon. Quarrachi, 1883; also, E. Gilson, *Études de Philosophie Médiévale*, Strasbourg, 1921, pp. 77-95; idem, *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, Paris, 1924, chap. XII, *L'illumination intellectuelle*, pp. 326 sqq.

2. The Quarrachi Editors write: 'Pretium huius opusculi vix satis aestimari potest, cum totam theologicam mysticam in nucleo comprehendat et iure alterum quoddam Breviloquium, sed Theologiae non scholasticae, sed mysticae, vocari possit.' T. VIII, p. 10: an opinion endorsed by P. Robinson,

particularly disappointing, giving as it does, under the title 'Via Illuminativa,' merely a series of pious thoughts and spiritual injunctions obviously intended to serve as aids to meditation.

Bonaventure dwells briefly on the evils from which the soul has been more or less freed during the purgative life: the depths into which it would have fallen, but for the restraining influence of Christ: the benefits, natural and supernatural, supplied by an all-bountiful Providence. Christ in His Incarnation, has been given to man as a brother and friend; in His Passion and Death, He has become for him the sole means of salvation; in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, He gives Himself as a sustaining Food. Christ, moreover, has promised rewards to all who believe in Him and love Him: 'amotionem omnium malorum, associationem omnium Sanctorum, impletionem omnium desideriorum in seipso.'³

When, later on, in the same work, he returns to the subject of the illuminative way, we obtain a somewhat deeper insight into his mind. He treats, again in a summary fashion, however, of the 'gradus perveniendi ad splendorem veritatis,' indicating the term of the illuminative life. Beginning, as he also begins his beautiful treatise the *Lignum Vitæ*,⁴ by counselling a firm act of faith in Christ as the Son of God, the Supreme Principle of all things, and the Saviour of mankind, he continues by making the many circumstances of Our Lord's Passion and Death the subjects of further affective reflections. Yet it is here that he clearly marks the exact foundation of the second stage of the spiritual life, expressly declaring as he does that its end is attained 'per imitationem Christi.'⁵ The problem, therefore, before us, is to ascertain what he implies by an imitation of Christ: no easy one, when it is remembered that in his works are to be found treatises of a purely apologetic nature, concerned at times mainly with discovering in the Christ-life manifestation of particular ideals, to the exclusion of all else.

It is well to remember in connection with the foregoing pious reflections, that they are addressed to those who are making progress in virtue. Compunction of heart, freedom from all sins committed in the past, and from all attachment to the things which lead from God, are presupposed. The struggle is now still

O. F. M., art. St. Bonaventure, in Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. II, p. 652. 'What the 'Breviloquium' is to Scholasticism, the 'De Triplici Via' is to mysticism—a perfect compendium of all that is best in it.'

3. Op. cit., cap. 1, n. 14; T. VIII, pp. 6-7. Similar, almost identical thoughts find expression in Sermo X in Pent., T. IX, p. 346; Coll. in Hexaëm: col. XXII, n. 11, T. V, p. 439.

4. Op. cit., T. VIII, pp. 71 sqq.

5. De Triplici Via, cap. III, n. 3, T. VIII, pp. 12 sqq.

more inward than in the 'Via Purgativa' itself. Though Bonaventure makes no mention of such experiences described by St. John of the Cross, as the 'Dark Night of the Soul,' from all that must be said, it will be agreed, that he was quite aware of the trials to be undergone before there could be, normally speaking, any hope of mystic union with God. For, the Illuminative life is an imitation of Christ, and this includes for him, as an integral element, a life of the renunciation which has its symbol in the Cross.

If this imitation of Christ, primarily a devotional stage, be the fundamental idea of the 'Via Illuminativa,' how is the title to be accounted for? Bonaventure gives no direct explanation, but it may be suggested, that it is due to a fondness, which he shares with Hugo of St. Victor, for regarding light as the chief symbol of Christ's influence upon man, and the Sun as itself the symbol of the Word Incarnate, the Source of all Grace.⁶ Since Christ's influence, before it is effective, requires free acceptance on the part of a rational creature, the term 'imitatio,' implying as it does for Bonaventure, first of all an acceptance of the graces which flow from Christ, and secondly an effort to advance in virtue according to the example given in His earthly life, admirably expresses the religious experiences he has in mind as coming within the illuminative life.

His imitation of Our Lord furthermore deserves to be coupled with illumination, since it pre-supposes the knowledge by faith, that in the Gospel narrative, the various details of the Christ-life are recorded with direct reference to man's practical edification. This knowledge, we are constantly reminded, is a light from on high. Now, the main supposition is, that in the actual progressive attempt to re-live in our own way Christ's earthly life, by imitating as far as possible, the many virtues of which He is the Archetype, the soul is more and more enlightened, and prepared for the mystic union. With the restoration to holiness of life, through an imitation of Christ, the Pattern of all true holiness, there is a nearer approach to the state of original innocence: consequently, to the original facility in contemplation.

6. 'In allegoria . . . per solem intelligitur Christus: Oritur sol et occidit; oritur in natiuitate, occidit in morte; gyrat per meridiem, in ascensione; flectitur ad aquilonem in iudicio.' Coll. in Hex. col. XIII, n. 26, T. V, p. 391.

Compare with Hugo's In Eccles. Hom.: Hom. II, P. L. T. CLXXV, cols. 135-6. This acceptance of the Sun as the symbol of Christ, is of course common to writers of an earlier date, but Hugo and Bonaventure show a marked predilection for it. See Keble, J. On the Mysticism attributed to the early Fathers of the Church, Tract. LXXXIX, Oxford, 1868, pp. 159 sqq.

His *Opuscula*, giving as they do, but pious reflections for the purpose of meditation, it seems better to look for his ideas in the major theological works. These contain a Christological doctrine, possessing a warmth not usually associated with Scholastic treatises. Such warmth is undoubtedly due to the importance assumed by the teaching that Christ is given to us for our imitation. This is one of the two main themes of his Commentary on the third book of the Sentences, and it is well stressed in that compendium of mediaeval theology, the *Breviloquium*.

There is no need to point out, that with Bonaventure, the Divinity of Our Lord is an indisputable fact. Both works deal with all those questions concerning Him which absorbed the attention of his contemporary theological teachers: with the Hypostatic Union: Christ's special graces and prerogatives. He treats in due order of the grace proper to Christ as Head of the human race, of His knowledge, human life, virginal birth, baptism, doctrines, miracles, Passion and Death: in a word, with all those questions to which St. Anselm's epoch-making *Cur Deus Homo* gave rise. His Christology, as contained in the Commentary, and in the *Breviloquium*, aims at bringing home Christ's Personality to the imagination, intellect and will; all that Christ did and said is valued in the light of what He is believed to be. And He is believed to be the Divine Guide to Christian perfection.

In the introduction to his Commentary, he immediately shows the importance of following this Guide. This introduction is based upon the words of St. Paul: 'But God, (who is rich in mercy) for His exceeding charity wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together in Christ, (by whose grace you are saved.)'⁷ St. Paul in these words, he maintains, has given us a perfect sum of the economy of grace: 'in qua explicatur nostræ redemptionis sacramentum factum per Christum,'⁸ since the whole passage immediately recalls to the mind God, the Author of the Redemption, the fall of the human race in Adam, the Person of the Redeemer, and the means of salvation offered to man, through the grace of Christ.

He now stresses that idea which was to be the basis of the spirituality of future centuries: the imitation of Christ. He writes: 'Postremo secundum Christum nos (Deus) vivificavit, dum ad eius exemplum nos per viam vitæ direxit, iuxta illud Psalmi:

7. Eph. 2, 4-5.

8. S. Exord., T. III, p. 1.

Notas mihi fecisti vias vitæ. Notas nobis fecit vias vitæ, dum nobis fidem et spem et caritatem et dona gratiarum distribuit, et mandata adiunxit. . . . in quibus consistit via vitæ, per quam Christus nos docuit ambulare. Deus igitur nos vivificavit secundum Christum, quia ad vitam dirigit imitatores ipsius.' ⁹ Throughout the Commentary, there is a faithfulness to the same idea, of the life-giving power of an imitation of Christ; and later, rejecting the division of Christology made by Peter Lombard,¹⁰ he declares it is better to treat, firstly of the life which Christ has assumed for man's salvation, and secondly of the life He has made possible for us, through His grace.¹¹ The grace He communicates to us, enables us to find in Him, the Exemplar of all virtue: the 'Book' wherein we are to read, not only the things to be believed and hoped for, but also the way we are to tread.¹²

Repeatedly he tells us, that if we desire to respond faithfully to the Christian vocation, we must concentrate our minds upon the historical life of Christ, for in this shall we find certain indication of the road to be trodden. Thus: 'Si volumus ad ultimum prædestinationis terminum pervenire, necesse habemus in auctorem fidei et consummatorem aspicere, qui exemplum dedit, ut quemadmodum ipse fecit, et nos faciamus.'¹³ It is evident from the context of this passage, that he has in mind the earthly life of Christ, manifested in the Gospels. Also it is patent, that his 'Imitatio' has a deeper meaning than that ordinarily attached to it, inasmuch as it is rendered possible only through the grace coming from Our Lord,¹⁴ and connotes not a mere conformity in externals with the Christ-Pattern, but an acquiring of Christ's spirit through such external conformity. Beneath this same doctrine, is the conception of the 'Verbum Increatum et Incarnatum' as the Exemplar of the eternal and temporal worlds,¹⁵ and it is as Exemplar of the

9. Ibid., p. 2. The Scriptural reference is to Ps. 15, 10.

10. Ibid., p. 7.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid. This is also expressed elsewhere: 'Exemplar . . . directivum . . . respectu nostri, tam in credendis, quam in expectandis, quam etiam in operandis.' III S. D. XI, q. II, T. III, p. 246.

13. III S. D. XI, a. 1, q. II, T. III, p. 246. As illustrative of his power of working Scriptural quotations into his text, note how he here connects Heb. 12, 2, with John, 13, 15.

14. See Ibid., D. XXXV, a. I, q. II, p. 776. Knowledge of Christ as Exemplar of all virtue is here attributed to the gift of the Holy Ghost—'Scientia.'

15. This is brought out clearly in the *Apologia Pauperum* also. 'Intellegendum est igitur, quod cum Christus sit Verbum Increatum et Incarnatum, duplex est in eo ratio exemplaritatis, aeternae videlicet et temporalis; aeternae, inquam, secundum quod est splendor paternae gloriae et figura substantiae Dei Patris, atque candor lucis aeternae. . . . In quantum autem

temporal world, that is, in His Human Nature, that we are bound to imitate Christ. When, in the Commentary, he deals with the graces obtained for man by Christ, they are represented as so many means placed within our power to produce a likeness to Him.

It is of course, quite possible to conceive of an irrational and purely external imitation of Our Lord, which can be of no great spiritual worth. Needless to say, Bonaventure's doctrine never descends to so low a level. External conformity there must be, but it is given life by the hypothesis that the reward of a progressive attempt to imitate Christ, even in externals, is the correspondingly deeper realization of the inner meaning of it. This is a pre-supposition, which, if it is true, — and to prove whether it is true or not we can only appeal to personal experience — will explain the joyousness with which mystics like St. Francis of Assisi have so literally imitated one or more of the characteristics of Christ, be it His poverty, His self-abnegation, or His patient service of others. Unless we are willing to admit the truth of the Bonaventurian hypothesis, it becomes increasingly difficult to understand their conduct, the more it exhibits the almost passionate attempt to be other Christs, even outwardly. As it is, the nearer they are to the attainment of their end, so much the more do they tend to regard humility, patience, poverty, obedience to others, and suffering of all kinds, as having an almost objective value. These are valued because of their association with Christ: the very fact that Christ deigned to take them to Himself, proves their worth. After all, as Bonaventure admits in his *Apologia Pauperum*, it is not in man's nature to carry the Cross under all these forms, to love it, and to welcome it. It is not in man's nature, he repeatedly declares, to practice that humility, not merely the humility which is the natural characteristic of every sane man, but the humility regarded by St. Augustine¹⁶ and St. Bernard,¹⁷ as the very bed-rock of the Christian virtues. Nor is it in man's nature, to adopt that extreme form of poverty which he regards as the specific element in the Franciscan ideal.¹⁸ Christ in His Incarnation, is the mystic 'Door' leading to union

Verbum incarnatum in assumptae humanitatis conversatione, exemplar est et speculum omnium gratiarum, virtutum et meritorum, ad cuius exemplaris imitationem erigendum est tabernaculum militantis Ecclesiae.' Cap. II, n. 12, T. VIII, pp. 242-3.

16. See Auct. cit., Sermo LXIX, cap. 1, n. 2, P. L., T. XXXVIII, col. 441.

17. Auct. cit. In Cant. Cantic, Sermo XXXVI, P. L., T. CLXXXIII, cols. 967-971.

18. See Epist. Officiales, ep. II, T. VIII, p. 471; also Det. Quaest., q. 1. *ibid.*, p. 338.

with the Godhead. Enjoyment of the mystic knowledge and love of the Divinity is vouchsafed only to such as are made like to the Word Incarnate.

This same doctrine of the 'Imitatio Christi' is insisted upon, perhaps still more explicitly, in Bonaventure's Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke. It is not usual to find mystical doctrines built upon the Synoptics; but here, Luke is represented as showing even more clearly than the other Evangelists, that Christ is not only the Redeemer, in word, of the Christian life, and the Saviour of men through the Cross, but also the Saviour in the sense that He Himself has given to them, in His own actions, a visible example of the perfection within their own grasp. For, in the ninth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, it is recorded that after St. Peter's confession of faith, Our Lord foretold His Passion and Death, emphasizing the duty of self-abnegation, in those who wished to be saved. 'And He said to all: If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me.'¹⁹ In the same chapter, the Transfiguration is narrated. The Franciscan Doctor couples the two passages together, declaring that in the one, Our Lord is pointing out the nature of the path we are to tread, whilst in the other, He manifests the glories of the rewards which may, in a degree, be anticipated even in this life. These rewards await a genuine attempt to imitate Christ.²⁰

The way therefore, leading to God, implies principally two things: a knowledge of Christ by faith, and a perfect imitation of Him through the sharing in His Cross.²¹ By faith, the soul realizes all that Christ is to itself: that He is the supreme source of spiritual well-being. The more intense the faith, so much the more is His life revealed as being possible of imitation, by use of the means possessed by every soul acknowledging His dominion. The significance therefore of the definition he gives of saving faith, is now more fully understood: 'Fides est habitus quo intellectus noster captivatur in obsequium Christi.' For the intellect must needs be brought into subjection to the obedience of Christ, if it is to find in His lowliness and poverty and sufferings, sure means to be adopted in the attainment of fullest spiritual fellowship with

19. 9, 23.

20. See: Com. in Luc.: cap. IX, n. 29, T. VII, pp. 225. 'In parte ista exprimit viam proficiendi. Ad profectum autem isti duo considerata concurrunt, scilicet asperitas viae, in qua consistit meritum, et suavitas patriae, in qua consistit praeium.'

21. 'Via autem ad patriam potissime in duobus consistit, scilicet, in perfecta cognitione Christi per fidem, et perfecta imitatione per crucem.' Ibid.

Our Lord. In the light of such a faith in Him, every action of His earthly life recorded in the Gospels has a distinct value, as directive of man's spiritual affairs.

Bearing in mind these fundamental ideas, culled from his major Theological and Scriptural treatises, we may return to the *Opuscula*. Since they are for the most part addressed to Religious, to those bound by the three vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, it is well-nigh impossible to gather from them the material representing his full conception of the imitation of Christ to which all are called. Certainly he makes no attempt to impose upon all men precisely the same form of imitation. Thus, not all, in a desire to follow Our Lord, need adopt His counsels of perfection, upon which the religious vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience are founded. Even with those who have adopted the counsels, not all need regard the form of poverty peculiar to the Franciscan Order as the only true imitation of Christ's poverty. The Church Militant, being the body of Christ, must, as a whole, be assimilated to Him.²² Within it, must be found members who reproduce in their lives His Penance and sufferings: others who continue His life of service to mankind in general: still more, who continue His life of prayer and intercession. Every characteristic of the Christ-life must be reflected in the whole body of the faithful.

In general, it may be said of the *Opuscula*, that there is an immediately noticeable endeavour to make the Gospel narrative live vividly in the minds of his readers: not, however, by way of departing from the strict details contained therein, in favour of the imaginary and fanciful incidents beloved of mediæval spiritual writers.²³ All Christ's human experiences are treated of with loving thought, and with an eagerness to draw from them spiritual direction. His Birth, Infancy, Manhood, Life and Passion, are presented in the light of a faith which beholds Him calling men to a mode of life, by Himself first living that same life. Bonaventure's *Opuscula* present to us a Christ, truly God, and truly Man, voluntarily accepting all human weaknesses save those which are the direct consequences of sin, and

22. 'Ad culus exemplaris imitationem erigendum est tabernaculum militantis Ecclesiae.' T. VIII, p. 243, cf. *De Sex alis Seraphim*, *ibid.*, p. 137.

23. Examples abound in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* wrongly attributed to him. Contained in Editions of Bonaventure's works printed before that of the Quarrachi Fathers. Portions of these *Meditations*, which were popular over the whole of Europe, were rendered into English by Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace de Ingelby, Yorks, before 1410. See *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed by L. F. Powell, Oxford, MCMVII.

proving that nothing He Himself has done is too difficult for man.

Because of this, Bonaventure can spur the Poor Clares on to a generous love of Franciscan poverty. 'O Deus meus! quomodo possumus esse ita duri contra Christum, qui exivit de terra sua, et factus est pro nobis pauper, abjectus et despectus? Et nos nolumus pro eo relinquere unum miserum et foetidum mundum?' ²⁴

In a sense, we can re-live, inwardly, the special events recorded in the Gospel story. Of Christ's conception, birth, and infancy, he writes: 'Incidit menti meae secretius, quod anima Deo devota, benedictum Dei Patris Verbum et Filium unigenitum mediante gratia Spiritus sancti spiritualiter posset virtute Altissimi concipere, parere, nominare, cum beatis Magis quærere et adorare et demum Deo Patri secundum Legem Moysi in templo feliciter præsentare, et sic tanquam vera Christianæ religionis discipula quinque festa, quæ de puero Jesu agit Ecclesia, mente devota cum omni reverentia valeat celebrare.'²⁵ He continues his work by making these events the basis of his doctrine.

In the *Vitis Mystica*, after showing how all the events of the Christ-life are recorded for man's spiritual benefit, he represents Christ as addressing the devout soul thus:- 'Conformaveram te imagini Deitatis meæ, cum te crearem; conformatus sum imagini humanitatis tuæ, ut te reformarem. Tu ergo, qui non retinuisti formam Deitatis meæ tibi impressam in tua formatione, retine saltem formam humanitatis tuæ mihi impressam in tua recreatione; si non retines, qualem te creaveram, retine saltem qualem te recreaveram; si non capis, quantas virtutes tibi dederim te creando, capis saltem, quantas in humanitate tua miserias propter te acceperim te recreando, et ad potiores quam ad quas te formaveram delicias reformando. Nam propterea homo visibilis factus sum, ut a te visus amarer; qui in Deitate mea invisus et invisibilis quodam modo non amabar. Da ergo præmium incarnatione meæ et passioni te, pro quo incarnatus simul sum et passus. Dedi me tibi, da te mihi.'²⁶ These quotations, the length of which, it is hoped, will be pardoned, will sufficiently prove that the central Figure of Bonaventure's spiritual doctrine, is our Divine Lord.

A judgment often passed on Mediaeval Mysticism in general, is that it can view no incident in Christ's life, except His actual

24. De Perfect. Vitae, cap. III, n. 8, T. VIII, p. 114.

25. De Quinque Festiv.: Pueri Jesu, Prologus, T. VIII, p. 88.

26. Op. cit., cap. XXIV, n. 3, T. VIII, p. 189.

sufferings, as a subject of meditation, or as an incentive to Christian practice: that it gives rise to a one-sided Christianity, and fails to realize that the ordinary life of man, which must needs be lived in such a way that a literal imitation of those sufferings is impossible, can also find its ennoblement in the very fact of the Incarnation. How far is this true of Bonaventure?

It is unquestionable, that the aspect of the human life of Our Lord which he emphasises, is that which is centralized in His absolute renunciation. Most often it is to Christ's self-denial, culminating in His Passion and Death that he makes appeal. The whole of Our Lord's earthly life presents itself to him as leading up to the Cross, so that he can write: 'Passionem vero, non illum unum diem appellamus, quo mortuus fuit, sed totam vitam illius; tota enim vita Christi exemplum fuit et martyrium';²⁷ and elsewhere: 'A prima enim die nativitatis suæ usque ad ultimum diem mortis semper fuit in passionibus et doloribus.'²⁸ Moreover, he dwells upon the idea that in a sinful world, an experience of Christianity transcending the Cross, is never granted. His main object throughout the *Opuscula* is, therefore, to arouse a deep practical love of Christ Crucified. This gives rise to an asceticism, moulded and formed by the Cross, and it is the asceticism of Christ's Cross, more than the asceticism of His service of others, which becomes in his Mysticism the sure road to Contemplation.²⁹ The love which makes the saint, is the practical love of Christ Crucified, which seeks to find expression in suffering and self-abnegation.³⁰

So persuaded is he of the power of this form of devotion, that a whole chapter of the *De Triplici Via* is employed in showing how meditation on the Cross leads up to the 'splendor veritatis,' the privilege of the contemplative state.³¹ It is, moreover, when treating of the Passion of Our Lord, that he exhibits the emotionalism of a St. Bernard, or a St. Francis. The following passage is typical: 'Accede ergo tu, O famula, pedibus affectionum tuarum ad Jesum vulneratum, ad Jesum spinis coronatum, ad Jesum patibulo crucis affixum, et cum beato Thoma Apostolo non solum intueri in manibus eius fixuram clavorum, . . . non solum mitte manum tuam in latus eius, sed totaliter per ostium lateris ingredere usque

27. *Vitis Mystica*, cap. V, n. 2, T. VIII, p. 169.

28. *De Perf. Vitae*, cap. VI, n. 8, T. VIII, p. 122.

29. See *Sermo II*, *Feria Sexta in Parasceve*, T. IX, pp. 262-7.

30. See *De regimine animae*, T. VIII, p. 130, and compare *De Perf. Vitae ad Sorores*, 'De passionis Christi memoria,' cap. VI, T. VIII, pp. 120-124, quoted *infra*.

31. 'De septem gradibus, quibus pervenitur ad splendorem veritatis,' *Op. cit.*, T. VIII, pp. 12-14.

ad cor ipsius Jesu, ibique ardentissimo Crucifixi amore in Christum transformata, clavis divini timoris confixa, lancea præcordialis dilectionis transfixa, gladio intimæ compassionis transverberata, nihil aliud quæras, nihil aliud desideres, in nullo alio velis consolari, quam ut cum Christo tu possis in cruce mori. Et tunc cum Paulo Apostolo exclames et dicas: Christo crucifixus sum cruci. Vivo iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus.³²

Bonaventure's devotion to Christ, then, is unquestionably centralized in His Passion and sufferings. And it means for him all that it meant for the mediaeval mind in general — the voluntary undertaking of internal and external mortification, not indeed for its own sake, but because of its association with Christ. Participation in His sufferings, effects a union between Him and the soul: 'Verus Dei cultor Christique discipulus,' he writes, 'qui Salvatori omnium pro se crucifixo perfecte configurari desiderat, ad hoc potissimum attento mentis conatu debet intendere, ut Christi Jesu crucem circumferat iugiter tam mente quam carne, quatenus præfatum Apostoli verbum (Christo crucifixus sum cruci) veraciter valeat in semetipso sentire. Porro huiusmodi affectum et sensum is duntaxat apud se vivaciter experiri meretur, qui, dominicæ passionis non immemor nec ingratus, laborem et dolorem amoremque crucifixi Jesu tanta memoriæ vivacitate, tanto intellectus acumine, tanta voluntatis caritate considerat, quod veraciter illud sponsæ proferre potest eloquium: Fasciculus myrrhæ dilectus meus mihi, inter ubera mea commorabitur.'³³

The foregoing may be displeasing to those who would prefer to see the Christ 'going about doing good and spending Himself in the service of others,' put to the forefront as an object of imitation. If this aspect of Christ's life were entirely neglected, an adverse criticism, would, we venture to think, be perfectly justified. Elsewhere we deal with the spiritual worth of the renunciation based upon the Cross, in relation to the Christian activity which is, or should be, based in turn upon the labours of Our Lord. For the present, it suffices to instance Bonaventure's conception of the ideal Franciscan life, to show that his Christianity is not wholly one-sided. The perfect Friar can only fulfil his vocation by equally emphasising in his

32. De Perf. Vitae, cap. VI, n. 2, T. VIII, p. 120. The words of St. Paul are from Gal. 2, 19-20.

33. Lignum Vitae, Prologus, T. VIII, p. 68. The Scriptural reference is to Canticles, 1, 12.

personal imitation of Our Lord both characteristics of the supreme Archetype.³⁴

A further question to be asked is this: is it in His Divinity or in His Humanity that Our Lord is the central Figure of Bonaventure's spirituality? We ask this question in view of the oft-repeated assertion, that with mystical writers there is a great temptation to forget altogether the Humanity of Christ, or to pass beyond it as quickly as possible, to the 'vacant ground of the undifferentiated Godhead.' The very quotations already given, to show how the great lesson of renunciation is to be learnt in Christ, should suffice to answer this question. Of course, the desired end of this love of Christ suffering in His human nature, is always the attainment of union with His hidden Divinity. So persuaded is Bonaventure that faithfulness to meditation upon the Humanity will ultimately lead to mystic union, that he uses the idea to illustrate other facts: 'Sicut in Christum pie intendentibus aspectus carnis, qui patebat, via erat ad agnitionem Divinitatis, quæ latebat; sic ad intelligendam divinæ sapientiæ veritatem ænigmaticis ac mysticis figuris intelligentiæ rationalis manuducitur oculus.'³⁵ Nor is there any indication in his writings of a doctrine that the time may come in the spiritual life when meditation upon the Humanity can be a stumbling-block to further development. One has only to study the *Itinerarium* to arrive at this conclusion. Here the mystical union itself is continually mentioned in direct conjunction with devotion to the Crucified: 'Via autem non est nisi per ardentissimum amorem Crucifixi' is met with again and again.³⁶ The following is so precise that, in spite of its length, it may be quoted in full. He has been discoursing 'de excessu mentali et mystico, in quo requies datur intellectui, affectu totaliter in Deum per excessum transeunte,'³⁷ that is, of the mystical experience, and he writes: 'Cum tandem in sexto gradu ad hoc pervenerit, ut speculetur in principio primo et summo et mediatore Dei et hominum, Jesu Christo, ea quorum similia in creaturis nullatenus reperiri possunt, et quæ omnem perspicacitatem humani intellectus excedunt: restat, ut hæc speculando transcendat et transeat non solum mundum istum sensibilem, verum etiam semetipsam: in quo transitu Christus est via et ostium, Christus est

34. *Apologia Pauperum*, T. VIII, pp. 234-330; also *Determinationes Quaest. ibid.*, pp. 337-374; and *Quare Fratres Minores praedicant*, *ibid.*, pp. 375-385.

35. *Tractatus de Plantat. Parad.*, n. 1, T. V, pp. 574-5.

36. *Op. cit.*, Prologus, n. 3, p. 295; compare: cap. II, n. 13, p. 303; cap. IV, n. 2-5, pp. 306-7; cap. VI, n. 4-7, pp. 311-12; cap. VII, n. 4, n. 6, pp. 312-13. All in T. V.

37. The title of his last chapter in the *Itinerarium*, T. V.

scala et vehiculum tanquam propitiatorium super arcam Dei collocatum et sacramentum a sæculis absconditum. Ad quod propitiatorium qui aspicit plena conversione vultus, aspiciendo eum in cruce suspensum, per fidem, spem et caritatem, devotionem, admirationem, exultationem, appretiationem, laudem et iubilationem; pascha, hoc est transitum, cum eo facit, ut per virgam crucis transeat mare rubrum, ab Aegypto intrans desertum, ubi gustet manna absconditum, et cum Christo requiescat in tumulto quasi exterius mortuus, sentiens tamen, quantum possibile est secundum statum viæ, quod in cruce dictum est latroni cohærenti Christo: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.³⁸

It would be difficult to find in any other mystical treatise a passage dealing with an equally lofty experience of communion with the Godhead, and yet showing forth more explicitly still the fundamental tenet of Christianity, namely, that Christ in His two-fold Nature is the sole foundation upon which any true form of spirituality may be built. In view of it, we may declare with confidence that though ultimate mystical attainment must be union with the Divinity, Bonaventure makes no attempt to get beyond the manifestation of the Divinity in the concrete fact of the Incarnation. Christ in His human nature, is as much his Guide to the fulness of the Christian life, as He was to His Apostles while still on earth. To that same Evangelical Figure he looks for guidance, whether it be with regard to ordinary details of everyday Christian life, or to the fulfilment of the highest aspirations of the Christian soul.

But whilst all this is undoubtedly true, there is an insistence, that if the love of Our Lord in His human nature is to lead to any deeper experience of religion, it must be spiritualized by the ever present thought of His Divinity. Upon this, his friend Saint Thomas is equally explicit.³⁹ If it be not spiritualized in this way, it will degenerate into a profitless emotionalism; of this he is fully persuaded. History testifies to the truth of his conviction, for where what St. Bernard called the 'amor carnalis' has not been regarded as a step to a higher love of Christ, the literary

38. *Ibid.*, n. 1—n. 2.

39. Auct. cit. 'Corporalis praesentia Christi in duobus poterat esse nociva. Primo, quantum ad fidem: quia videntes Eum in forma in qua erat minor Patre, non ita de facili crederent Eum aequalem Patri, ut dicit glossa super Joannem. Secundo, quantum ad dilectionem, quia Eum non solum spiritualiter, sed etiam carnaliter diligeremus, conversantes cum Ipso corporaliter, et hoc est de imperfectione dilectionis.' Comm. Sent. Lib. III, D. XXII, q. 3, a. 1, ad. Vum. Divi Thomae Scriptum in Tertium et Quartum sententiarum. Venetis, MDXCIII, f. 77b. The only edition available.

results have been justly condemned as the outpourings of misguided imagination.⁴⁰ Bonaventure takes the opportunity to emphasise the need of thus spiritualizing the devotion to Christ's Humanity, when he explains why Our Lord, after His Resurrection appeared to Mary Magdalen, yet did not permit her to touch Him: 'Maria ante passionem Christum Deum esse credebatur, tamen vehementissime eum in carne amabat; et ideo in passione tantum dolorem concepit, ut jam absorpta non nisi de humanitate et morte cogitaret, et ideo non recoleret opera Maiestatis, sed pœnas humanitatis.'⁴¹ Between the principle underlying the above explanation of Our Lord's conduct, and the Quietistic doctrine that all thought of His Humanity is a barrier to mystical progress, there is no conceivable relation. The two ideas are poles asunder.

The foregoing represents an attempt to bring to light the chief elements worthy of note in connection with the Franciscan's 'Via Illuminativa.' On the authority of the references found scattered throughout his works, this stage of the spiritual life has been regarded as a genuine endeavour to imitate Jesus Christ in His Humanity, as the supreme example of all human perfection. According to that example is every life to be shaped in some form or other. The measure of grace and variety of vocation will determine the precise characteristics to be especially imitated. But for all who are striving after mystical union with the Divinity, there must be imitation of the Christ-life. In the affective piety to which this doctrine gives rise, the chief element is an ardent love of the suffering Redeemer: a love which seeks to find expression in voluntary suffering in union with Him: a love never wholly absorbed in His Humanity, but formed, purified, and balanced by the faith which finds in Him, at once, true Divinity and true Humanity.

All this, however, is purely impersonal; it is purely dogmatic. But it is necessarily so. For we should look in vain for the expression of any subjective states which would enable us to attempt a constructive criticism from this point of view. We repeat: Bonaventure is the spiritual geographer, and this not in the sense that he explains the inward experiences we are to expect in the path to God, but in the sense that he gives us the means, and

40. A typical example of what we mean will be found in the works of Maria D'Agreda (b. 1602, d. 1665), a Franciscan nun. Authoress of *La mística ciudad de Dios, historia divina de la Virgen Madre de Dios*, Madrid, 1670. Her so-called 'revelations' concerning Christ, are obviously the result of dwelling upon Christ's sacred humanity, to the entire exclusion, at least in practice, of any thought of His Divinity.

41. Comment. in Joan., cap. XX, n. 34, T. VI, p. 511.

points out the way, which, he is convinced, will lead to an enlightenment of the understanding, and an inflaming of the will, in preparation for the fullest Christian life known to the great mystics. The practical utility of his doctrine on the 'Via Illuminativa' can only be judged by a personal application of it. From the various points of view naturally suggesting themselves, we elsewhere criticise the teaching. Meanwhile Bonaventure's principal sources may be briefly indicated.

These, it is suggested, are the Gospels, the writings of St. Anselm and St. Bernard, and the characteristically Franciscan traditions begun by the 'Poverello.' Yet, in suggesting that it is to these that he is indebted for his conception and presentation of the mystical value of this practical devotion to Christ, we do not wish to rule out the earlier Fathers and spiritual writers. Both in the dogmatic and in the scriptural treatises already mentioned, and in the *Opuscula*, he constantly appeals to the earlier writers for confirmation. The *Soliloquium* is but a mosaic of Patristic texts.

Among the earlier Fathers whom he quotes most frequently, it has been noticed that he favours Origen, Augustine, Cassian and Gregory, all of whom seem to be well acquainted with the form of spirituality, centred in the Christ-life, which was to characterize the mediaeval writings in general. Thus, it is undoubtedly true that for Origen, the earthly career of our Lord is the classic exhibition of human possibilities, as it is for Bonaventure. We find Origen stressing the spiritual value of entering by way of imitation into the life which Christ taught by word and deed, in order to attain to communion with the Divinity. Bonaventure only quotes, in their Latin form of course, Origen's Scriptural Commentaries. Though the following is taken from his apologetic treatise *Contra Celsum*, we do not for a moment venture to assert that the Franciscan was acquainted with this work. The passage in question has been chosen, as best illustrating the spirit underlying Origen's Commentaries. 'Voluit enim Jesus ipse et ejus discipuli, ut qui accedebant, non ita ejus divinitati et miraculis haberent fidem, ac si non consociasset sibi naturam humanam, et carnem, quæ in hominibus concupiscit adversus spiritum, non suscepisset. Noverant enim conferre ad fidelium salutem, si, ut res diviniore, sic etiam crederent virtutem se ad humanam naturam humanasque miseras demisisse, et animam humanumque corpus assumpsisse. Quippe qui hinc discunt ab illo incepisse divinæ naturæ cum humana conjunctionem; ut

humana sua cum re diviniori societate fieret divina non in solo Jesu, sed et in omnibus, qui cum fide vitam amplectuntur quam Jesus edocuit, et quæ ad amicitiam Dei ejusque communionem perducit quicumque suos mores ex Jesu præceptis composuerint.⁴² Here at least the purpose of all imitation of Christ is seen. However, Bonaventure has not pushed to so extreme a limit the distinction which Origen makes between those who know Christ according to the flesh, that is, in His sufferings and death, and the higher class, the 'Gnostici' who, on the basis of this knowledge, can rise to the spiritual Essence of the Word. In Origen's distinction, the imperfection of devotion to the Humanity of Christ, as contrasted with the mystical union itself, which must be a union between the soul and the Divinity, is vividly shown forth. Bonaventure, convinced as he is of the power of devotion to Christ's humanity, when duly spiritualized by the thought of the Divinity to which it is conjoined, manifests no keen desire to emphasise the distinction.

St. Augustine, too, recognizes the basis of Bonaventure's 'Imitatio Christi': that the temporal works of the Lord were both performed, and written in the Gospels, for man's practical edification. The following, whilst showing no doubt his own preference for the spirituality of St. John, nevertheless marks the twofold method of viewing Our Lord's life on earth: "Tres tamen isti Evangelistæ in his rebus maxime diversati sunt; quas Christus per humanam carnem temporaliter gessit: porro autem Joannes ipsam maxime divinitatem Domini, qua Patri est æqualis, intendit, eamque præcipue suo Evangelio, quantum inter homines sufficere credidit, commendare curavit. Itaque longe a tribus istis superius fertur, ita ut hos videas quodammodo in terra cum Christo homine conversari; illum autem transcendisse nebulam, qua tegitur omnis terra, et pervenisse ad liquidum cælum, unde acie mentis acutissima atque firmissima videret, in principio Verbum Deum apud Deum, per quem facta sunt omnia; et ipsum agnosceret carnem factum ut habitaret in nobis."⁴³ Elsewhere, he can build up a spiritual doctrine upon the basis supplied by the Synoptics, finding in Our Lord's earthly life the pattern to which we must conform, if we hope for a higher Christian experience.⁴⁴ All this supposes a love of Christ in His Human Nature, but again

42. *Contra Celsum*, Lib. III, P. G., T. XI, col. 955.

43. *De Consensu Evangel.*, Lib. I, cap. IV, n. 7, P. L., T. XXXIV, col. 1045.

44. See *De Utilitate Cred.*, cap. XV, P. L., T. XLII, cols. 88-89. 'Sa-plentia Dei incarnata, via ad religionem commodissima.'

we find an insistence that such love must be in some way spiritualized. St. Augustine emphasizes this when commenting upon the words of Our Lord, as narrated by St. John: 'But I tell you the truth: it is expedient to you that I go. If I do not go, the Paraclete will not come to you.'⁴⁵ Christ was unwilling, declares the great Western Doctor, that His disciples should merely love Him with a carnal love; such carnal love could not make them fit to receive the Holy Ghost.⁴⁶

For Cassian in his Institutes and Conferences, written for monks, Christ in His human life is the Exemplar all virtues,⁴⁷ and Gregory can base much of his teaching upon the example given 'humano modo' by Him.⁴⁸ Yet it seems safe to assert that the spirituality of all these lacks the warmth found in Bonaventure's doctrine. They are not, it is quite true, ignorant of the piety, devotion, and prayer, centred in Our Lord's Humanity, which he places so much to the forefront, but with them, the intellectual, as opposed to the affective element, prevails. In St. Anselm we find the first worthy representation of Mediaeval piety.

His importance in the history of the development of spirituality has not yet been fully realized, but few attempts having been made to coördinate his doctrine, or to treat it from a critical point of view.⁴⁹ In his Meditations he has shown how his systematic teaching on Christ's Atonement, far from being barren, may become the fruitful source of confidence and love: that the union between intellectual speculation and affective piety, for which he had prayed, is possible.⁵⁰ The speculative thought contained in his major works, inspires him with a deep practical love of Christ in His Human Nature: 'Certe nescio, quia nec plene comprehendere valeo, unde hoc est quod longe dulcior es in corde

45. John, 16, 7.

46. 'Expedit vobis ut haec forma servi auferatur a vobis: caro quidem factum Verbum habito in vobis; sed nolo me carnaliter adhuc diligatis, et isto lacte contenti semper infantes esse capiat' . . . 'si carni carnaliter haeseritis, capaces Spiritus non eritis.' Tract. XCIV, in Joan. Evangel., cap. XVI, n. 4, P. L., T. XXXV, col. 1869.

47. See especially Collatio X, cap. VI, P. L., T. XLIX, cols. 826-7.

48. The following is characteristic:—'Hinc est quod humani generis Redemptor per diem miracula in urbibus exhibet, et ad orationis studium in monte pernoctat, ut, perfectis videlicet praedicatoribus innuat quatenus nec activam amore speculationis funditus deserant, nec contemplationis gaudia penitus operationis nimietate contemnant; sed quieti contemplantes sorbeant, quod occupati erga proximos loquentes refundant.' Moral. in Job, Lib. VI, cap. XXXVII, P. L., T. LXXV, col. 760.

49. It is, however, assigned an important place in *La Spiritualité Chrétienne*, T. II, (Le Moyen Age), par P. Pourrat, 1921. See pp. 19-28; cf. *The Devotions of Saint Anselm*, ed. by C. C. J. Webb, London, 1903. The Introduction deals with Anselm's spirituality.

50. 'Fac, precor, Domine, me gustare per amorem, quod gusto per cognitionem; sentiam per affectum quod sentio per intellectum.' Medit. XI, P. L., T. CLVIII, col. 769.

diligentis te, in eo quod caro es, quam in eo quod Verbum; dulcior in eo quod humilis, quam in eo quod sublimis. Siquidem longe dulcius est memoriæ diligentis te videre te ex matre Virgine in tempore natum quam in splendoribus ante luciferum a Patre genitum, temetipsum exinanivisse, servique formam accepisse quam in forma Dei æqualem te Deo esse.⁵¹ St. Augustine could not have been the author of this, which demonstrates so admirably the trend of mediaeval piety. Anselm writes as emotionally on the Passion and Death of Christ, albeit his emotion is always kept within reasonable bounds by clear thinking, as in any of the later mediaeval writers.⁵² Coming as it does from the author of the *Cur Deus Homo*, and the *Proslogion*, his affective piety, centred on the figure of Christ, makes a greater appeal than that of St. Bernard, who did not particularly favour speculative thought. It is in this aspect that he is a forerunner of Bonaventure, who, in his own great theological works, and in the *Opuscula*, makes the same attempt to combine intellectual activity with Christian fervour.⁵³ The end of Anselm's fervent devotion is the union of the soul with God, through an imitation of the virtues exhibited in the life of Christ.

Of St. Bernard it has been written: 'His great achievement was to recall devout and loving contemplation to the image of the crucified Christ, and to found that worship of our Saviour as the 'Bridegroom of the Soul' which in the next centuries inspired so much fervid devotion and lyrical sacred poetry.⁵⁴ Bernard in this sphere seems to have been anticipated in no little degree by Anselm. He condenses the whole mediaeval theme into few words when he writes: 'Vita Christi, vivendi mihi regula extitit: mors, a morte redemptio. Illa vitam instruxit, mortem ista destruxit.'⁵⁵ Consequently, his teaching on mortification, humility, meditation, and prayer, is everywhere explained in direct reference to the actions of Christ, narrated in the Gospels. He can dwell lovingly upon the mysteries of Our Lord's life, His infancy,⁵⁶ His thirty-three years of retirement,⁵⁷ His Passion and death,⁵⁸ having

51. Medit. XII, *ibid.*, col. 770.

52. See Med. de Passione Christi, *ibid.*, col. 761.

53. Indeed, we think that the too frequent use of the term 'affective' in connection with St. Bonaventure is misleading. Many think that it means he is emotional and does not possess the same intellectual basis as St. Thomas, which, of course, is absurd.

54. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 140, note 2.

55. Lib. ad milites templi, cap. XI, P. L., T. CLXXXII, col. 932; compare Sermo VI, T. CLXXXIII, col. 803.

56. See Sermones in Vigil. Nativit. Domini, P. L., T. CLXXXIII, cols. 87-116.

57. See Sermones in Epiphan., *ibid.*, cols. 141-152.

58. See Sermo in Feria IVa Hebdom. Sanct., *ibid.*, cols. 263-270.

always in mind the idea that the Humanity of Christ draws men to love Him, till their love is purged of all carnality, and exalted to a perfect love of God. For Bernard has the clear cut distinction between the 'amor carnalis Christi,' and the 'amor spiritualis,' the one having as its object Christ in His human activity, which love, he surmises, motivated the Apostles to leave all things, and to follow Him: the other, rising above Christ in His Humanity, to that more spiritual love demanded by Christ Himself, when He said: 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.' But Bernard insists that the 'amor carnalis' has its worth; it is indeed in itself a great gift. Only through the attainment of the higher 'amor spiritualis,' however, will the soul enter into mystical contemplation.⁵⁹ Bonaventure has carried on this same doctrine, which, in Bernard's sermons on the *Canticle of Canticles*, finds its highest mystical expression. The same Christ-love permeates subsequent devotional literature, and constitutes the chief characteristic of the spirituality of St. Francis.

In the career of Francis which he had studied so carefully before writing his own *Legenda*, Bonaventure discovered a concrete example of the mystical heights to which this same devotion, encouraged by Anselm and Bernard, could lead. The basic principle of that career was undeniably the realization of the spiritual worth of true imitation of Christ. Sufficient has been written to show how literal and sincere was his imitation of Our Lord's Life. So literal was it, that Francis, who, to himself, seemed ever the 'poor little man,' became to his immediate followers, and to the first generation of Friars, nothing less than a new manifestation of the spirit of Christ. His literal imitation of Christ is the first note in his life that strikes the anonymous author of the *Fioretti*: 'In prima è da considerare che il glorioso san Francesco in tutti gli atti della vita sua fu conforme a Cristo benedetto.'⁶⁰ This

59. All this is explained in Sermo XX in Cant., n. 6—n. 8, P. L., T. CLXXXIII, cols. 870-I. 'Et nota amorem cordis quodam modo esse carnalem, quod magis erga carnem Christi, et quae in carne Christus gessit vel iussit, cor humanum afficiat. . . . Astat oranti Homini Dei sacra imago, aut nascentis, aut lactentis, aut docentis, aut morientis, aut resurgentis, aut ascendentis; et quidquid tale occurrerit, vel stringat necesse est animum in amorem virtutum vel carnis exturbet vitia, fuget illecebras, desideria sedet. Ego hanc arbitror praecipuam invisibili Deo fuisse causam, quod voluit in carne videri, et cum hominibus homo conversari, ut carnalium videlicet, qui nisi carnaliter amari non poterant, cunctas primo ad suae carnis salutarem amorem affectiones retraheret, atque ita gradatim ad amorem perduceret spiritualem. . . . Licet vero donum, et magnum donum Spiritus sit istiusmodi erga carnem Christi devotio; carnalem tamen dixerim hunc amorem, illius utique amoris respectu, quo non tam Verbum caro jam sapit, quam Verbum Sapientia, Verbum Iustitia, Verbum veritas, Verbum sanctitas, pietas, virtus; et si quid aliud quod sit, huiusmodi dici potest.'

60. Op. cit., ed. Leopoldo Amonì, Roma, 1889, cap. 1, p. 1. The Latin is not to hand at the moment of writing,

conformity was based upon the knowledge, acquired by faith, that Christ, when He took upon Himself the burdens of our fallen humanity, became the moulding form of our earthly life, in the striving to regain true relationship with God. For Francis, the very fact that Our Lord in His appearance upon the earth had taken to Himself all those hardships to which the human race is heir, had endowed these with a spiritual significance and power; through Christ's adoption of them, they became in a sense the revealed means whereby men may produce within themselves the image which all must bear, who, through Him, seek communion with the Divinity.⁶¹ The only illumination he claimed was the enlightenment which comes from a practical knowledge of Christ: practical, in that it was acquired through an imitation of His life.

An incident occurred towards the end of his career, affording him an opportunity of indicating the devotion which had absorbed him for years, and which had made him the mystic he is acknowledged on all hands to be. To console him in his sufferings, one of the brethren suggested that he should have recourse to the Scriptures, knowing the strength and comfort he usually derived from them. Francis answered with wonted simplicity, that it was indeed good to read the Scriptures, and to seek God therein, but that he himself had mastered so much of them, that he had ample store for meditation. Then he added, as if it were final and supreme for him, that he needed no more, for he *knew* Christ, the Poor Man Crucified.⁶² For, to know Christ in this sense, it did not suffice, as he expressly states, to read the Scriptures, to find therein a mode of life taught by Him, and to preach that life to others by word of mouth. They alone have the true spirit of the Scriptures, and know Our Lord, who interpret 'materially' every text they find,

61. Thus Celano writes of him: 'Summa eius intentio, praecipuum desiderium, supremumque propositum eius erat sanctum evangelium in omnibus et per omnia observare, ac perfecte omni vigilantia, omni studio, toto desiderio mentis, toto cordis fervore, domini nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam sequi et vestigia imitari. Recordabatur assidua meditatione verborum eius, et sagacissima consideratione ipsius opera recolebat. Praecipue incarnationis humilitas et charitas passionis ita eius memoriam occupabant ut vix vellet aliud cogitare.' *Legenda Prima*, cap. XXX, (ed. Alencon), p. 85. In this same chapter Celano shows that Francis' devotion to the Crib was but the outcome of his ruling form of spirituality.

62. 'Infirmanti sibi et undique pervaso doloribus dixit aliquando socius eius: Pater, semper ad scripturas confugium habuisti, semper illae tibi dolorum praebuere remedia. Fac, oro, et nunc tibi de prophetis aliquid legi; fortassis exsultabit spiritus tuus in Domino. Cui sanctus: Bonum est scripturae testimonia legere, bonum est dominum Deum nostrum in ipsis exquirere; mihi vero tantum iam ipse de scripturis adeg, quod meditati et revolventi satissimum est. Non pluribus indigeo, fili. Scio Christum pauperem crucifixum.' *Legenda Secunda*, cap. LXXI, *ibid.*, p. 249.

and by word and example 'give them back to God, from Whom all is good.'⁶³

And we need have no hesitation in saying what was the element predominating in his imitation of Christ's life; it was assuredly the Cross, for him, as for Bonaventure, the symbol at once of the renunciation demanded of all who wish to follow Christ fully, and of the promise of everlasting life, contained in His Revelation. 'Let us all,' he writes, 'consider the Good Shepherd, Who, to save His sheep, bore the sufferings of the Cross. The sheep of the Lord followed Him in tribulation and persecution and shame, in hunger and thirst, in infirmity and temptations and in all other ways; and for these things they have received everlasting life from the Lord.'⁶⁴ Hence the passionate devotion to the sufferings of Christ witnessed to, in his *Office of the Passion of the Lord*.⁶⁵ This, composed as it is, of a combination of Scriptural texts, gives evidence, not only of his ardent devotion to the Crucified, but also of the method and source of his prayer. The Seraphic Doctor reflects the same devotion, and an approval of a like method, in his own *Officium de Passione Domini*.⁶⁶

Finally, in support of our contention that Bonaventure both realized the extent and warmly approved of the nature, of Francis's imitation of the Christ-life: that he was moreover influenced by that same example, in the exposition of his own doctrine, we can make appeal to his writings, wherein all that Francis did and said with regard to man's duty of following Christ is accepted as final. The most enthusiastic 'Spiritual', anxious to find in the 'Poverello' a new manifestation of the Divine Spirit, could scarcely be more appreciative than Bonaventure when he writes: 'Hunc Dei nuntium (i. e. the Angel referred to in *Apoc. VII, II.*) amabilem Christo, imitabilem nobis et admirabilem mundo servum Dei fuisse Franciscum, indubitabili fide colligimus, si culmen in eo eximiæ sanctitatis advertimus, qua, inter homines vivens, imitator fuit puritatis angelicæ, qua et positus est perfectis Christi sectatoribus in exemplum. Ad quod quidem fideliter sentiendum et pie, non solum inducit officium, quod habuit, vocandi ad fletum et planctum, calvitium et cingulum sacci signandique thau super

63. See The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi, trans. by P. Robinson, 1906, pp. 11-12.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., pp. 154, sqq. See also his psalm, called The Praise of the Most High God, *ibid.*, pp. 146-9. This, as Fr. Cuthbert has noted, should more fittingly be styled, The praise of the Crucified. Auct. cit., Life of St. Francis of Assisi, 1912, p. 345.

66. Contained in T. VIII, pp. 152 sqq.

frontes virorum gementium et dolentium signo pœnitentialis crucis et habitus cruci conformis; verum etiam irrefragibili veritatis testificatione confirmat signaculum similitudinis Dei viventis, Christi videlicet crucifixi, quod in corpore ipsius fuit impressum non per naturæ virtutem vel ingemium artis, sed potius per admirandam potentiam Spiritus Dei vivi.⁶⁷

We may conclude, then, that after the Gospel, Bonaventure is influenced in his exposition of the 'Via Illuminativa' by the writings of Anselm and Bernard especially, and what is of greater importance, he has seen in the life of the Founder of his Order, that devotion to Our Lord—and here the word 'devotion' is used in a wide sense, embracing all that has been said in this present chapter—can be used as a sure means of establishing those relations between God and the human soul, usually designated mystical. References to Pseudo-Dionysius are markedly absent, though it is admitted that he too taught that if we aspire to communion with the Divine, we must first fix our eyes upon Christ in the flesh.⁶⁸ But Pseudo-Dionysius's form of Mysticism, is distinctly a Theocentric, as opposed to the Christocentric spirituality shared in by Anselm, Bernard, and Bonaventure, and lived with such whole-hearted sincerity by St. Francis of Assisi. If special mention of the Victorines is likewise omitted, it is not because they in no way exhibit this devotion to Our Lord in His Humanity. It is simply because their symbolism too often robs the doctrine of the warmth it possesses in the literature upon which we have dwelt.

It seems necessary to remark, that if those who are at once admirers of St. Francis and students of the works of Bonaventure are impressed by the fact, that in his exposition of the practical spiritual injunctions based upon the doctrine of the 'Imitatio Christi,' he retains much of the old monastic spirit, it must be remembered, as we asserted before, that it was Bonaventure the Legislator who was writing most often. He was writing at a time when it was painfully apparent that the personality of Francis is not easily reproduced: that not all calling themselves Franciscans had the same Christ-like spirit of their Founder.⁶⁹ This fact, leaving his own personal spirit untouched, led him to repeat with vigour many of the monastic principles of St. Bernard

67. *Legenda Sti. Francisci*, cap. 1, n. 2, T. VIII, pp. 504-5.

68. See *Epistola VIII*, Eriugena's Version, P. L., T. CXXII, cols. 1181 sqq., compare P. G., T. III, cols. 1083 sqq.

69. See *supra*.

and others.⁷⁰ Where these are stressed, the picturesqueness associated with Francis' living imitation of Our Lord, will necessarily be lacking. Granted though it is, that this element is absent in his doctrine, it cannot be denied, that this doctrine will give rise to an essentially Christocentric form of Mysticism, manifesting no tendency to pass over the Humanity of Our Lord, over the God revealed to men in the Flesh, in an eagerness to attain to the 'undifferentiated ground of the God-head.'

That a temptation in this direction does assail some souls, is made clear by the emphasis with which writers like Saint Teresa, and Saint John of the Cross, command meditation upon the Sacred Humanity.⁷¹ Within the Catholic Church, attention has been called to the tendency, or rather, to the temptation, chiefly through the teachings of the Quietists, who were charged with positively excluding such meditation, in the preparation to be made for mystical contemplation.⁷² Bossuet, who was very familiar with the writings of Bonaventure, which he quotes again and again, in his well known *Instruction sur les États d'oraison*, fully represents the Franciscan's teaching in the following fine passage: 'Eloigner de notre pensée un si parfait exemplaire de notre union (Jesus-Christ), c'est, au lieu de s'avancer à la perfection en croissant dans la charité, renoncer au plus haut principe de l'unité chrétienne, et perdre à la fois la plus belle idée de l'amour de Dieu envers nous, qui consiste dans cette parole du Sauveur: Il faut, mon Père, que le monde sache

70. This reversion to pre-Franciscan monastic principles has been shown by G. Coulton, quoting Bonaventure, Bernard of Besse, and David of Augsburg, to have been a characteristic of the generation of spiritual writers within the Order, succeeding St. Francis. See *Mediaeval Studies*, 1st Series, London, 1915, pp. 27-36.

71. St. Teresa mentions the temptation she once experienced, but which she happily overcame, to remove from her mind the thought of all bodily objects, the Humanity of Christ included. Recognition of her error leads her to emphasize the necessity of dwelling lovingly upon that aspect of Our Lord's Life, in which He appears most human, viz.: in His Passion. See *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus* written by herself, trans. by D. Lewis, London, 1904, pp. 177-189.

St. John of the Cross declares that deliberate forgetfulness and rejection of all knowledge and forms (the mystical 'Via Negativa'), must never be extended to Christ's Humanity. See his *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, trans. by D. Lewis, London, 1906, Bk. III, cap. 1, p. 248. I have been unable to obtain further information regarding the interesting question raised by Montgomery Carmichael (art. *The Works of St. John of the Cross*, in *Dublin Review*, vol. 174, pp. 84-97), as to the authenticity of St. John's words. But they certainly reflect the spirit of this great mystical writer.

72. Vaughan is not quite fair when he declares that the Church canonized St. Teresa, and condemned the Quietist Molinos, for teaching the same thing. St. Teresa only says that in the mystic union itself, the Divine Essence and the soul are concerned; we must do nothing positive to exclude Christ's Humanity. Molinos said this exclusion is a positive duty on our part. The two statements are quite different. See *Hours with the Mystics*, II, p. 172.

que vous les avez aimés comme vous m'avez aimé.⁷³ Bonaventure's position is also represented with perfect fidelity, when Bossuet calls all positive exclusion of Christ's Humanity 'une dégradation du Fils de Dieu incarné, et un renversement du fondement de la foi.'⁷⁴ Ultimately, both Bonaventure and Bossuet rely upon St. Paul's declaration: 'For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus.'⁷⁵

Whilst the distinction between God, considered in His Essence, and God manifested in His Incarnation, being, as it is at the very root of Christianity itself, is ever before Bonaventure's mind, it is to the 'Verbum Incarnatum' that he looks for guidance in the mystic path. If Christ took to Himself a Humanity, identical in all, save in sin, and in those things which are the direct consequences of sin, with the humanity common to all men; if through and in that Humanity He intended our Redemption from sin; then we may confidently look to Him for guidance with regard to everything that concerns our own earthly existence. In His Humanity we may justly expect to find reflected the possibilities of our own nature, atoned for by His grace. To pass it over in any sense would be to miss the very foundation of the Revelation He came to deliver. Those who deny as well as those who accept the Divinity of Christ admit the advantages following upon the constant remembrance of the lessons taught by His earthly life. All admit that He appears as the perfect bloom of faultless humanity: that nothing can be more uplifting than the endeavour to imitate Him, in His love of God, love of man: in His forbearance, courage, and self-sacrifice. All these are shown forth in conditions to which we ourselves are subjected. In realizing the full significance of the truth, that God's supreme revelation of Himself took the form of an ordinary life, lived on a level in which we may live, and under conditions to which we are subjected: in setting forth Christ's Humanity as the perfect Pattern of all human life, Bonaventure has overcome, if ever he experienced it, the temptation to which we have just referred. When we find him, in the last chapter of his *Itinerarium*, which deals with the actual union of the soul with God, making constant use of such expressions as 'Christus est via et ostium,' 'Christus est scala et

73. Op. cit., *Seconde Traité*, Paris, 1897, p. 25. He refers to John, 17, 23. It would be interesting to discover to what extent Bossuet is indebted to Bonaventure; we do not know of any work dealing with this point, though there seems to be room for a treatise on the subject. Bossuet's familiarity with the writings of St. Bonaventure is frequently shown in his other and better known works.

74. Ibid., p. 27.

75. I Cor. III, 11.

vehiculum,' 'transeamus cum Christo crucifixo ex hoc mundo ad Patrem,'⁷⁶ we must certainly exclude him from the number of those referred to by Herrmann when he declares that when the mystic has found God, he has left Christ behind.⁷⁷

However, it may be objected, that Bonaventure only, or at least primarily, finds the lesson of Renunciation taught in the Christ-life: that in consequence, he gives us an un-Christ-like form of asceticism. It may appear, that in making the lesson of the Cross the primary element in his imitation of Our Lord, he forgets the lesson of service of others, taught by the very fact of Christ's dwelling among men. The perpetual carrying of the Cross, upon which he dwells, like the later A Kempis, seems incompatible with the service of others, and with the inherent dignity of human nature, in revolt against the idea, that the body, an integral part of that same nature, must be continually suppressed and 'buffeted,' that the other part, the soul, may the more truly reflect the image of Christ. Christianity, it is said, should surely tend to the perfection of the whole man.

All these are objections constantly raised with regard to the whole mediaeval scheme of spirituality. They could be, and indeed they often are, expressed with greater force. We are only thrown back upon what we have already said in our attempted explanation of his asceticism.⁷⁸ The statements already made need not be qualified. External suffering, endured in the literal imitation of the suffering Christ, in itself, can be of no avail. Endured, however, with the spirit of Christ, or assumed explicitly in an endeavour to realize that spirit, it is regarded by Bonaventure as giving life to Christianity. And if we would prove that the result of all this is not a wholly one-sided form of religion, we need appeal only to the lives of those mystics, who have carried this lesson of the Cross to the farthest extent. These have surely been of the greatest service to their fellow men. Francis' influence in the rebuilding of Christendom in his own century is generally acknowledged, yet no one treated his body more harshly than he. Nor have these mystics in all their self-inflicted penances forgotten the inherent dignity of the human body; they have

76. Op. cit., T. V, pp. 312-13.

77. Auct. cit., *The Communion of the Christian with God*, trans. by R. W. Stewart, London, 1906, p. 30. This author's position seems to be that Roman Catholic piety is essentially such, that at the highest point to which it leads, not only cultus and doctrine, but also our conception of the Person of Our Lord Himself, must vanish along with all else that is external. That this is false is apparent to all who are familiar with the writings of our Saints.

78. See *supra*, chap. II.

recourse to the same Revelation telling them that the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, to justify the fact that they chastise it daily and bring it into subjection. The truth inspiring them is simply this, that only after they have thoroughly mastered the lesson of the Cross, only after a long crucifixion of the self, can they be worthy to enter into the service of their fellow men.

Need their renunciation inspired by the Cross take the 'crude material' form they have given it? Cannot renunciation itself follow upon the attempt to serve others, in that it inevitably brings with it so much forbearance, self-control, self-discipline and patience in disappointments? All this is suffering in the real sense of the word, and it can be borne in the Christ-like spirit which effects union with the Divinity. Mystics like the Seraphic Doctor, would readily admit all this, and declare it to be essential. Yet they go still further. Teresa's 'aut pati aut mori' voices the unanimous interpretation of our personal duty of following Christ, given by generations of mystics before her time. To us it seems, that it is in this interpretation, rather than in their claim to have been mystically united to God, that they present the critic with his greatest difficulty. The intensity of their devotion to the Passion and Death of Christ to which they attach so great a value, could, if desired, be explained on purely natural grounds. Nor would anyone quarrel with this devotion in itself, since, when it is free from a harmful morbidity, it can be a welcome proof of human sympathy. There is no problem here, for the sight of One Whose Life was so good and holy, suffering torments to atone for others, tends of its very nature to arouse sympathy, love, and, in the believer, grateful adoration.

The problem presents itself when it comes to the question of entering literally into those same sufferings, not in any Buddhistic spirit which looks forward to an extinction of all existence, but in a spirit of faith and trust and joyousness.⁷⁹ Yet the solution is at hand if we look to the faith inspiring the mystics. The relations they conceive to exist between themselves and Christ are those, elevated indeed to a higher plane, which exist between ordinary human lovers. Love naturally tends to similarity in all things; it spontaneously seeks to enter, not only into the thought, but into the very conditions of the Beloved. The more arduous those conditions are, the more joyously are they embraced. Applying this principle to the mystics,

79. St. Francis used to call sadness in such voluntary sufferings, the 'Babylonish' malady.

with their faith on the one hand, and with their conception of the Christ-life, as one of prolonged suffering on the other, we find an explanation of their deeds and doctrine. Even a Platonic conception of love as the outcome of wealth and poverty, need not be destructive of the argument. Christ is viewed as the all-wealthy, and all that they, in their poverty, have to give back to Him, is the pledge of love, finding expression in a joyous suffering in union with Him.

Less satisfactory, apparently, from the psychological point of view, is the explanation to be found in the doctrine, dwelt upon by St. Paul, and reproduced so often by Bonaventure, that the Church is the Body of Christ. The mystics, as members of the Church, are also members of Christ. As it behoved Christ to suffer, so too, must they. This, however unsatisfactory it may seem, leads to that which we regard as the final explanation. We must credit the mystics with a more vivid conception of the work which Christ came into the world to perform: with a keener sense of the enormity of personal sin, and of the sin of the world, than that usually experienced by ordinary Christians. They are united to Christ by love as co-heirs and as co-partners with Him in His redemptive work upon earth, and since it was precisely in His life of suffering, culminating in the Cross of Calvary, that Christ effected the work of the Atonement⁸⁰ which must be continued within His Church to the end of time, they joyously continue what they consider to be His work, by themselves living a life of suffering. In coöperating in this fashion with Our Lord as members of His Mystical Body, their minds are enlightened to realize the worth of the Humanity which brought the Son of God, in the depths of His Love, to endure so great a sacrifice. After thoroughly mastering the lesson of the Cross, they can return to the service of men, though even in their suffering, because of the motive impelling them to endure it and to love it, they have rendered that service in their own peculiar, and, to many, incomprehensible fashion.

To go beyond this, and to comment upon the nature of the illumination they claim as a result of their endeavours to follow Christ so closely, is not within our power. Certainly it is never

80. We are aware of the speculative Theology which arose in answer to the question: What was the principal reason of the Incarnation? For Bonaventure, and for the majority of Theologians, it was the Redemption through the sacrifice on the Cross. See III S. D. I, a. II, q. II, T. III, pp. 23 sqq. As is well known, Duns Scotus taught that in all probability, the Word would have been made Flesh, even though Adam had never sinned. See his III S. D. VII, q. III, Schol. II, ed. Vivès, T. XIV, pp. 354 sqq.

revealed in Bonaventure's Theology. We have but the oft-repeated declaration, which can be proved only by personal experience, that they alone who are willing to be crucified together with Christ know Divine truths fully, and can understand the right relations existing between God and the soul. It is this which determines the limits of Mystical Philosophy. The truth seems to be contained in the words of a recent writer: 'It is possible to be a mystical philosopher in an armchair, to be a mystic only on a Cross.'⁸¹ It is the mystic himself, not the philosopher, who can speak of the 'Illuminatio' which follows upon the imitation of Christ.

81. Watkin, E., *Philosophy of Mysticism*, London, 1920, p. 14.



CHAPTER IV.

Meditation and Prayer.—Discursus on Liturgical Practice.—Meaning of Meditation.—Meditation in the three ways.—Meditation upon creatures.—These stepping-stones to God.—Bonaventure's doctrine on 'Mediate Contemplation' best expressed in the *Itinerarium*.—Characteristics of the *Itinerarium* to be noted.—The main conclusion to the fundamental principle, that creatures are stepping-stones to God.—'Mediate Contemplation' explained.—Prayer.—Bonaventure's Philosophy of Prayer.—The degrees of Prayer.—'Mediate Contemplation' the only element demanding special comment.—Bonaventure's appreciation of its spiritual worth, the result of general tendency of former writers.—The special influence of Augustine.—Pseudo-Dionysian influence relatively unimportant.—Augustine's influence continued through the Victorines, Hugo and Richard.—St. Francis of Assisi, and his sensibility to nature.—Importance of 'Mediate Contemplation.'—Its spirit contrasted with tendencies of later Mysticism.—Symbolism.—Symbolism does not lead to a natural, as opposed to a supernatural Mysticism.—Bonaventure's doctrine of 'Mediate Contemplation' free from all Pantheism.—His idea of Divine Immanence and Transcendence explained.—Worth of 'Mediate Contemplation' in the spiritual life.

So far, an effort has been made to point out Bonaventure's ideas as to what must take place within the soul in its ascent to mystical union. True mystical experience is the fullest development of the life of grace, but there is no question of God drawing to Himself, by means of an irresistible agency, a wholly inert and passive subject. On the contrary, the soul must work, up to a certain degree, together with grace. Bonaventure, like the majority of Franciscan theologians, emphasises the necessity of correspondence with grace; hence the asceticism, the imitation of the Christ-life, the meditation and prayer, all of which, though depending for their salutary value upon Sanctifying grace, nevertheless demand that which may rightly be called conative activity. Such is the spirit underlying his axiom, 'Qui enim vult esse perfectus amator Dei, prius debet se exercere in amore proximi, sicut qui vult esse bonus contemplativus prius debet esse bonus activus, sicut docet Gregorius.'¹ The same idea is to be found throughout the Sermons, expressed in various forms,² and everywhere, in his minor works, we find reference to the need of

1. III S. D. XXVII, art. II, q. IV, T. III, p. 610. Gregory's teaching will be found in Moral. Lib. VI, CXXXVII, P. L., T. LXXXV, cols. 760-761, and in Homil. in Ezech. Lib. I, Hom. III, n. 9, P. L., T. LXXXVI, col. 809.

2. See Sermo in Dom. II Quadrag., T. IX, p. 216; cf. also Sermo de S. Agnete, Sermo II, *ibid.*, p. 510.

spiritual activity, to the numerous spiritual exercises which demand genuine effort.³ Principally, however, he dwells upon Meditation and Prayer, which are to be used in all the stages of the spiritual life, and are viewed as leading the soul on to union with God. Meditation and prayer are singled out for special mention, when he is treating of the preparation to be made for Contemplation. He writes: 'Qui igitur vult in Deum ascendere, necesse est, ut vitata culpa deformante naturam, naturales potentias supradictas exerceat ad gratiam reformatam, et hoc per orationem, ad scientiam illuminantem, et hoc in meditatione.'⁴ To these two forms of spiritual activity, he devotes greatest attention, in the *De Triplici Via*, and in the little work written for the guidance of new Religious, the *Regula Novitiorum*.

However, like many of the religious reformers of his generation, he attaches great importance to that more external form of devotion, liturgical practice, and during his Generalate, he did his best to arouse an active interest in it, among the Friars.⁵ This fact is worthy of mention, since pure Franciscanism has been regarded as a revolt against all monastic customs, and, as is well known, the Liturgy has not only been at its best in the monastic orders, but within such orders it has been regarded as having great spiritual value. No doubt, Bonaventure's insistence upon the full observance of the Liturgy, upon the singing of Divine Office in Choir, and the various practices familiar within monastic establishments, had much to do with the dissatisfaction expressed by the 'Spirituals' in connection with his general policy. Nor is it difficult to understand their attitude. Apart altogether from the fact that they claimed the liberty to live more inward lives, the full observance of the Liturgy demanded large communities. Large communities not only diminished opportunities for the eremitical life to which so many of them clung, but they also brought with them breaches of that poverty, upon which Francis of Assisi had built his order. Bonaventure can readily find excuses for all these things: not so the 'Spirituals.' His love of liturgical practice is also worthy of note, since it is sometimes considered, that true Mysticism is quite incompatible with the

3. See *De Perfectione Vitae*, T. VIII, pp. 109 sqq.; *De Reductione artium ad Theol.*, T. V, p. 324 sqq.; *Soliloq.*, T. VIII, p. 50.

4. *Itin.*, cap. 1, n. 8, T. V, p. 298.

5. For his teaching on the necessity and utility of liturgical practice, see *Regula Novit.*, T. VIII, pp. 475-6: *De Sex Alis Seraphim*, *ibid.*, p. 149. As to his general influence in this matter, see *Gesta e dottrina del serafico dottore S. Bonaventura*, Gaspare de Monte Santo, Macerata, 1793, pp. 101-4: and *Statuta liturgica seu rubricae Breviarii*, auctore dño Bonaventura, art in *Archiv. Francis. Histor.*, T. V, pp. 62-73.

external religion for which it stands. Bonaventure sees no such incompatibility; external worship is to accompany the more internal forms of devotion, meditation and prayer being but an aid to the one,⁶ and the outward expression of the other.

By meditation, he does not merely imply that which is sometimes understood by the term, the reflection upon various religious truths. This is but one element in his more comprehensive use of the term; it is but the starting point of true meditation. Sometimes it is used to cover the whole spiritual life, wherein an attempt is made to realize the final destiny of man, and wherein all truths, of whatever kind they may be, are viewed in their relation to that destiny. In meditation, every faculty possessed by the soul is to be used. Thus, in the *De Triplici Via*, after proposing certain religious truths as matter for pious reflection, he indicates what must take place in efficacious meditation: 'In huiusmodi autem meditatione, tota anima debet esse intenta, et hoc secundum omnes vires suas, scilicet secundum rationem, synderesim, conscientiam et voluntatem. Nam in huiusmodi meditatione ratio percunctando offert propositionem, synderesis sentiando profert definitionem, conscientia testificando infert conclusionem, voluntas præeligendo defert solutionem. Verbi gratia, si quis velit meditari circa viam purgativam, debet ratio quærere, quid debeat fieri de homine, qui templum Dei violaverit; synderesis respondet, quod aut debet disperdi, aut lamentis pœnitentiæ purgari; conscientia assumit: Tu es ille: ergo vel oportet te damnari, vel pœnitentiæ stimulis affligi; deinde voluntas præelegit, scilicet, quia recusat damnationem æternam, assumit voluntarie pœnitentiæ lamenta. Juxta hunc modum in aliis viis est intelligendum.'⁷

Here we have a steadying of the whole personality, a gathering in, and an application of every force, a clear proof that genuine meditation, to be spiritually useful, implies much more than haphazard reflection upon religious truths. It implies real work. At no period does such meditation become wholly unnecessary. When Contemplation is denied it, the soul must ever engage itself in meditation. Apart from these indications of the method to be followed in profitable meditation, we do not find in his works the hard and fast rules known to a later generation of spiritual writers. Bonaventure allows free play to the

6. It is easy to see how the liturgical recitation or singing of the Psalms, etc., could furnish matter for meditation. See Butler, *C. Benedictine Monachism*, pp. 58 sqq., and elsewhere.

7. *Op. cit.*, cap. I, n. 19, T. VIII, p. 7.

pious imagination, being very familiar with the method known as 'composition of place' used to such great advantage in St. Ignatius' famous *Exercitia Spiritualia*. The imagination may construct for itself some definite and appropriate scene, in connection with the truths to be reflected upon, to the end that the same truths may be grasped with a greater vividness, and sense of reality. We have an example of this in his *Lignum Vitæ*.⁸ Here, the truths centring around Our Lord's earthly career, are illustrated in connection with imagined scenes based upon the Gospel narrative. Departing from exact Scriptural data, the author of the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, already referred to, continued the method. There can be little doubt that it has much to recommend it. For the majority of people, pious reflections remain vague and shadowy, with feeble energising force to affect the will; yet, when the imagination is appealed to, the same reflections possess a greater power.

Bonaventure gives meditation its due place in each of the three ways. In the first stage, the 'Via Purgativa,' as we would expect, the soul is to concentrate upon its faults and failings, upon the enormity of sins committed, and the penalties incurred, apply—as a remedy—sincere contrition, and a steadfast re-formation of the interior man.⁹ In the illuminative way, the intellect is to recall the benefits brought to the world by the advent of Christ, His claim to the world's homage and gratitude, and man's personal duty of imitating His earthly life, as far as possible.¹⁰ Lastly, in the unitive way, every consideration is brought forward, to inflame the will with love of God, and to withdraw its affection from the things that do not lead to Him. It is here that his Franciscanism reveals itself. The devotion underlying and inspiring the following passage gained for him the titles 'Doctor Devotus' and 'Doctor Seraphicus.' He writes: 'Postremo sequitur, qualiter nos exercere debemus ad igniculum sapientiæ. Hoc autem faciendum est hoc ordine: quia iste igniculus est primo congregandus, secundo inflammandus, tertio sublevandus. Congregatur autem per reductionem affectionis ab omni amore creaturæ . . . Secundo, inflammandus est, et hoc ex conversione affectionis super amorem sponsi . . . Tertio, sublevandus est, et hoc supra omne sensibile, imaginabile, et intelligibile.'¹¹

8. T. VIII, pp. 68 sqq.

9. See *De Trip. Via*, cap. I, n. 3-9, T. VIII, pp. 4-6.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

We see in this, how Pseudo-Dionysius' 'Via Negativa' can be the outcome of love.

Such are the general directions given in the *De Triplici Via*; yet Bonaventure does not content himself with merely giving directions. A comparison between this little work, and the more extensive *Soliloquium*, has led to the conclusion, that the latter is but the *De Triplici Via*, written with the express purpose of showing how the given directions may be put into practice. The care with which the *Soliloquium* has been drawn up, demonstrates the importance given to meditation in his spiritual system.

In the last passage quoted from the *De Triplici Via*, it would seem, that Bonaventure is over-anxious to pass with Pseudo-Dionysius beyond all creatures, and to shut out from the mind all thought of contingent being. That this has to be done in a certain stage of spiritual development he insists elsewhere,¹² but he does not advise his reader to enter upon such a course at once. Creatures may do valuable work in leading the soul to God, and one of Bonaventure's characteristic forms of meditation, one which must be mentioned especially, is that which seeks traces of God in the creatures of His Hands, and makes of creatures so many stepping-stones to the final contemplation of the Divinity. This form of meditation, of a more intellectual order than that contained in the works already quoted, finds its finest, and most magnificent expression, in the *Itinerarium*, frequently, though incorrectly referred to, as a wholly mystical treatise. The *Itinerarium* has indeed a mystical bearing, yet because of its contents, it must be ranged among Bonaventure's philosophical and theological works. Its object is to lead the soul by ways of reflection, up to the highest point at which it may, with the grace of God, abandon itself to pure Contemplation. In doing this, it passes over the well-trodden roads of natural philosophy and theology. No doubt the general tone of the *Itinerarium* has led to its being regarded as of a primarily mystical value. It is mystical in the end viewed by the author; it is mystical in the dispositions he declares to be requisite in the reader, which dispositions could scarcely be expected in the case of the purely scientific student. These points are well emphasised in the Prologue, and in the first chapter of the book to which we refer. In view of the attitude taken up by Bonaventure, we have concluded, that while the *Itinerarium* is neither wholly mystical, nor wholly scientific, it contains within it a form of meditation, useful to those who are gifted

12. See *infra*.

with greater intellectual powers, which can be helpful in preparing the soul for mystical union.

In the Prologue he declares that his intention is not to impart a purely theoretic science, nor to confute error, but rather to present to the reader certain considerations, which will increase devotion, and the love of divine things: 'Volentibus ad Deum magnificandum, admirandum et etiam degustandum, speculationes subiectas propono.'¹³ And, as dispositions in the reader, for the right understanding of his treatise, he does not deem sufficient the use of reason alone, however trained it may be. The student of the *Itinerarium*, is to be a 'homo desideriorum,' 'præventus gratia, humilis et pius, compunctus et devotus.'¹⁴ His whole thought is condensed in few words, when he writes: 'Parum aut nihil est speculum exterius propositum, nisi speculum mentis nostræ tersum fuerit et politum.'¹⁵ He indicates how the 'mirror of the mind' is to be cleansed, when he adds: 'Exerce igitur te, homo Dei, prius ad stimulum conscientie remordentem, antequam oculos eleves ad radios sapientie in eius speculis relucentes, ne forte ex ipsa radiorum speculatione in graviorem incidas foveam tenebrarum.'¹⁶ These no doubt, are the sentiments, expressed as they are continually throughout the *Itinerarium*, which gave the work such power in the eyes of Gerson, years later, at a time when Bonaventure's writings were being neglected.¹⁷ Yet Gerson's enthusiastic appreciation, owes much to his own ability to follow the Franciscan in his speculative flights. For the theme of the work is lofty indeed. In passing over the relationship, which he considers to be existent between all created beings, in the natural and supernatural orders on the one hand, and the Primary, Efficient, Exemplary and Final Cause of all these things, on the other, he is not content with the bare presentation of that relationship. He binds all things together in a wonderful unity.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to give a complete commentary on the *Itinerarium*.¹⁸ This would carry us into a wide philosophical and theological field. It will suffice, if his main conclusions from his principle, so finely expressed in the first

13. Op. cit., Prologus, n. 4, T. V, p. 296.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. See his De examinatione doctrinarum in Opera Omnia, J. Gersonii, Parisiis, MDCVI, T. I, cols. 553 sqq.

18. Such commentaries abound. See for the complete list, Opera, T. V, Prolegomena, cap. IV, p. 26. All these commentaries are not available. A more recent one, based upon those mentioned by the Quarrachi Editors has been used for our present purpose—that of P. A. Delaporte, Étude sur l'Itinéraire de l'âme à Dieu, de Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1863.

chapter, be followed: 'Secundum statum conditionis nostræ ipsa rerum universitas sit scala ad ascendendum in Deum.'¹⁹ This principle underlies much of his teaching in his other works. In the *Collationes in Hexaëmeron* for example, the whole world is made to speak of the Wisdom of God: 'Totus mundus est sicut unum speculum plenum luminibus præstantibus divinam sapientiam, et sicut carbo effundens lucem';²⁰ and in the *Breviloquium*, the 'liber creaturæ' is represented as having been quite sufficient for man in the state of innocence, to attain to the knowledge of his Maker.²¹ Now, however, he would remind all who wish to follow him in his 'pertinent speculations,' of the love of the Crucified, without which, no-one can approach unto God: of the necessity of prayer and compunction of heart, since reading without unction, speculation without devotion, research without admiration, knowledge without charity, avail nothing. To readers of a mind like his own, he will, in the *Itinerarium*, present seven chapters, dealing with the degrees of ascent to God, each degree being a search after evidence of the Divine in some special sphere.

As we have said, the fundamental principle of the *Itinerarium*, underlies many of his other major works, but it was not till he could enjoy the peace and quiet of Mount Alvernia, that he had an opportunity of illustrating the principle fully, and with required devotion. He tells us how he came to write the work, in his Prologue: 'Cum igitur exemplo beatissimi patris Francisci hanc pacem anhelò spiritu quærerem, ego peccator, qui loco ipsius patris beatissimi post eius transitum septimus in generali fratrum ministerio per omnia indignus succedo; contigit, ut nutu divino circa Beati ipsius transitum, anno trigesimo tertio ad montem Alvernæ tanquam ad locum quietum amore quærendi pacem spiritus declinarem, ibique existens, dum mente tractarem aliquas mentales ascensiones in Deum, inter alia occurrit illud miraculum, quod in prædicto loco contigit ipsi beato Francisco, de visione scilicet Seraph alati ad instar Crucifixi.'²² In all eagerness to discover symbolism wherever possible, he goes on to show how this vision, vouchsafed to St. Francis of Assisi, typifies the way leading to mystical Contemplation. The six wings of the Seraph symbolize the six illuminations—all forms of knowledge being viewed in his philosophy as illuminations—which are given to

19. Op. cit., cap. I, n. 2, T. V, p. 297.

20. Op. cit., col. II, n. 27, T. V, p. 340.

21. Op. cit., cap. XII, T. V, p. 230: and compare II S. D. XXIII, art. II, q. III, T. II, p. 545.

22. Op. cit., n. 2, T. V, p. 295.

man, when he reflects upon certain truths, in the natural, and supernatural orders. His task is to show how creatures are the stepping-stones to God.

Not all beings in this Universe possess the same power of leading the soul to God; they do not for example, all possess in an equal degree, a resemblance to Him. Some things there are, presenting themselves to the mind as His Vestiges (*Vestigia*); others may be regarded as His very Image; some are corporeal, some are spiritual; some temporal, some eternal; some are outside ourselves, others are within us, and to attain to the First Principle of all these things, which is altogether Spiritual, Eternal and Transcendent, we are to proceed in due order. We must pass over the vestiges of God, which are corporeal, temporal, and outside ourselves; then we are to enter into our own souls, and reflect, that inasmuch as they are immortal, and spiritual, they form the Image of God; and finally, we are to transcend all, to the Eternal and purely Spiritual Cause of all these things.²³

Man was created of his very nature to make such meditation, and for this purpose, he was endowed at the beginning, with six faculties, wonderfully adapted to rise to contemplation by way of these six stages. Bonaventure here refers to sense, imagination, reason, intellect, intelligence, and the 'apex mentis' or 'synderesis scintilla,' which we meet with elsewhere.²⁴ These powers, naturally given to us, are deformed and weakened by sin, and reformed by Grace. They are to be purified by righteousness, exercised by knowledge, and made perfect by Wisdom.²⁵ Though they have not been rendered totally incapable by the Fall, they now need the assistance of Divine Grace, to aid them in their quest. Grace is to be obtained by means of devout prayer.

From 'Prolegomena' such as these, the first chapter proceeds over well-worn ground, giving little that is new. When Bonaventure passes from the consideration of the greatness and the beauty of created things to the greatness and beauty that is

23. Itin., cap. I, n. 5, T. V, p. 297.

24. He writes: 'Juxta igitur sex gradus ascensionis in Deum sex sunt gradus potentialium animae, per quos ascendimus ab imis ad summa, ab exterioribus ad intima, a temporalibus conscendimus ad aeterna; scilicet sensus, imaginatio, ratio, intellectus, intelligentia et apex mentis seu synderesis scintilla.' Ibid. This psychological doctrine is taken from the little work *De Spiritu et Anima*, attributed at one time to St. Augustine, and now proved to be of mediaeval origin. See Jungmann, *Institut. Patrol.*, T. II, pars 1, nota 3, p. 337. The work itself is contained in Mingé, P. L., T. XL, cols. 779 sqq. Bonaventure does not positively attribute it to St. Augustine, admitting that it may come from another source. See II S. D. XXIV, a. II, q. 1, T. II, p. 560.

25. Itin., cap. I, n. 6, T. V, p. 297. 'Hos gradus in nobis habemus plantatos per naturam, deformatos per culpam reformatos per gratiam; purgandos per iustitiam, exercendos per scientiam, perficiendos per sapientiam.'

Divine, we are but re-tracing the thought of St. Augustine, or more approximately, of Hugo of St. Victor. The origin, magnitude, multitude, beauty, plenitude, operation, and wondrous order of things contained in the Universe, elicit his praise. Those who cannot join in his admiration are blind, deaf, dumb, and foolish.²⁶ Not only is this meditation useful; it is a positive duty. He concludes his first chapter with an exhortation to his reader: 'Aperi igitur oculos, aures spirituales admove, labia tua solve et cor tuum appone, ut in omnibus creaturis Deum tuum videas, audias, laudes, diligas et colas, magnifices et honores, ne forte totus contra te orbis terrarum consurgat. Nam ob hoc pugnabit orbis terrarum contra insensatos, et econtra sensatis erit materia gloriæ, qui secundum Prophetam possunt dicere: Delectasti me Domine, in factura tua, et in operibus manuum tuarum exsultabo. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! omnia in sapientia fecisti, impleta est terra possessione tua.'²⁷

In his second chapter, he deals with a more particularized theme: with the meditation upon the traces to be found of God in the world of sense. God is in the objects which we see and touch, by His Essence, Power and Presence.²⁸ It would be impossible to reduce his reasoning to few words, for he here dwells at length upon the processes of sense and intellectual knowledge. The thought, however, is the same. He passes through all these intricate and difficult reasonings, to prove: 'quod omnes creaturæ istius sensibilis mundi animum contemplantis et sapientis ducunt in Deum æternum, pro eo quod illius primi principii potentissimi, sapientissimi et optimi, illius æternæ originis, lucis et plenitudinis, illius . . . artis efficientis, exemplantis et ordinantis sunt umbræ, resonantiæ et picturæ, sunt vestigia, simulacra et spectacula nobis ad contuendum Deum proposita et signa divinitus data.'²⁹

Entering within the soul by way of reflection, he finds there the image of the Blessed Trinity. The trinity of faculties in the unity of the soul is but a shadow of the Blessed Trinity.³⁰ Even viewed in its natural state, therefore, the soul, with its memory, understanding, and will, speaks to him of the Triune God. When the same soul is considered precisely as 'restored' by grace, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Ghost, he seeks the aid of

26. Qui igitur tantis rerum creaturarum splendoribus non illustratur caecus est; qui tantis clamoribus non evigilat surdus est; qui ex omnibus his effectibus Deum non laudat mutus est; qui ex tantis indiciis primum principium non advertit stultus est.' Ibid., cap. I, n. 15, T. V, p. 299.

27. Ibid.

28. 'Est in eis per essentiam, potentiam et praesentiam,' cap. II, Ibid.

29. Ibid., n. 11, p. 302.

30. See the whole of Cap. III, T. V, pp. 303 sqq.

Faith, Hope and Charity, to bring him still nearer to the Divine. Now he attempts to fathom the Scriptural teaching, that the soul in the state of grace, is the 'Dei filia,' 'Dei sponsa et amica,' 'Christi capitis membrum, soror et cohæres,' 'Spiritus Sancti templum.'³¹ He declares that the least understanding of what is implied by these terms will be sufficient, when conjoined with the continuous use of grace, to elevate the soul to a higher stage in the spiritual life.

Still examining the evidence of Scripture, he proceeds to dwell upon the first name assigned to God in Holy Writ, which he finds to be *Being*.³² He can now consider Him in the Unity, wherein there is neither privation nor bound,³⁴ passing on to the consideration of the Divine Goodness, the highest communicability of which may be contemplated, though never comprehended, in the mystery of the Blessed Trinity: 'In quibus necesse est propter summam bonitatem esse summam communicabilitatem, et ex summa communicabilitate summam consubstantialitatem, et ex summa consubstantialitate summam configurabilitatem, et ex his summam coequalitatem, ac per hoc summam coeternitatem, atque ex omnibus prædictis summam cointimitatem, qua unus est in altero necessario per summam circumincessionem et unus operatur cum alio per omnimodam indivisionem substantiæ et virtutis et operationis ipsius beatissimæ Trinitatis.'³⁵

We have quoted this latter passage to give some idea of the form which his reasoning frequently takes. No matter what devotion he may infuse into such arguments, they remain, because of their intricacy, above the understanding of the less educated reader. From similar speculations, he comes to the mystery of the Incarnation: 'Hæc est vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum. Nam admirari debemus non solum conditiones Dei essentielles et personales in se, verum etiam per comparationem ad supermirabilem unionem Dei et hominis in unitate personæ Christi.'³⁶ In Christ he discovers the most perfect illumination given to man concerning things Divine. Christ is the very 'Bridge' joining the Eternal to the temporal. He is the most perfect 'Image' wherein we may contemplate the Divinity: 'In

31. Cap. IV, n. 8, T. V, p. 308.

32. 'Primus modus primo et principaliter defigit aspectum in ipsum esse, dicens, quod qui est est primum nomen Dei.' Cap. V, n. 2, *ibid*.

34. 'Quia primum, æternum, simplicissimum, actualissimum, ideo perfectissimum; tali omnino nihil deficit, neque aliqua potest fieri additio,' n. 6, p. 309.

35. Cap. VI, n. 2, p. 311.

36. *Ibid.*, n. 4. The Scripture reference is to John, 17, 3.

hac autem consideratione est perfectio illuminationis mentis, dum quasi in sexta die videt hominem factum ad imaginem Dei. Si enim imago est similitudo expressiva, dum mens nostra contempletur in Christo Filio Dei, qui est imago Dei invisibilis per naturam, humanitatem nostram tam mirabiliter exaltatam, tam ineffabiliter unitam, videndo simul in unum primum et ultimum, summum et imum, circumferentiam et centrum, alpha et omega, causatam et causam, Creatorem et creaturam, librum scilicet scriptum intus et extra; iam pervenit ad quandam rem perfectam, ut cum Deo ad perfectionem suarum illuminationum in sexto gradu quasi in sexta die perveniat; nec aliquid iam amplius restet nisi dies requiei, in qua per mentis excessum requiescat humanæ mentis perspicacitas ab omni opere, quod patrarat.³⁷

Thus does Bonaventure represent his six degrees of ascent to God. We are to contemplate Him in the wonderful mirror of His Creation: to behold His reflection in the soul, considered both naturally, and supernaturally: to rise as high as possible in theological speculation, concerning His Unity and Goodness: to view Him in the mystery of the Incarnation, and, if this direct reflection upon Him be accompanied by true devotion and love, it will lead to the point, at which reason may take her rest, and give place, if God sees fit, to a more mystical operation. Reason has done her work; now love alone can bring the soul further. Love will declare to reason that the God Who was the Object of Francis' mystical transports transcends all that her researches have revealed, even though those researches have been guided by Revelation. Love will therefore throw the reason back upon the 'Pseudo-Dionysian' negative path. Bonaventure concludes his *Itinerarium* by insisting on the ineffability of the mystical experience to which God invites all Christians, in the person of the Blessed Francis,³⁸ and by reproducing the well known exhortation of Pseudo-Dionysius to Timothy: the exhortation to leave the senses, and the operations of the intellect, and all things sensible and intelligible, and things that are, and things that are not, that the soul may rise by ways above knowledge, to union with Him Who is above all knowledge and being. It is in freedom, and in the abandonment of all things, that the soul is borne, through pure, entire and absolute abstraction from all things, into the supernatural radiance of the Divine Darkness.³⁹

37. Cap. VI, ad conclus., p. 312.

38. Cap. VII, n. 3, T. V, p. 312.

39. Cap. VII, n. 5, T. V, p. 313.

It remains to be added, that if at times Bonaventure refers to these efforts to discover traces of God in the whole of creation, as the 'degrees of Contemplation,' he is not using the word 'Contemplation' in the strict sense to be defined later. They are but steps leading to Contemplation strictly so called; they are preparatory thereto. Richard of St. Victor, in his *Benjamin Major*, used the same expression, 'gradus contemplationis' of his own more subjective considerations. The remark made by St. Thomas Aquinas, in reference to Richard's terminology, 'per illa sex designantur gradus quibus per creaturas in Dei contemplationem ascenditur,'⁴⁰ applies with equal significance to the degrees set forth in the *Itinerarium*. Nevertheless, the subject-matter of the *Itinerarium* may justly be styled the 'Mediate Contemplation' of God, and such 'Mediate Contemplation' assumes so important a place in Bonaventure's Theology, that it cannot be passed over in silence. Before attempting to show by whom he has been influenced in this love of 'Mediate Contemplation,' we must deal briefly with his teaching on prayer.

It is of course realized that the word 'prayer' may be, and is, used to signify any, and every act, which has direct relationship with God. Thus, it includes meditation itself. Tradition has rightly elevated to the sphere of prayer every form of human activity, which has as its end the glorifying of the God-head. The word is sufficiently comprehensive to include all that has been said up to the present. Contemplation may therefore be called the supreme development of the life of prayer. All this is fully appreciated; but since Bonaventure makes distinct and separate mention of prayer, 'meditatio et oratio' occurring frequently, it seems right that it should receive separate, if but brief treatment.

He is well acquainted with prayer in all its forms; from that which is understood of the multitude, vocal prayer, with its petitions by means of extemporaneous or traditional locutions addressed to God, to the more advanced, and the more difficult and rare wordless communings of the soul with its Maker. In those *Opuscula* which seem to contain the essence of his doctrine on prayer, the *De Triplici Via*, the *Soliloquium*, and the *De Perfectione Vitæ ad Sorores*, as well as in his Sermons, he exhausts all the resources of his imagination to illustrate the rewards awaiting those who will undertake in all earnestness the difficult work of prayer. The true end of prayer, like the end of the mystical life of the soul

40. Auct. cit. Secunda Secundæ, Q. CLXXX, art. IV, ad. III (Leonine Edition), T. X, p. 428.

which it cultivates, is represented as the meeting between the soul and God: between the lover and the Beloved. What might be called his 'Philosophy of Prayer' is contained in the *Breviloquium*, and is couched in the more restrained language of the scholastic.

He is writing with especial reference to the spirit and the letter of the Lord's Prayer: 'De petitionibus autem orationis dominicæ hoc tenendum est, quod licet Deus sit liberalissimus et promptior ad dandum quam nos ad accipiendum; vult tamen orari a nobis, ut occasionem habeat largiendi dona gratiæ Spiritus sancti. Vult autem orari non solum oratione mentali, quæ est 'ascensus intellectus in Deum,' verum etiam vocali, quæ est 'petitio decentium a Deo' . . . Ratio autem ad intelligentiam prædictorum hæc est; quia primum principium, sicut est summe verum et bonum in seipso, sic misericors et iustum in opere suo. Et quoniam misericordissimum est, ideo libentissime condescendit humanæ miseriæ per infusionem gratiæ suæ. Quia vero simul cum hoc iustum est, ideo donum perfectum non dat nisi desideranti, non dat gratiam nisi regram, non impendit misericordiam nisi miseriam cognoscenti, ut salva sit libertas arbitrii, et non vilescat nobilitas doni, et integer perseveret cultus honoris divini. Quoniam ergo orantis est divinum affectare subsidium, proprium allegare defectum et gratias agere propter beneficium gratis datum; hinc est, quod oratio disponit ad susceptionem divinorum charismatum, et Deus orari vult ad hoc, ut munera largiatur.'⁴¹ Principles such as these, he applies to every form of prayer.

There seems to be no need to reproduce the various degrees of prayer, which he so carefully tabulates in many places. Like many mystical writers, for example Richard of St. Victor,⁴² he is not consistent in this matter, giving sometimes five, sometimes three degrees. It is most probable that his fine shades of difference are emphasised at various times, not in order to set up objective norms whereby his reader may ascertain the progress made, but in a purely arbitrary spirit. Broadly speaking, there are three degrees of prayer, found in the Purgative, Illuminative, and Unitive Ways respectively.⁴³ These degrees are consequently progressive. As there is a gradual approximation of the soul towards union with God, and a production within it, of those conditions under which this union can take place, so there is a

41. Op. cit., Pars. V, cap. X, T. V, pp. 263-4.

42. See his *De quattuor gradibus violentæ charitatis*, passim, P. L., T. CXCVI, cols. 1207 sqq.

43. See *De Triplici Via*, T. passim, VIII, pp. 1 sqq.

higher degree of prayer. Whilst the soul is engaged in the removal of obstacles to union with God, its degree of prayer will be primarily characterized by compunction of heart. In the Illuminative way, during which the soul becomes, through the imitation of Christ, more appreciative of the meaning to be given to the Divine mysteries, and of the need of Divine guidance, through, and in Christ, petition and gratitude give to prayer its chief characteristics. Finally, in the Unitive way, when the soul realizes its closeness to God, and experiences mystical joys with greater or lesser intensity, it will send forth its love to God in joy and gratitude: in secret, silent communings, as to One Who is thought of as continually present, even though at times He may not be experienced as present. Until this stage is reached, until the soul can commune with God alone, with no thought or care for anything outside Him, prayer, according to Bonaventure, is not wholly perfect.

All the above is but a tentative coördination of his teaching on prayer contained in the *De Triplici Via*. It is found to be substantially the same in the fifth chapter of his *De Perfectione Vitæ ad Sorores*, wherein he deals expressly with the prayer proper to the mystical life. There is no need to dwell upon this point. Bonaventure has nothing that is original or striking to offer us, with regard to prayer. Familiar exhortations abound. Let the soul be continually in prayer; let it not attempt to abandon vocal prayer before the habit of recollection, necessary in the higher stages of the spiritual life, be acquired; let it pray constantly that the gift of mystical contemplation may be granted; let every philosophical and theological speculation or argument, every scientific investigation, every form of duty, be consecrated by genuine prayer—by the referring of all to the glory of God. Obedience to these, and similar exhortations, he is persuaded, will bring the soul nearer to the fullness of the Christian life.⁴⁴ Perhaps no one could be more insistent than Bonaventure, upon the necessity of prayer. The way of perfection, as he repeatedly states, demands much work. In the present state of fallen nature, obstacles abound, and the strength needed to overcome them can be obtained only by perseverance in prayer.

Once again we find Bonaventure following with fidelity the general teaching of the Fathers. We need not prove by means of quotations the statement that they have all emphasised the efficacy of meditation and prayer in the development of the spiritual

44. See *De Perfect. Vitæ*, cap. V, T. VIII, pp. 117-120.

life. By the time we come to the Victorines, we find that the tabulations and divisions, now so common in text-books of Ascetical or Mystical Theology, are quite well known. There is, however, one element in all the foregoing, which may be particularized, since it is among the characteristics of Bonaventurian Theology. We refer to that which has been called 'Mediate Contemplation:' his view of the external world as a vast mirror, wherein the face of God is reflected. Even in this, he does not appear original. St. Thomas Aquinas attributed equal importance to this 'Mediate Contemplation' in the spiritual life.⁴⁵ Yet it is to Bonaventure's credit, that he put to the forefront, making it the subject-matter of one of his major works, an idea which was to be shunned not so many years later. There is no originality in his conception, indeed, for from age to age the religious soul has sought to find traces of its God in Nature, and in its inmost self. The ways of finding Him have changed with the prevailing currents of philosophical thought, but generally speaking, whatever the philosophy, the 'vestigia' have been sought, and found. Scripture, old and new, has urged the religious soul on to this as it urged Bonaventure. Baron von Hügel has shewn that the Synoptics are especially insistent upon the observation and love of the external world which is at the root of the whole subject.⁴⁶

Whilst it remains true that the 'Mediate Contemplation' embodied in the *Itinerarium*, only represents the general tendency in the literature with which the Franciscan was familiar, it bears marked traces of Augustinian and Victorine influence especially. Moreover, we are convinced that in itself, the work is but the philosophical expression of that love of Nature, and that reverence for the Divinely revealed mysteries associated with St. Francis of Assisi.

The same quest of which the *Itinerarium* speaks, the same final silencing of those very faculties which made the quest

45. See *Secunda Secundae*, Q. CLXXX, art. IV. 'Utrum vita contemplativa solum consistat in contemplatione Dei, an etiam in consideratione cuiuscumque veritatis.' Leonine Edition, T. X, pp. 427-8.

46. The Mystical Element of Religion. He writes: vol. 1, p. 30) 'Thus the 'Petrine' group gives us, as evidence for the observation and love of the external world: 'Behold the birds of the heaven, how they sow not, neither do they gather into barns;' 'Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these;' 'The seed springeth up and grows, the man knoweth not how; the earth beareth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear;' 'When the fig-tree's branch is become tender and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh;' and, 'When it is evening, ye say: 'It will be fair weather: for the heaven is red.' And in the morning: 'It will be foul weather to-day: for the heaven is red and lowering.' The texts are: Matt. vi, 26, 28; Mark, IV, 27-28; XIII, 28; Matt., XVI, 2, 3. The author declares on p. 28 that he has sought the Petrine type in the Synoptic Gospels.

possible of achievement, are commonplaces in the writings of St. Augustine. The quest runs throughout his philosophical works. He has expounded in his *De Libro arbitrio*,⁴⁷ how the things of Nature can be the pledges of further spiritual realities, and from this work, as well as from his *De Trinitate*,⁴⁸ much information might be gathered. Both works are quoted continually in the *Itinerarium*. Here, however, for the purpose of showing Augustine's thought, we have used his *Confessions*, in which the quest is placed in a more mystical setting. We find in the *Confessions* repeated descriptions of the soul's search for God through the ascending grades of creation, the turning of the mind upon itself, to mount through its more spiritual faculties, till it finds God within itself, by the most mysterious agency of grace, and yet still above itself. He writes in one place: 'Eramque certissimus quod invisibilia tua, a constitutione mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque virtus et divinitas tua (Rom. I. 20). Quærens enim unde approbarem pulchritudinem corporum, sive cœlestium, sive terrestrium; et quid mihi præsto esset integre de mutabilibus judicanti, et dicenti: Hoc ita esse debet, illud non ita: hoc ergo quærens unde judicarem, cum ita judicarem, inveneram incommutabilem et veram veritatis æternitatem, supra mentem meam commutabilem. Atque ita gradatim a corporibus ad sentientem per corpus animam; atque inde ad ejus interiorem vim, cui sensus corporis exteriora annuntiaret; et quosque possunt bestiæ: atque inde rursus ad ratiocinantem potentiam ad quam refertur judicandum quod sumitur a sensibus corporis. Quæ se quoque in me comperiens mutabilem, exexit se ad intelligentiam suam; et abduxit cogitationem a consuetudine, subtrahens se contradicentibus turbis phantasmatum, ut inveniret quo lumine aspergeretur, cum sine ulla dubitatione clamaret incommutabile præferendum esse mutabili; unde nosset ipsum incommutabile, quod nisi aliquo modo nosset, nullo modo illud mutabili certo proponeret.'⁴⁹ Then it would seem that this quest, with the final abstraction, brings him to what may be called the mystic experience, for now he declares that in the flash of a trembling glance, his mind arrived at that which is. He is unable to sustain his gaze, but is relegated to his ordinary experience, bear-

47. See Op. cit., Lib. II, cap. XVI, P. L., T. XXXII, col. 1263, where he gives instances in the works of Nature and Art, in the beauty of motion and of form, and in the very science of numbers, tracing all to their mysterious origin—God.

48. See especially Op. cit., Lib. VI, cap. X, P. L., T. XLII, cols. 931-2. 'Trinitas in rebus factis repræsentatur.'

49. Op. cit., Lib. VII, cap. XVII, P. L., T. XXXII, col. 745.

ing with him but a loving memory, and a longing for that of which, he had, as it were, but perceived the odour, and was not yet able to feed upon.⁵⁰

The same idea is more elaborately, and perhaps more beautifully worked out, in his description of the scene at Ostia, just before his mother's death, when mother and son opened to each other their most secret thoughts. The passage is too well known and too often quoted to need more than a passing reference here. He tells again how they passed through all material things, through Heaven itself, where sun and moon and stars shed their radiance upon earth: how they began their more inward ascent by thinking of, and marvelling at God's works: how, coming to their own minds, they passed beyond them again, to the Wisdom, whereby all things came to be.⁵¹ Then comes the successive silencing of the faculties. They seek refuge in blind elevations to God, and in the 'quiet' thus produced, the very beings of their souls come into relation with the Ultimate Reality, which is God. Then, when their souls had gone out in longing for the Wisdom to which they had been led, they ask: 'Si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasie terre et aquarum et aeris: sileant et poli, et ipsa sibi anima sileat, et transeat se non se cogitando, sileant somnia et imaginarie revelationes, omnis lingua et omne signum, et quidquid transeundo fit, si cui sileat omnino; quoniam si quis audiat, dicunt hæc omnia: Non ipsa nos fecimus, sed fecit nos qui manet in æternum (Ps. XCIX. 3-5): his dictis si jam taceant quoniam erexerunt aurem in eum qui fecit ea, et loquatur ipse solus, non per ea sed per seipsum, ut audiamus verbum ejus, non per linguam carnis, neque per vocem angeli, nec per sonitum nubis, nec per ænigma similitudinis; sed ipsum quem in his amamus, ipsum sine his audiamus, sicut nunc extendimus nos, et rapida cogitatione attigimus æternam Sapientiam super omnia manentem; si continuetur hoc, et subtrahantur aliæ visiones longe imparis generis, et hæc una rapiat et absorbeat et recondat in interiora gaudia spectatorem suum, ut talis sit sempiterna vita, quale fuit hoc momentum intelligentiæ, cui suspiravimus; nonne hoc est: Intra in gaudium Domini tui?' (Matth. XXV, 21).⁵²

It is perfectly true that we can find nothing in Bonaventure's works to compare in beauty with this, and with similar passages

50. 'Et pervenit ad id quod est, in ictu trepidantis aspectus sed aciem figere non evalui: et reperiens infirmitate redditus solitis, non mecum ferebam nisi amantem memoriam, et quasi olfacta desiderantem quæ comedere nondum possem.' Ibid.

51. Ibid., Lib. IX, cap. X, col. 774.

52. Ibid.

in Augustine's *Confessions*: nothing which reflects so lofty a conception of the Majesty of God. Yet Augustine's thought seems to have inspired the greater part of the *Itinerarium*.

Nor has it been forgotten that, to express the need of final abstraction from all the 'data' of intellectual search, Bonaventure seeks refuge in Pseudo-Dionysian language: a fact which may seem to remove his thought from Augustinian influence. Now careful examination of the *Itinerarium*, and of the *Collationes in Hexaëmeron*, will reveal how relatively unimportant in this matter is the influence of the *Dionysiaca*. We venture to think that in the last chapter of the *Itinerarium*, where he reproduces Eriugena's version of the famous prayer, and the exhortation to Timothy, he has done so, simply because he has found the best authority at hand, and the most forcible authority, for his previous statement that in precise relation to the mystical union, 'modicum potest industria, parum est dandum inquisitioni, et multum unctioni.'⁵³ The whole content of the *Itinerarium*, with its eager intellectual search after traces of God, is the best explanation of what he himself understands by the 'modicum' and the 'parum.' Little though the result may be, when compared with the Light revealed in mystical union, the search has been prolonged with his beloved Augustine. At the end of his quest, realizing with St. Augustine that God transcends all that his intellect has revealed, he merely makes use of Pseudo-Dionysian language. Pseudo-Dionysius and Augustine are, after all, at one with regard to the need of abstraction from the 'given' of sense and intellect. The point of difference between them is this, that Pseudo-Dionysius shuts out from his mind as soon as possible the revelation given in created things; the wise man is he who can speedily attain to a facility in this negative process. St. Augustine, even though knowing that the same negative process must eventually take place, pursues the Light revealed by sense and intellect as long as he can. The last chapter, therefore, of the *Itinerarium*, in which Pseudo-Dionysius is introduced with his negations, need not cause us to alter the opinion already expressed, that in his 'Mediate Contemplation,' Bonaventure is primarily inspired, on the intellectual side, by St. Augustine.

This opinion is strengthened, when we find him having recourse to the Victorines, Hugo and Richard, to illustrate, by way

53. *Itin.*, cap. VII, n. 5, T. V, p. 312.

of authority, the idea that the Universe is as a great 'Book,' wherein the Wisdom of the Maker may be read. Both Hugo and Richard owe much in turn to St. Augustine, the former having gained the name of a 'second Augustine.'⁵⁴ For Hugo, as for Bonaventure, the works of Creation have the sacramental quality of similitude, and, in a general, wider way, they possess, like the real sacraments, the quality of institution, since their similitude to spiritual things was intended by the Creator. He has much to say concerning the 'decor' and the 'pulchritudo' of the created world; we should meditate upon it, because of the suggestions given in such meditation. The visible will suggest to us, and help us fix our minds upon the invisible. Consequently, Hugo's path leads upwards, like Bonaventure's, beginning with 'cogitatio' through 'meditatio' to 'contemplatio,' this last lying beyond all meditation, and attained only after the abstraction of which we have spoken. All this is everywhere evidenced in his works.

Perhaps the most concise exposition of his mystical process, wherein the chief ideas of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* appear, is to be found in the last book of his *Eruditionis didascalicae libri septem*, that comprehensive treatise, which embraces so many subjects. The Goodness and Wisdom which made the World, he says, is manifested in the contemplation of creatures. The Word was invisible, but He has made Himself visible by His work: 'Quamvis multis et variis modis creaturarum pulchritudo perfecta sit, quattuor tamen præcipue sunt, in quibus earundem decor consistit. Hoc est in situ, in motu, in specie, in qualitate. Quæ quidem si quis investigare sufficeret, mirabilem in eis sapientiæ Dei lucem inveniret. Et hoc utinam ego tam possem subtiliter perspicere, tam competenter enarrare, quam possum ardentius diligere. Delectat enim me quia valde dulce, et jucundum est de his rebus frequenter agere, ubi simul et ratione eruditur sensus, et suavitate delectatur animus, et æmulatione excitatur affectus, ita ut cum Psalmista stupeamus, et admirantes clamemus: Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine! omnia in sapientia fecisti. (Ps. CIII).' ⁵⁵ Compare this with the opening chapters of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*, and the similarity of thought and expression is striking. Yet this is only the beginning.

Like the later Franciscan, Hugo passes upwards through the natural works of God to the supernatural works: to the Incarna-

54. Leibner's Hugo of St. Victor, p. 21; cited by Vaughan, 'Hours with the mystics,' bk. 1, p. 154.

55. Op. cit., Lib. VII, cap. IV, P. L., T. CLXXVI, cols. 813-14.

tion itself, viewed as a fact. In the Incarnation, we are given the second 'Book' wherein we may read the Divine designs. He writes: 'Universus enim mundus iste sensibilis quasi quidam liber est scriptus digito Dei, hoc est virtute divina creatus, et singulæ creaturæ quasi figuræ quædam sunt non humano placito inventæ, sed divino arbitrio institutæ ad manifestandam invisibilium Dei sapientiam.' ⁵⁶ This is the first 'Book.' God, however, wished to do more than this. We turn to his *De Sacramentis*, where he best expresses his teaching: 'Voluit autem postea adhuc aliter scribi foris sapientia ut manifestius videretur et perfectius cognosceretur, ut oculus hominis illuminaretur ad scripturam secundam, quoniam caligaverat ad primam. Fecit ergo secundum opus post primum et illud evidentius erat, quoniam non solum demonstravit sed illuminavit. Assumpsit carnem non amittens divinitatem, et positus liber scriptus intus et foris; in humanitate foris, intus in divinitate, ut foris legeretur per imitationem, intus per contemplationem; foris ad sanitatem, intus ad felicitatem . . . ' ⁵⁷

The mystical value of this meditation upon the works of God is fully recognized, for when his thought has climbed to the work of the Incarnation, he counsels, like Bonaventure, the usual 'burying of the self'—the abstraction from all things, to enjoy the ineffable delights of mystical union.⁵⁸ We may remark, before leaving Hugo, that it was probably due to his influence that Bonaventure makes meditation stand, not so much for mere reflective activity, as for a work in which every faculty takes part, the reflections adduced being merely the starting point. For Hugo certainly emphasised this idea; with him, meditation was useless, if it did not set the whole man at work upon a re-building of the self.⁵⁹ We acknowledge, therefore, Bonaventure's debt to Hugo, but when it comes to the question of accounting for the tendency to enclose the foregoing doctrine within certain well defined degrees, we must turn to the next great figure in the Victorine School, Richard.

Richard works upon the material supplied by Hugo, and carries his master's passion for symbolism to an almost puerile extent. He, like Bonaventure, leads the soul up to mystical Contemplation by six stages, the reflective activity on the part of the

56. Ibid.

57. Op. cit., Lib. I, pars. VI, cap. V, P. L., T. CLXXVI, cols. 266-7.

58. See for this the last five chapters of the seventh book of *Erudit. Didasc.*: *ibid.*, cols. 833-836.

59. See his *Hom. in Eccles. Hom. I*, P. L., T. CLXXV, cols. 117 sqq., where he develops the idea that 'in meditatione quasi quædam lucta est ignorantia cum scientia,' ignorance and knowledge, standing for sinfulness, etc., and a more perfect Christianity, respectively.

soul in these stages being symbolized by the wings with which it is endowed to ascend to the mystic heights:⁶⁰ a touch of symbolism borrowed by Bonaventure in his Prologue to the *Itinerarium*. The Augustinian doctrine handed down by Hugo forms the warp and woof of Richard's *Benjamin Major*. Here he treats firstly of Contemplation, and then of its degrees. The degrees, as St. Thomas noted, are only forms of meditation, conducive to the mystical state. The first degree consists in the consideration and admiration of corporeal objects; the second, in the further study of the products of nature and art. In the third degree, the soul is raised to the moral order by meditation upon Divine and human laws; in the fourth, to the knowledge of incorporeal and invisible objects, the soul itself, and angelic spirits. So far, human wisdom has sought manifestation of the Divine Wisdom, but human industry, in the height of its success, must give place to a more mystical operation. For, in the fifth degree, the soul must rise above itself, by transcending itself and all the limitations of its thought, till, in the sixth and last stage, it is rapt in mystical ecstasy. In relation to this, he declares, in language again borrowed by Bonaventure, penitence avails more than science; sighs are more potent than reason. Reason has done its work: it has done the work which Augustine and Hugo made it perform. Now it needs Divine assistance to enable it to pierce the clouds enveloping the Divinity.⁶¹

Substantially, it is clear, the above is the same as the doctrine expounded in Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*. The identity of thought is such that many have seen in it but a reproduction of Richard's work.⁶² Others, while admitting similarity, give Bonaventure credit for an additional originality in his treatment of the subject.⁶³ It is not within the scope of this essay to attempt a detailed examination of the two treatises. In both, the degrees are six in number; in both, the starting point is the same; in both, the end to be attained is mystical Contemplation. The similarity lessens when we begin to compare degree

60. 'His sex sane contemplationum alis a terrenis suspendimur et ad coelestia levamur.' *Benjamin Major*, Lib. 1, cap. X, P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 75.

61. See for all this, *Op. cit.*, Lib. IV, cap. VI, P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 139. Quoted *infra*, chap. VI.

62. See Andes, F., art. Die Stufen der Contemplatio in Bonaventuras *Itinerarium mentis in Deum* und im *Benjamin maior* des Richard von St. Viktor, in *Franziskanische Studien*, Festnummer, 1921, pp. 189 sqq.

63. Thus Étienne Gilson writes, art. La Conclusion de la Divine Comédie et la Mystique Franciscaine, in *Revue d'histoire Franciscaine*, T. I, p. 56: 'Le Benjamin Major de Richard de Saint-Victor et l'*Itinerarium mentis in Deum* de saint Bonaventure . . . il est évident que l'opuscule mystique de saint Bonaventure est lui-même une interprétation, d'ailleurs profonde et originale, de celui de Richard de Saint-Victor.'

with degree. Richard has as his basis, when mapping out his degrees, the subjective outlook upon created things.⁶⁴ Bonaventure is compelled to make his degrees, because of a mysterious appeal in Nature itself: an appeal which nature makes to every reflective mind. His attitude towards created things is less metaphysical than that of either of the Victorines. With them he admits that created things are symbols; but their symbolism does not exhaust their worth. Here and there in the *Itinerarium*, we find traces of St. Francis' own addition to the symbolism of the Victorines: traces of the love which, in view of the Incarnation, may legitimately go forth to all Nature.

We are far from attributing to the 'Poverello,' a knowledge of the above ideas in their correct scientific setting, but it remains true, that in Nature he spontaneously hews out the steps that will lead him to God. Francis spent much of his time in loving meditation upon the beauties of Nature,⁶⁵ and upon the wondrous work of the Incarnation which had endowed all things, even the most minute and insignificant, with a new splendour and magnificence. It would be a mistake to refer to any pious sentimentality, his blithe love of animals, birds, and flowers, and his regard even for the things devoid of sense. This love was but part of a deeper, personal philosophy, which viewed these things as the creatures of the hand of God:⁶⁶ as symbols in their loveliness of the Beauty which is Divine: yet not symbols to be spurned when their work was done, but to be loved still, because of their origin and their value derived from the very fact of the Incarnation. Francis' mystical movement is from creatures to God, and from God, with renewed fervour, to the world in which he is set. This removes him to a different plane from that of the Victorines. The *Legenda* of Bonaventure, may not depict the St. Francis who has

64. Richard writes: 'Sex autem sunt contemplationum genera a se et inter se omnino divisa. Primum itaque est in imaginatione et secundum solam imaginationem. Secundum est in imaginatione secundum rationem. Tertium est in ratione secundum imaginationem. Quartum est in ratione et secundum rationem. Quintum est supra, sed non praeter rationem. Sextum supra rationem, et videtur esse praeter rationem.' Benj. Maior, Lib. I, cap. VI, P. L. T. CXCVI, col. 70.

65. 'Contuebatur in pulchris pulcherrimum et per impressa rebus vestigia prosequeretur ubique dilectum, de omnibus sibi scalam faciens, per quam conscenderet ad apprehendendum eum qui est desiderabilis totus. Inaudita namque devotionis affectu fontalem illam bonitatem in creaturis singulis tamquam in rivulis degustabat, et quasi coelestem concentum perciperet in consonantia virtutum et actuum eis datorum a Deo, ipsas ad laudem, Domini more Prophetarum David dulciter hortabatur.' Leg. Sti. Francisci, St. Bon., Cap. IX, n. I, T. VIII, p. 530.

66. 'Consideratione quoque primae originis omnium abundantiori pietate repletus, creaturas quantumlibet parvas fratris vel sororis appellabat nominibus, pro eo quod sciebat, eas unum secum habere principium.' Ibid., cap. VIII, n. 6, p. 527.

gained the respect of succeeding generations; the spirituality of the Saint with whose life he is occupied may, in his description, lack the freedom associated with Franciscanism in its purity; but at least this may be said of his work, that he has succeeded in representing the true Nature-philosophy of the 'Poverello,' where others, who made greater pretensions, Ubertino da Casale for example, miserably failed.⁶⁷ Bonaventure can single out this love of St. Francis for creatures, and show how his meditation upon them led him to God; he can exult in it, with the best accredited among the early chroniclers,⁶⁸ and later critics of the Franciscan spirit.⁶⁹ It is due to his own appreciation of this characteristic of St. Francis, that his doctrine of 'Mediate Contemplation,' though inspired by Augustine and the Victorines in its scientific bearings, has become, in the *Itinerarium*, a little more appealing, a little more in touch, perhaps, with true human life.

Bonaventure's doctrine, we may conclude, seems to derive on its philosophical side, from Augustine and the Victorines, and in its more devotional aspect, from St. Francis of Assisi. The influence of Pseudo-Dionysius has not been stressed for reasons already given; the ultimate transcending of all knowledge given by sense and intellect concerning the Supreme Cause of all things has been shown to be an element common to the writers mentioned. Needless to say, though this transcending process finds no expression in St. Francis' *Opuscula*, it remains true, that the God with Whom he finally enjoyed mystical union, was viewed as essentially raised far above the things which had led him upwards. Francis himself would admit, even in his most enthusiastic creature-love, that they would serve him in his path to God, only as long as their inadequacy to satisfy the highest human aspirations, was fully recognized.

The point upon which we have dwelt at some length is considered to be the only one worth particularizing in any critical treatment. All else Bonaventure says with regard to meditation, and with regard to prayer, is too commonplace to demand special notice. The point also assumes an importance, in the light of subsequent mystical teaching. There have been mystics, who, as we

67. See for full evidence as to this statement, *L'Idéalisme Franciscain Spirituel au XIV^e siècle. Étude sur Ubertino de Casale*, par F. Callaey, O. F. M. C., Louvain, 1911, pp. 95-99.

68. E. g. Celano, *Legenda Prima*; see cap. XXIX (ed. Alencon), pp. 81 sqq.; also the author of the *Speculum Perfectionis* (ed. P. Sabatier), caps. C-CI, pp. 195 sqq.

69. See P. Sabatier, *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894, pp. 341 sqq.; F. Cuthbert, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 3rd ed., London, 1921, pp. 19, 55, 351, passim; also *The Romanticism of St. Francis*, 2nd ed., London, 1924, pp. 13 sqq.

have said, whilst admitting in theory the truth that creatures may be stepping stones to God, have nevertheless in practice found the contemplation of concrete realities to be a veritable stumbling-block to their progress. This has frequently been due to an extraordinary sense of the enormity of sin. Sin, original sin in particular, has cast a shadow of gloom over the whole Universe; or if the gloom is not thought of, the delights of creatures are only so many snares, whereby the unwary may be trapped. Not all mystics have been able to join with St. Francis in his delight and comfort derived from the thought, that the whole of Nature, hitherto over-clouded by the darkness of sin, had in some mysterious way, participated in the great atoning work of Christ. Ubertino da Casale has already been mentioned as an example. The God of his *Arbor Vitæ* is, if we may use the expression in all reverence, an Egoist, Who has made all things absolutely for Himself and who rests content in the knowledge that because of Original Sin, creatures, far from leading men to Him, take them still further from Him. Even if, in all fairness to Ubertino, we mention his appreciative commentary on St. Paul's 'Every creature of God is good,' we must in all truth add that he tends to destroy the spiritual worth of such a belief, when he remarks with customary bitterness: 'Comedant carnes qui carnalibus deserviunt.'⁷⁰

This is an attitude which characterizes to some extent, the first three books of the *Imitatio Christi*,⁷¹ and which was developed by mystics like Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, and Ruysbroeck. To some the meditation upon created things has brought positive pain, and an intense longing for something more permanent. Thus, St. John of the Cross, whilst admitting that creatures exhibit traces of God, the impress of His Beauty and Magnificence and Power, declares that in contemplating them, the love of the soul increases indeed, but so does the pain at the absence of the Beloved. The soul must therefore pray for the full fruition of His Presence, and St. John represents the soul as praying thus: 'Entertain me no more with any knowledge of communications or impressions of Thy grandeur, for these do but increase my longing and the pain of Thy absence; Thy presence alone can satisfy my will and desire.'⁷² Such a repulsion from natural beauty was expressed also by St.

70. Op. cit., Lib. III, cap. III, ff. 149-150. The ref. to St. Paul is I. Tim. IV, 4.

71. See Op. cit., bk. I, chap. VII, bk. III, chaps. XXI sqq.

72. Auct. cit., *A Spiritual Canticle of the Soul*, trans. by D. Lewis, London, 1909. Explanation of Stanza VI, p. 54.

Catherine of Genoa in her *Vita*. She writes: 'The sun, which at first seemed so clear to me, now seems obscure; what used to seem sweet to me, now seems bitter: because all beauties and all sweetnesses that have an admixture of the creature are corrupt and spoilt.' ⁷³

All this is in sharp contrast with the spirituality of Saint Francis, and his disciple Bonaventure. Yet such utterances as these need not be condemned. Mysticism is preëminently personal; the individual mystic, must, to a great extent, hew out his, or her, own path. Neither is the other attitude to be reproached: that of finding symbolism everywhere, and in everything. To the mystic, two great truths are of absorbing interest; they cover his whole outlook upon life—one is that God exists, the other, that the only happiness possible is that which is attained in union with Him. With that union as his supreme goal, he is free to regard the world and all its contents, as nothing but a stumbling-block, and if he does not consent to such a step, so repulsive to many, what is more natural than that he should make use of creaturely objects in relation to his own end? Symbolism follows logically upon this latter choice. Such was the choice of the Victorines; such too, was the choice of St. Francis, who added to Symbolism the results of his own conception of Christ as the Lord of the World, and influenced Bonaventure to a certain extent. True it is, that symbolism can lead to certain abuses—to fanciful puerilities, and to an artificial outlook upon all life. But once we admit the validity of the two great truths, quoted as absorbing the whole interest of the mystic, there is little to quarrel with in the root principle of symbolism. Some who are intent upon defending the supernatural element in Mysticism, might quarrel with it on the ground that it leads to a 'Natural Mysticism.' It certainly did not do so in the cases of Bonaventure and his predecessors. There is no hint of a belief, that the mystical experience may be attained to, by any mere use of the natural powers. These can but prepare the way. To see the reflections of Divine Beauty and Power in Nature is one thing; to see God is another. The beholding of such reflections may lead to feelings of awe and reverence towards Nature in its symbolical aspect; yet awe and reverence do not constitute the basis of the mystical experience described by the Franciscan.

73. Quoted by Baron Von Hügel in *The Mystical Element of Religion*, vol. 1, pp. 276-7.

Nor is there latent beneath this outlook upon the world which forms the basis of Bonaventure's doctrine of 'Mediate Contemplation' any trace of Pantheism. Many passages might be quoted from the *Itinerarium*, and elsewhere, as savouring of Pantheism. Thus he writes: '(Deus) est simplicissimum et maximum, ideo totum intra omnia et totum extra, ac per hoc est sphæra intelligibilis cuius centrum est ubique et circumferentia nusquam';⁷⁴ and again: 'Deus magis est intimus unicuique rei quam ipsa sibi.'⁷⁵ These, and similar passages which might be multiplied, are only forcible expressions of his own conceptions of Divine Immanence. All creatures are in a state of immediate dependence upon God, and it is only in virtue of that dependence that they exist. In a certain sense, therefore, God is immediately present among, and in creatures, for they are the continual result of His Power, and Wisdom; where these are at work, there God in His uncreated Essence must needs be. In this sense, Bonaventure admits, is God immanent in creatures. He is not mixed with them, yet they possess a likeness to Him, inasmuch as they reflect His Beauty and Wisdom. He can write of creatures: '(Deus) est in eis per essentiam, potentiam et præsentiam,'⁷⁶ but he always insists that God is by Nature absolutely distinct and separate from all creaturely existence, not merely in the way in which one creature differs in kind from another, but in virtue of the unique Nature of His Being, which is absolute, self-dependent, and thus altogether incommensurable with created things, which are necessarily dependent and derived. Though all creatures are in the similitude of God by virtue of their being, communicated to them by Him, they are absolutely unlike Him in His independence; no imaginable greatness or perfection in any creature can give it any kind of resemblance to this essential and fundamental attribute of the Divine Nature. Hence Bonaventure is forced to the point that God is really known best only after intellectual separation from all creaturely existences; He cannot moreover be expressed in terms of anything but Himself, nor brought under any category which has any other content.

If, therefore, we find the 'Mediate Contemplation' expounded above, leading to the consideration of God's Intelligence, Wisdom, Beauty and Power, together with other attributes, it must always be remembered that the Franciscan

74. Op. cit., cap. V, n. 8, T. V, p. 310.

75. II S. D. XXIX, art. I, q. III, n. 6, T. II, p. 643.

76. Itin., cap. II, n. 1, T. V, p. 299.

Theologian recognises the Divinity as still being none of these things in precisely the same sense in which they are predicated of creatures. Creatures can only be intelligent, wise, and the rest, by participation, even as their very existence is only participation in the Being of God.⁷⁷ The speculative knowledge that God exists, possessing in a transcendent manner the attributes found reflected in creatures, is, in the Bonaventurian synthesis, what may be called the theoretical preparation for the mystical experience, which, in turn, is only possible in a manner consistent with Divine Transcendence. Hence his final adoption of the 'Via Negativa': hence too, his references to the soul in mystical union, as being 'lifted above itself,' 'taken out of itself,' and not as realizing itself as part of a universal Divinity. In the realm of grace it is the same; mystical experience is ever the full realization of the inherent possibilities of the 'given.'

It is fully realized that this is but an inadequate treatment of the most difficult problem presented by Divine Immanence and Transcendence. There are gaps in the brief presentation of Bonaventure's doctrine, which demand much careful thought and reading, before they can be filled; still wider reading and deeper study would be demanded before his doctrine could be criticised from the philosophical point of view. It is only hoped that so far, sufficient has been said, to remove him from the number of those mystical writers who are represented either as fully Pantheistic in thought, or at least, as in expression trembling on the edge of Pantheism.⁷⁸

We are more concerned with the value to be attributed to the doctrine of 'Mediate Contemplation' in the devotional sphere. It must needs have a special worth, inasmuch as it aids the soul to keep in constant, albeit indirect, communion with God. The practice of the 'presence of God,' beloved of many mystics, becomes easier of accomplishment, when, in addition to the belief that He is present within the soul of every devout Christian by His grace, the truth and potency of the 'manuductio' illustrated in the *Itinerarium*, is fully realized. Also, the attitude taken up by Bonaventure in regard to the external world, gives rise to an

77. For all the above, see I S. D. XXXVII, P. I, Art. III, Q. I.—P. II, Art. I, Q. III—T. I, pp. 646-657; and cf. *Breviloquium adjectis illustrationibus*, etc. P. Antonii Mariae a Vicetia, Friburgi, MDCCCLXXXI, pp. 110 sqq. Here, Bonaventure's works are examined with reference to Pantheism, and the commentator concludes that there is no evidence of Pantheistic tendencies.

78. With many non-Catholic writers on the subject of Mysticism it has become the fashion to read Pantheism into the most innocent expressions of Nature-love. This need not be dealt with too seriously. It is too often a case of wilful misunderstanding.

optimism, present indeed in the writings of some of our own English mystics, yet painfully lacking elsewhere—in the works of later Continental mystics⁷⁹ for example. It is only a pessimistic philosophy that would make of the beauties of Nature so many stumbling blocks to communion with the Divine: so many distractions in prayer. Moreover such an attitude of pessimism is surely difficult of reconciliation with the belief that Christ is the Lord of all Creation. It seems more in keeping with the spirit of Our Lord's Gospel, to regard the external world with Francis of Assisi, and his spiritual son, Bonaventure, as capable of being used in the great task before the mystic—the attainment of the contemplation of the God Who made not only the human soul, but all else.

79. By 'Continental Mystics' we here mean those who lived their lives or wrote their works in countries other than England.



CHAPTER V.

Contemplation the reward of the ascetical life.—Meaning of the term and its synonyms.—Bonaventure's inconsistency in use of the term 'Contemplatio.'—The question of 'acquired' Contemplation.—Bonaventure manifests no acquaintance with later distinction between 'acquired' and 'infused' Contemplation.—His teaching that no special vocation is demanded for the attainment of mystical union.—Accessibility of the mystical state.—His encouragement of desire in relation thereto.—This desire balanced by making it extend to a strenuous preparatory asceticism.—The nature of mystical union or contemplation.—Some modern attempts to explain it.—Bonaventure's teaching that the experience of God in normal mystical union is indirect.—The soul conceived to commune with God, through the medium of a special interior effect.—Apparently contrary passages explained.—The two constitutive elements of the mystical act.—The enlightenment of the intellect.—This at once an 'Illuminatio' and a 'Docta Ignorantia.'—The consummation of the mystical act, found in the will-union of the soul with God.—The enlightenment of the intellect a subordinate factor.—Effects of mystical union.—The illumination of the intellect and the inflaming of the will, attributed to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, Understanding and Wisdom respectively.—The gift of Understanding founded upon Faith.—Bodily phenomena find no necessary place in mystical union.—Terms apparently implying external phenomena, explained.

We have now to treat of the highest state in the development of the spiritual life: that of Contemplation. So far, it has been seen, that Bonaventure insists upon a genuine process of purgation as a preliminary to this state. It has likewise been pointed out that he places in the forefront, among the necessary preparatory steps, that peculiarly Franciscan 'Imitatio Christi,' which, in a later age, was to become the basis of what was known as the 'New Devotion.' All this was followed by a discussion on his ideas of prayer and meditation, the form of meditation known as 'Mediate Contemplation' being particularly stressed.

It is undoubtedly Bonaventure's opinion that from these, and from kindred spiritual exercises demanding by their nature not only the aid of grace, but also individual conative activity, there develops within the soul that life of complete union with God, which is called the Contemplative life: a life which may or may not be accompanied by those extraordinary external phenomena met with in many ascetical and mystical treatises, such as ecstasy in its common acceptance, and rapture. With external phenomena we need not concern ourselves. Bonaventure manifests no tendency to dwell upon them as if they represented in

any sense the mystical dealings between God and the human soul. External phenomena neither prove, nor make for sanctity; even the Bonaventurian 'ecstasis' implies no necessary bodily effect, as we shall see. The Franciscan Doctor teaches that, as a reward for its fidelity, for its stern self-discipline, and steadfast exercise of virtue, the soul is at last endowed with an ability to enjoy, with greater or less frequency, with greater or less intensity, according to progress made, the act of mystical Contemplation. It is this that gives the name to the state now attained; it is also called the state or 'way' of Union, since the essential act of the Contemplative life is viewed as an act of will-union with God.

Since we have now come to the principal and most difficult part of our treatise, it is proposed to make this act, and all connected with it, the subject matter of the whole of the present chapter.

Again, it must be noted the doctrine is very much scattered in the sources whence it has been drawn. Moreover, when Bonaventure mentions 'Contemplatio,' it cannot always be ascertained with immediate certainty whether he is referring to a truly mystical act, rendered possible only through the operation of a special grace, or to the mere discursive act of the intellect which is co-natural with it. There is great confusion of terminology. 'Contemplatio' is made to stand for the mystical and the natural acts, and in all probability, the confusion is only part of the heritage received from the Victorines, particularly from Richard, whose *Benjamin Major* offers a striking example of a similar carelessness.¹ In view of this confusion, great care has been taken in choosing quotations. Nothing is cited which has not undoubted reference to that act of the soul which is regarded as the fullest enjoyment of the Christian life. Again, whilst the act itself admits of degrees in intensity, there are, and must be, within the spiritual life, other acts, which, though they approach in character the essential will-union with God, nevertheless fall short of being mystical in reality. Thus, there are periods of intense spiritual exaltation, hardly distinguishable from true mystical Contemplation; but spiritual exaltation can be, and very often is, due to purely natural causes. On the other hand, mystical

1. Thus Richard writes in one place: 'Possumus tamen illam quae in hac vita haberi potest, Dei cognitionem, tribus gradibus distinguere et secundum triplicem graduum differentiam per tres coelos dividere. Aliter siquidem Deus videtur per fidem, aliter cognoscitur per rationem, atque aliter cernitur per contemplationem. Prima ergo visio ad primum coelum, secunda ad secundum, tertia pertinet ad tertium . . . Ad primum itaque et secundum contemplationis coelum homines sane ascendere possunt.' Op. cit., P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 53.

Contemplation, in its essence, is due solely to grace. It is viewed in Bonaventure's theology as the super-structure built by God Himself, on the foundation laid by the soul when aided by the ordinary graces common to all Christians. The soul has, as far as may be, cleansed itself from sin; it has made advances in virtue in an imitation of the Christ-life; it has acquired habits of prayer and meditation. Now God directly adds the power to commune with Himself, in a more exalted and in a mystical manner.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that we are dealing with a progressive development implying multitudinous degrees; to search out, and to tabulate with precision every such degree, to mark those which are on the border-line of the mystical, and to determine to what extent each and every one falls short, would carry us into far too wide a field. We venture to think, that all that is really necessary will be done, if, keeping well in mind the truth that we are concerned with a spiritual growth, we discover what Bonaventure has to tell us concerning the act of truly mystical Contemplation.

Some mention must be made, however, of a particular state, which has largely occupied the attention of writers since the seventeenth century. The result of a laudable and painstaking attempt to analyse the whole spiritual process, and to sift the non-mystical from the mystical, is found in the importance attached by most moderns to what is called 'acquired' or 'active' Contemplation. This is frequently regarded, sometimes on the authority of Bonaventure himself, as an integral part of the spiritual life: as a step which must necessarily be taken before further progress can be made. Unfortunately, all are not unanimous with regard to this, and it seems better to define at once the position taken up here. We are not concerned with the question: Is there such a state as that of 'acquired' Contemplation? This would be out of place. The only question that concerns us is: Does Bonaventure make it a necessary step in spiritual development? If he does, it must be carefully noted; if not, we are perfectly justified in using, without any further qualification, the word 'Contemplation' as referring to the highest act of union with God, attained to in this life. In this act, all individual conative activity ceases, in the sense that it is God, Who, according to the Franciscan Doctor, acts upon the soul by some mysterious operation.

When descriptive writers began to busy themselves with the known experiences of others, when they began to

work upon the material supplied to directors of souls, they declared that in ordinary cases, before this higher level acknowledged as mystical was reached, the soul experienced a type of communion with God, akin to the act of mystical union, yet falling short of it for a particular reason. The reason why it could not be called truly mystical, was simply that considerable scope was still given for individual conative activity; human effort still played a large and conscious part in such communion with God. Contemplation therefore becomes twofold — 'acquired' and 'infused.' Only the latter variety is acknowledged on all hands to be properly speaking mystical. Attempts are made to discover the distinction in Patristic and earlier scholastic writings. In the seventeenth century, a certain Philip of the Blessed Trinity² in his *Summa Theologiæ Mysticæ*, made the distinction famous, and we find the Dominican, Thomas of Vallgonera³ and the Franciscan, Tempesti,⁴ reading it, with apparent ease, into the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure respectively. Opposition quickly arose, and to-day there is a school grouped round the learned French scholar, M. Saudreau,⁵ vigorously asserting that such a distinction cannot possibly be found in the early mystical writings, unless considerable violence be done to the texts in question. The absence of any direct mention of this state expressed in modern terminology, in the earlier treatises, cannot of course, serve the purpose of those who wish to rule the so-called 'acquired' Contemplation out of court. This is fully recognized. We can only work upon the absence of any clear recognition of a state corresponding to that denoted by the terminology invented by the modern writers, and all that is asserted here, is, that in the

2. A Discalced Carmelite Theologian; b. 1603, d. 1671. Author of other works besides the one mentioned, e. g. *Summa Philosophiæ*, *Summa Theologiæ Thomisticæ*. See Henricus a S. Sacramento, *Collectio Scriptorum Ord. Carmel. Excalc.*, T. II, p. 110, N. B. Pourrat in his *La Spiritualité Chrétienne*, T. II, p. 476, declares that the distinction referred to was first elaborated in the fifteenth century by Denys the Carthusian.

3. Born in Catalonia, c. 1595, d. 1665. His most important work is a treatise similar in type to that of Philip of the Blessed Trinity, entitled *Mysticæ Theologiæ D. Thomæ, utriusque theologiæ scholasticæ et mysticæ principii*, etc. The original work is very rare. The Edition used is that published at Turin, 1890.

4. C. Tempesti — a Conventual Friar Minor. His *Mistica teologia*, already quoted, seems to have been his greatest work. But it is practically useless, as it is based for the most part upon spurious writings.

5. Author of many works on the subject of Mysticism. His attitude towards the present point is summed up in his work *La vie d'union à Dieu, et les moyens d'y arriver d'après les Grands Maîtres de la Spiritualité*, Paris, 1921, pp. 23-4. 'Beaucoup d'auteurs des derniers siècles ont adopté une division différente des oraisons contemplatives; ils distinguent la contemplation infusé ou passive et la contemplation acquise ou active. Comme on ne trouve pas trace de cette distinction chez les Maîtres de la mystique, il n'y a pas lieu d'en parler ici.'

works of Bonaventure, the state known as 'acquired' Contemplation, finds no place.

'Acquired' Contemplation as it is generally described by its exponents seems to refer to a state of prayer or communion with God, forming a 'via media' between ordinary discursive meditation, and what we call mystical or 'infused' Contemplation. It is akin in simplicity to acknowledged mystical prayer, but since the conative element plays an important part, and the consciously 'given' is absent, it is not strictly speaking mystical. Because, in a word, it has many of the characteristics of mystical Contemplation, yet remains without that secret working of God upon the soul deemed necessary to constitute the mystical act, it has been termed 'acquired,' being, 'ex hypothesi,' the highest point to which the soul, with the aid of ordinary grace, may rise.⁶

Perhaps it would be better to give as briefly as possible the position adopted with regard to the point, by one of the best accredited exponents of Mysticism in modern times—Père Poulain, whose *Graces of Interior Prayer* is a veritable monument of patient research in matters mystical. He defends the existence of 'acquired' Contemplation, and with great skill he traces its development from ordinary meditation by a process of gradual simplification. Meditation, usually a complex of considerations and affective acts, grows naturally into 'acquired' Contemplation, by a gradual reduction of the number of considerations. He writes: 'This degree (of 'acquired' Contemplation) differs from meditation, therefore, merely as from the greater to the less. (*sic*) It is a discourse, only less varied and less apparent and leaving more room for sentiments of love, praise, gratitude, respect, submission, contrition, etc., and also for practical resolutions. The deduction of truths is partly replaced by intuition. From the intellectual point of view, the soul becomes simplified.'⁷ Père Poulain continues: 'The simplification can be carried farther still, and may extend, in a certain measure, to the will, which then becomes satisfied with very little variety in the affections. There is nothing to prevent them from being very ardent at times, but they are usually produced without many words. This is what we call the prayer of simplicity, or of simple regard. It can be defined thus: a mental prayer where 1° intuition in a great

6. A full account, with criticism, will be found in *La Science de la Prière*, par Ludovic de Besse, Paris, 1924.

7. *Op. cit.*, Authorized English Translation by Leonard L. York-Smith, London, 1921, pp. 7-8. The original French edition is not available to the present writer.

measure replaces reasoning; 2° the affections and resolutions show very little variety and are expressed in few words.⁸ This definition being primarily negative in character, Père Poulain completes it by saying: 'In the prayer of simplicity there is a thought or a sentiment that returns incessantly and easily (although with little or no development) amongst many other thoughts, whether useful or no. This dominant thought does not go so far as to be continuous. It merely returns frequently and of its own accord. The prayer of simple regard is really only a slow sequence of single glances cast upon one and the same object.'⁹ Elsewhere,¹⁰ he identifies the state he has been describing with 'acquired' Contemplation, and still further on in his treatise, he endorses the definition given by Scaramelli, which makes it, 'that contemplation, which, with the aid of grace, we can acquire by our own endeavour, and particularly by a long practice of meditation; although, strictly speaking, it is not due to all these efforts.'¹¹

Père Poulain speaks on the authority of first hand material obtained during years of patient labour. The 'acquired' Contemplation of which he treats offers many attractions to one who is trying to trace the development of the spiritual life, and to-day it has assumed such an importance that the majority take it for granted. It may or may not be a special degree in spiritual growth. Does it find a place, as described by Père Poulain and others, in the theology of Bonaventure?

If they are referring only to what frequently appears to be a form of meditation attenuated to a point, and therefore capable of explanation by the laws of psychology, doubtless it could be discovered therein. Tempesti, however, regarding it as a 'via media' between the non-mystical and the mystical communion with God, decided that it could easily be traced. Unfortunately for his case, it is built up almost entirely upon works now judged spurious, for example, the *Stimulus Amoris* of James of Milan, and the *De Septem Itineribus Aeternitatis* of Rudolph of Biberach.¹²

One genuine quotation is brought to bear upon the problem, and at first sight it does indeed appear that Bonaventure considers that a form of communion with God, corresponding to that described by Père Poulain and others as 'acquired' Contemplation, is an integral and necessary

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 11.

11. Ibid., p. 61.

12. See *Mistica Teologia*, T. I, Trattato III, pp. 340-77.

step in the spiritual scale. The whole context whence Tempesti has drawn his quotations, shows clearly that the Franciscan Doctor is pointing out the path leading to the fullest Christian experience. Bonaventure writes: 'Nota, quod hic est status sapientiæ christianæ; unde cum Dionysius multos libros fecisset, hic consummavit, scilicet in Mystica Theologia. Unde oportet, quod homo sit instructus multis et omnibus præcedentibus. De mystica theologia Dionysius: 'Tu autem,' inquit, 'O Timothee amice, circa mysticas visiones forti actione et contritione, sensus derelinque, etc.; vult enim dicere, quod oportet, quod sit solutus ab omnibus, quæ ibi numerat, et quod omnia dimittat; quasi diceret: super omnem substantiam et cognitionem est ille quem volo intelligere. Et ibi est operatio transcendens omnem intellectum, secretissima; quod nemo scit, nisi qui experitur. In anima enim sunt virtutes multæ apprehensivæ: sensitiva, imaginativa, æstimativa, intellectiva; et omnes oportet relinquere, et in vertice est unitio amoris, et hæc omnes transcendit . . . Hæc autem contemplatio fit per gratiam, et tamen iuvat industria, scilicet ut separet se ab omni eo, quod Deus non est, et a se ipso, si possibile esset.'¹³

It is perfectly obvious that Bonaventure is thinking of that form of Contemplation, distinguished to-day as 'infused' or 'passive:' of an act which is most secret, being known only to him who has experienced it. Everything he says, points to the ineffable character of the act he is describing. This being so, it is far removed in nature from what is now called 'acquired' Contemplation; no-one claims ineffability for this. Our theory is confirmed, when, enumerating according to the mediaeval conception the various faculties of the soul, he declares that the state he has in mind transcends them, and finally singles out grace as the efficient cause: 'Hæc contemplatio fit per gratiam.' It is, however, upon the immediately adjoined clause that Tempesti relies, 'Tamen iuvat industria,' for he interprets this to mean that human effort can, with ordinary grace, acquire an experience akin to the 'operatio secretissima.' For him, the same clause affords conclusive proof of Bonaventure's acquaintance with the distinction. This, we think, is claiming far too much. By the clause in question, Bonaventure merely excludes all Quietistic tendencies. The grace of Contemplation is indeed an exalted one; it transcends the capacities of unaided soul-faculties; it is in its very essence, due to Divine Benignity. Nevertheless, he would not have it thought

13. Collat. in Hexaëm., col. II, n. 29-30, T. V, p. 341. Quoted by Tempesti, op. cit., p. 343.

that all effort can be dispensed with, or that to attain it, the mere suppression of all activity is necessary. It seems more correct to find in the above quotation, but one more proof of the voluntaristic character of Franciscan theology, rather than an acquaintance with the state upon which moderns dwell so much. Here too, it may be remarked, that it is because of Bonaventure's insistence that, no matter how exalted the grace of Contemplation may be, it is the duty of the soul to work, that in the previous chapters we have concerned ourselves so much with the various forms of spiritual activity of which he treats.

Nor do we find anything approaching the nature of 'acquired' Contemplation, where he professedly gives the steps leading to the mystical experience. In the *Collationes in Hexaëmeron*, he makes these steps or degrees correspond, in characteristically mediaeval fashion, with the nine choirs of angels: this, after rejecting the division given by the Abbot of Verecelli.¹⁴ The operation of the first three choirs of angels corresponds with the three-fold activity of the natural powers; the operations of the next three correspond with the activity of the soul when aided by grace; finally, Bonaventure makes it clear, that in the only mystical state known to him, all conative activity ceases: "Tertia hierarchizatio est gratiæ super naturam et industriam, quando scilicet anima supra se elevata est et, se deserta, suscipit divinas illuminationes et supra se speculatur quod sibi datum est; et ex hoc surgit in divina sive sursum agitur."¹⁵ This, the last stage, is the exclusive work of grace; the conscious, deliberate working of the faculties finds no place; they are acted upon by Divine Power, and it is this that makes them mystical in their operation. There is given no step or degree before this, which is recognized as semi-mystical, or which is so described that we may identify it with 'acquired' Contemplation. Surely, had he known the state, or considered it to be an integral step in religious development, he would have marked it out here. Since the 'via media' finds neither explicit nor implicit mention, it seems only right to say that for Bonaventure, the only state to which the term 'mystical' can in any sense

14. He writes: 'Abbas Vercellensis assignavit tres gradus, scilicet, naturæ, industriæ, gratiæ. Sed non videtur, quod aliquo modo per naturam anima possit hierarchizari. Et ideo nos debemus attribuire industrie cum natura, industriæ cum gratiâ, et gratiæ super naturam et industriam.' Op. cit., col. XXII, n. 24, T. V, p. 441. This 'Abbas Vercellensis' was Thomas, Abbot of St. Andrew's, Vercelli, from its foundation in 1219, until his death in 1246(?). He was a Canon Regular of the Congregation of St. Victor. Author of *Extractiones libri S. Dionysii areopagitæ de coelesti seu angelici hierarchia*, *Extractiones Libri S. Dionysii de divinis nominibus*, *Extractiones . . . de mystica theologia*, *Commentarius super Cantica canticorum*, etc. See *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, T. XVII, pp. 356 sqq.

15. Collat. in Hex., col. XXII, n. 27, T. V, p. 441.

be applied, is that which is now distinguished as 'infused.' We may concede that the above arguments are negative in character. We are not in the position to judge whether in his opinion, the modern exponents are correct or not. The least we can claim on the strength of the arguments adduced, is that we are justified in excluding from this treatise any lengthy discussion on the interesting, albeit intricate psychology, involved in the problem of the Prayer of Simple Regard, or 'acquired' Contemplation.¹⁶

Positively speaking, the thought of the Franciscan Doctor seems to be that the mystical union follows upon the above mentioned ascetical practices, and hence upon every state wherein individual activity plays a part, immediately, without any 'via media,' and whenever God is so pleased to bestow the special grace necessary.

Nor is there any question of special vocation. Mystical union is represented as a state of grace offered to all, though few attain to it.¹⁷ It is 'special' only in the sense, that it requires a given element, which is not present where ordinary grace is concerned. On the other hand, the tendency of those who attach great importance to 'acquired' Contemplation has assuredly been in the direction of making mystical union a great and extraordinary gift, to be ranged, it would seem, among such gifts as prophecy, and the power of working miracles. Ordinarily speaking, it is held, the soul does not proceed, without a special vocation from God, beyond 'acquired' Contemplation. The step beyond this leads the soul into the realms of the extraordinary, and the rarely given. Bonaventure must consequently be represented as being in opposition to those, who, to quote a recent exponent, regard true, or 'infused,' mystical Contemplation as '*une de ces faveurs, semblables aux grâces extraordinaires, qui s'appellent gratiæ gratis datæ, faveur très spéciale et rarement accordée.*'¹⁸ By all means, Bonaventure would agree, it is a great gift, but it is not an essentially extraordinary one, on a level with the gifts of prophecy and miracle, which are typical examples of '*gratiæ gratis*

16. Many, however, go still further than this, and not only declare that Bonaventure does not treat either explicitly or implicitly of 'acquired' Contemplation, but that on his authority it may be judged, that such a state does not exist at all. This is the thesis of P. Vicente de Peralta in his art. *El pensamiento de San Bonaventura sobre la contemplacion mística. Estudios Francescanos*, 1912, pp. 426-442. He also examines the works, once attributed to Bonaventure, and now traced to James of Milan and Rudolph of Biberach, and shows that even these did not know the state.

17. See Itin., cap. I, n. 8, T. V, p. 298; also II Sermo de S. Agnete, T. IX, p. 510.

18. P. Marie-Joseph, art. *Il existe une contemplation acquise*, in *Études Carmélitaines*, 1920, p. 3.

datae.' He constantly reveals his attitude towards the problem, as, for example, when he writes: 'Nota, quod quadruplex est modus cognoscendi Deum, videlicet per fidem, per contemplationem, per apparitionem, et per apertam visionem. Et primum est gratiæ communis, secundum est *gratiæ excellentis*, tertium gratiæ specialis, et quantum gloriæ consummantis.'¹⁹ There is no room in a synthesis of his doctrine for a special vocation, as antecedently necessary for the enjoyment of mystical experience. He can certainly have no thought of the need of such a vocation, when, in all his *Opuscula*, having true mystical experience as his goal, he dwells upon the dispositive value of purgation, imitation of the Christ-life, prayer and meditation, in their relation to the highest spiritual experience accorded to men on earth. To set so high a value upon such forms of piety, and nevertheless to think that they are useless, unless the special vocation be given, would demand an express statement to that effect. This statement is lacking in the works already examined.

On the hypothesis too, that this special vocation is a pre-requisite to the enjoyment of mystical experience, we are thrown back upon a breach of continuity between the ascetic and mystic lives: a breach which cannot be reconciled with his theory of grace, already expounded. The ascetic, on such a hypothesis, may progress indefinitely in his asceticism, but he may never reach any fuller enjoyment in the spiritual life, beyond the continual cleansing of the self, the rigorous self-discipline, the facility in prayer and discursive meditation—in a word—beyond all those spiritual exercises, possible to every one with the aid of ordinary grace, unless he be made subject to an entirely new Divine economy. The breach between the ordinary and the extraordinary would have to be clearly marked; mystical union, or Contemplation, would have to be treated of in the same manner as miracle and prophecy, and, even though acknowledged as less rare than these two phenomena, the special vocation necessary thereto would have to be clearly stressed. In the absence of these and other necessary qualifying statements, passages like the following, which are constantly found in Bonaventure's works, would be certainly misleading. For they imply that from the very first periods of asceticism, till the enjoyment of the mystical union itself, there is a steady progress, without any breach of continuity. He addresses the devout soul: 'Nec debes ab oratione spiritum relaxare, sed tamdiu

19. II S. D. XXVII, a. II, q. III, T. II, p. 545; and compare *ibid.*, ad 6, p. 546.

per devotionis ardorem sursum ascendere, donec ingrediariis in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad domum Dei, et ibi utcumque cordis oculo dilecto tuo viso et utcumque degustato, quam suavis est Dominus, et quam magna multitudo dulcedinis eius, in amplexus eius ruas, impressis labiis intimæ devotionis oscula figas, ut sic tota a te alienata, tota in cælum rapta, tota in Christum transformata, non valeas cohibere spiritum tuum, sed exclames cum propheta David et dicas: Renuit consolari anima mea; memor fui Dei, et delectatus sum.²⁰ He is not referring to ordinary outbursts of love as the goal of the soul's striving, but to real mystical union.

In perfect agreement with this, we find him dwelling upon the accessibility of the highest level of spirituality. Mysticism is often regarded as an intellectual search, the Object of which must needs remain hidden from the uncultured. We can mention cases in which it is so presented; the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius afford an example. Conceivably, there are but few who can follow whither the *Dionysiaca* would lead, for only the intellectually trained could understand his import. Also, Bonaventure himself in his *Itinerarium*, like St. Augustine in several of his treatises, frequently co-mingles his mystical teaching, with arguments understood only by those gifted with a more philosophical turn of mind.²¹ Nevertheless, the Franciscan Doctor is most careful to indicate that philosophy, even when conjoined with most ardent devotion, is not the only road. For the ignorant and the unlettered, there always remains the safe and equally sure method of uprising to God, by way of prayer and devotion. To all is open the imitation of the Christ-life, with its concomitant richness of spiritual experience. Inability to follow his more learned theological speculations, by no means spells failure in the realization of the end to which they are directed. It is probably because of the mystical experience of St. Francis of Assisi, and his first companions, Brother Giles for example, who certainly possessed nothing approaching the intellectual capacity of some of the earlier mystical writers, and who nevertheless attained to precisely the same levels, that he fully develops this truth. He does

20. De Perf. Vitae, cap. V, n. 5, T. VIII, p. 119. The Script. references are to Ps. 41, 5; Ps. 33, 9; Ps. 76, 3-4.

21. It must not be inferred from this, that the most intense intellectual speculations, divorced from what is commonly understood by devotion, can ever be of use in relation to the mystical experience. Certainly this is never taught by Pseudo-Dionysius or by Augustine and Bonaventure. All that is implied here, is that there are treatises, coming from the pens of these and from others, which contain philosophical arguments difficult to follow, and which are couched in language, removing them from the understanding of all but the cultured.

this in one of his sermons. He has been preaching on the way of approach to God, and had enumerated the various steps leading to mystical union. But, up to a point, he has done so, in a manner comprehensible only to the trained intelligence. Then, almost apologetically, he falls back upon the evidence of Brother Giles, to show how devotion, without intellectual search, can lead with equal efficacy in the same direction: 'Sed quidam frater laicus, qui per triginta annos habuit gratiam excessus mentalis et qui mundissimus fuit et virgo et tertius frater post beatum Franciscum, sic dixit, quod septem gradus contemplationis devotæ sunt isti, scilicet, ignis, unctio, extasis, contemplatio, gustus, amplexus, requies, et octava sequitur gloria.'²² Consequently, he can exhort his hearers thus: 'Modo non debetis desperare, vos simplices, quando audistis ista, quia simplex non potest ista habere, sed poteritis postea habere. Nos non facimus nisi dicere. Sed quando anima sancta habet ista sex, tunc disponitur ad videndum gloriam. Hæc est requies, quam quærere debemus . . . Si vis esse tabernaculum sapientiæ, studeas istas dispositiones habere; et si homo non velit ad istam perfectionem pervenire, magnum tamen est, quod lex christiana habet tales.'²³

All that is required, is that the soul should do whatever is in its power; this done, Divine grace will supply that which is still wanting: 'Quando enim anima facit quod potest, tunc gratia facile levat animam, et Deus ibi operatur.'²⁴ We here find the keynote to his theory. All, independently both of special vocation and of special intellectual endowments, may attain with equal ease to the fulness of the Christian life. In the 'Poverello,' especially in the reception of the Stigmata, he finds an example of the mystical possibilities within the grasp of every follower of Our Lord. It is his pious belief, that God wrought such wonders in the case of St. Francis, that by deed, more than by word, He might attract all to the fruition of mystical bliss. Referring to St. Francis' experience on Mount Alvernia, he affirms: 'Positus est in exemplum perfectæ contemplationis, sicut prius fuerat actionis, tanquam alter Jacob et Israel, ut omnes viros vere spirituales Deus per eum invitaret ad huiusmodi transitum et mentis excessum magis exemplo quam verbo.'²⁵ Of itself, this passage would suffice to prove that the mystical experience is not regarded by Bonaventure as something

22. Sermo de Sabb. Sancto, ad. III, T. IX, p. 269.

23. Ibid., and cf. Sermo de SS. Apost., T. IX, p. 547.

24. Coll. in Hex., col. XXII, n. 39, T. V, p. 443.

25. Itin., cap. VII, n. 3, T. V, p. 312.

essentially extraordinary, and implying a special economy of grace, but as the perfect and fullest bloom of the life of grace, begun in the soul by its first acceptance.

Finally, to bring these preliminary remarks to a fitting conclusion, we must deal with the part played by desire. There are those who would declare, in the interests of a pure and safe Mysticism, that all desire of a religious experience exceeding the normal, should be absolutely banished. Such an attitude, apart from other considerations, is quite comprehensible, and it does not necessarily imply any Quietistic tendencies. Whereas the Quietists would banish desire simply because it is a disturbing factor, and even a barrier to that peculiar complacency beloved of Madame Guyon, other, and more orthodox writers, would reject it because of the psychological complications set up. It is so easy for desire to become mis-directed into ultra-normal channels. A few theologians distinguish, maintaining that desire of mystical graces is legitimate in the case of those who have already begun to experience them in a lower degree. A hint at least of the other distinction, between 'acquired' and 'infused' Contemplation, is given here.

An idea of the state of the problem may be gathered from the conclusion arrived at, by a recent student of Mysticism, P. Léonce de Grandmaison. He writes: 'On jugera que le désir d'une union croissante avec Dieu, n'a rien en lui-même, pourvu qu'il ne menace ni de déception, ni de rancœur, celui dans lequel il serait frustré, que de très légitime. Ce désir doit-il *exclure positivement* les hautes communications mystiques? On osera difficilement l'affirmer. Doit-il les *inclure implicitement*? Ceux-là même qui tiennent pour l'accessibilité maximale hésiteront, je pense, à le conseiller. Il semble que le mieux sera de s'en tenir à ce *désir général d'union la plus grande possible*, qu'aussi bien tout amour profond implique et inspire. Un tel désir ne précise ni n'exclut déterminément aucune des formes que l'union peut prendre ici-bas.' ²⁶

The writer indicates the many questions discussed concerning the point, and in the light of his conclusion, the Bonaventurian theory may be the better understood. Not only is desire of mystical experience quite lawful in the soul already possessed of grace, but those who wish to correspond fully with the workings of God upon the human soul, are bound in

26. Auct. cit., art. La religion personnelle, L'élan mystique, in the Jesuit Études, 1913, pp. 332-3.

duty to have that desire. At once it must be understood, that the desire is not represented as extending to external phenomena, or to the exalted experiences attributed by tradition to Moses and to St. Paul. Bonaventure has the distinction between these, and the normal mystical experience in mind, when he writes: 'Hæc enim est (contemplatio), in qua mirabiliter inflammatur affectio, sicut eis patet, qui aliquoties consueverunt ad anagogicos elevari excessus. *Hunc modum cognoscendi arbitror cuilibet viro iusto in via ista esse quærendum*; quodsi Deus aliquid ultra faciet, hoc privilegium est speciale, non legis communis.'²⁷ So too, in a passage already quoted, in which he deals with the various means to be adopted to attain to the mystical experience, he attaches the greatest importance to desire, using a symbolism supplied by Brother Giles: 'Intelligo, quod anima contemplativa, quæ exercet se, ut possit pervenire ad requiem, oportet, quod vias istas transeat, scilicet, ut primo ardeat per gladium flammeum atque versatilem, hoc est per ardentissimum desiderium amoris Dei et oblivionem sui, et gladio dividat se a terrenis. Hoc est principium diffusivum.'²⁸ This desire is made to cover all the preparation dwelt upon hitherto; in desiring the mystical union, the soul must likewise be willing to undergo the arduous task implied by asceticism. 'Vehemens desiderium porta est Sapientiæ'²⁹ he writes, and with equal precision: 'Ad hoc autem, quod anima recipiat illa lumina, requiritur vivacitas desiderii . . . Non enim est contemplativa anima sine desiderio vivaci. Qui hoc non habet, nihil de contemplatione habet, quia origo luminum est a supremis ad infima, non e converso.'³⁰ Quotations such as these might be multiplied. The whole of his *Itinerarium* is built upon the idea that the desire of mystical union is not merely a lawful tendency, but a necessary one, in the soul which is fully corresponding with the grace of God.³¹

Enough has been quoted, to show that Bonaventure is conceiving no unbalanced desire. Presumption is guarded against, not only by his constant reiteration of the truth that desire must equally extend to a life of self-denial and self-abnegation, but

27. II S. D. XXIII, art. II, q. III, ad 6, T. II, p. 546.

28. Sermo de Sabb. Sancto, T. IX, p. 269.

29. Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 6, T. V, p. 337.

30. Ibid., col. XXII, n. 29, T. V, pp. 441-2; cf. also col. XX, n. 1, p. 425; Sermo II in Dom. III in Quadrage., T. IX, p. 229; Sermo IV in Epiph., ibid., p. 162; com. in Luc., cap. IX, n. 60-61, T. VII, pp. 235-6.

31. See Op. cit. 'Non enim dispositus est aliquo modo ad contemplationes divinas, quæ ad mentales ducunt excessus, nisi cum Daniele sit vir desideriorum.' Prologus, n. 3, T. V, p. 296. And in the last chapter, where he dwells upon mystical union, he declares it to be a secret grace, known only to him who receives it, and received only by him who desires it. See ibid., cap VII, n. 4,—n. 6, T. V, pp. 312-313.

also by his frequent illustration of the disproportion existing between the highest merits possible to the human soul, on the one hand, and mystical union on the other. This is the theme of a whole chapter of his *Soliloquium*. The master, in the dialogue, has just spoken in eloquent language of the bliss of mystical union, and the soul cries out in longing for so sublime a state. The reply is full of reserve and discretion: 'O anima, magnum est quod desideras, inæstimabile donum est quod exoptas. Unde, ut æstimo, humano studio non potest obtineri, humano merito non potest promereri, sed a Deo humilibus precibus a digne dispositis, ex sola divinæ pietatis condescendentia vix poterit impetrari.'³² The dialogue proceeds in the same cautious manner. Whilst the master explains how the soul is to prepare itself for mystic graces,³³ the soul expresses a longing to depart from the ascetic paths, to the enjoyment of the bliss of mystic union with God. Again comes the warning against presumption: 'O anima devota, loquar, salva reverentia; nimis es avara et utinam non præsumtuosa. Vires tuas perpende, merita considera, virtutes discute; et tunc, si placet, sufficiat tibi magis in odore divinorum unguentorum cum adolescentulis humiliter currere, quam præsumtuose super merita postulare.'³⁴

There is no inconsistency between this, and what he has already said with regard to the need of desire. He is merely reminding the soul, that ascetical practices cannot be dispensed with, for, by way of concluding the chapter whence these quotations are taken, Bonaventure writes: 'Anima, magna es fides tua, valde fortis es in spe et confidentia. Et quamvis spes, quæ procedit ex meritis propriis et divinæ clementiæ confidentia, meritoria sit, laudabilis et sancta; consulo tamen sane, antequam ad quærendam ebrietatem supra te ascendas, prius per considerationem salubriter infra te descendas, ut discas tuum Sponsum reverenter timere, antequam incipias suum secretum cubiculum introire, quem non solum timere debes, cum irascitur, verum etiam, cum suavissime blanditur.'³⁵ Such directions as these surely make for a well balanced Mysticism.

These preliminary remarks, proper though they may seem to the science of the direction of souls, are necessary in view of the

32. Op. cit., cap. II, n. 14, T. VIII, p. 50.

33. See nn. 15-18, *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, n. 20, p. 52.

important place given in most modern manuals of Mystical Theology to the problems around which they centre. In the quotations already given, may be found full justification for the assertion that the Seraphic Doctor has carefully studied the questions raised by those who have attempted to build up the science of Mysticism, as a distinct branch of Theology. There is scarcely a point contained in modern manuals, which he passes over in silence.

But the chief point of interest, and the most important in itself, is that regarding the nature of mystical Contemplation, or the mystical union to which reference has been made so often. Now it is of the utmost importance to note that Bonaventure presents as the mystic goal, not so much a single act, or a series of acts, in which God is mysteriously experienced, but a *life* of union with Him: a life in which no object other than Himself is desired, or, to express it still more truly, a life in which no object is desired, except in its relation to God. The mystic quest is for a form of life, in which the soul's attention and love will be so wholly absorbed in the Supreme Being, that it can neither think of, nor have any affection for, any creaturely object, except in its relationship to the Divine. This fact cannot be stressed too much. Yet, like all mystical writers, Bonaventure sometimes refers to, and attempts to explain the nature of certain special acts, special Divine favours, granted to the soul in this same state. These acts, we may say, are to the life of Union with God, what sudden intuitions of truth are to ordinary discursive meditation, be it in the spiritual or the non-spiritual realm. Moreover, as in the case of discursive meditation, or scientific concentration, such intuitions not infrequently become habitual, so, it would seem, does Bonaventure conceive of the possibility of the contemplative act becoming habitual in the 'Via Unitiva.' Hence the term 'Vita Contemplativa' is often used to cover the whole stage of spiritual growth, in which such acts are usually experienced. Frequent or rare, the act of Contemplation is but the consciousness of that will-union with God, absolute and true in every detail, that runs throughout the whole mystical life, giving it unity, and marking it out as the highest level of Christian attainment. Above, we made a qualification to the effect that it is in the 'Via Unitiva' that the contemplative act is usually experienced: usually, for as in the classical example of St. Augustine, it is sometimes given in the initial stages of the spiritual life.

Many in recent years have discussed the nature of the contemplative act, but we must not expect to find in Bonaventure's writings the same psychological treatment. The problem before us here is: What does he consider takes place in the act of Contemplation? The answer will again be the more clearly understood, if the solutions to the problem given by more descriptive writers be briefly recalled.

Père Poulain may once more be cited. His theory is that the constitutive element of the mystical act is the direct feeling of the presence of God: a theory based upon personal statements made by the best accredited mystics.³⁶ It is an intellectual and experimental knowledge of God. Père Poulain thus expresses his thesis: '(1) The mystic states which have God for their object attract attention at the outset by the impression of recollection and union which they cause us to experience. Hence the name of mystic union. (2) Their real point of difference from the recollection of ordinary prayer is this: that in the mystic state, God is not satisfied merely to help us to think of Him and to remind us of His Presence: He gives us an experimental, intellectual knowledge of this presence. In a word, He makes us feel that we really enter into communication with Him. (3) In the lower degrees, however (prayer of quiet), God only does this in a somewhat obscure manner. The manifestation increases in distinctness as the union becomes of a higher order.'

Another well known and authoritative writer, Lejeune, is no less explicit in his agreement with Père Poulain: 'L'élément constitutif de la contemplation mystique est donc le sentiment que l'ame éprouve de la présence de Dieu en elle, une sorte de perception, d'expérimentation de Dieu. Le trait qui appartient en propre à la contemplation mystique est ici nettement marqué.'³⁸

When it comes to the question of explaining this, both writers have recourse to their peculiar doctrine concerning the 'spiritual senses.' The soul possesses intellectual 'spiritual senses' having some resemblance to the bodily senses, so that, in an analogous manner, and in diverse ways, it is able to perceive the presence of pure spirits, and the presence of God in particular.³⁹ Bonaventure knows of no faculties which can be described as they are in

36. See his *Graces of Interior Prayer*, chap. V, pp. 64-87.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.

38. *Auct. cit.*, art. *Contemplation*, in *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, T. III, col. 1626.

39. See Poulain, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-113.

modern treatises.⁴⁰ In whatever manner the experience called mystical is explained, it is God Himself, modern writers declare, and not a mere effect of Divine operation, that is conceived to be the direct Object.⁴¹

But the theory meets with the disapproval of M. Saudreau, who, though admitting that it is quite possible that God should sometimes make His Presence directly felt in mystical Contemplation, refuses to see in this, an essential, or even a characteristic element. For him, the fundamental element is the will-union with God.⁴²

It is undoubtedly the fact, that in the minds of most men, Mysticism immediately implies some kind of direct communication with God in this life. It is only fair to the above-mentioned authors to state that they qualify their various theses. They are fully aware that God cannot possibly be present to the soul in mystical experience, in the same manner as in the after life: not even momentarily so. They therefore introduce with Père Poulain certain spiritual 'species impressæ,' representative of the Divinity, enabling the soul to behold its Object. Indeed, there has been built up a veritable 'système psychologique privilégié' to account for the whole, within the sphere of the supernatural.

The many explanations of the 'modus operandi' in connection with the mystical act, are not introduced here to be criticised, but to serve as a back-ground for what we believe to be, after careful examination of his works, Bonaventure's doctrine concerning the object of the mystical experience, and the manner in which the soul's longings for communion with God are satisfied. The first statement, for the sake of clarity, will be purely negative: one which may seem startling in view of the way in which the mystic claim is most often represented. It is this: whatever he understands by the expression 'the mystical communing of the soul with God,' he does not think that in it, there is vouchsafed a *direct* vision, or touch, or any other form of experience, of God Himself. It is always *indirectly* in this life, that the soul experiences God. This negative statement must be taken as applying to all the spiritual experiences falling below the essentially extraordi-

40. See *supra*, chap. II.

41. Thus Lejeune, *op. cit.* An opinion endorsed by A. B. Sharpe in *Mysticism, its true nature and value*, London, 1910, pp. 88-104: 'Mystical Contemplation is the sight of God. It cannot be called anything else.' Also endorsed by F. Naval, *Theologiae asceticae et mysticae cursus*, Roma, 1920, p. 270.

42. See *La vie d'union à Dieu, etc.*, pp. 7-27.

nary phenomena, attributed by many to Moses and to St. Paul, and to a few other exceptional cases.

The doctrine condensed here, has been gathered from Bonaventure's Commentary on the second book of Sentences, where he treats of the question in a manner that is speculative. He introduces the question: 'Utrum Adam in statu innocentiae ita cognoverit Deum, sicut Deus in statu gloriae cognoscitur?'⁴³ and, as might be expected, many of the purely speculative problems, which so largely occupied the mediaeval mind are dwelt upon. In spite of its complications, this portion of his work seems to be the best to choose from, to obtain his strictly theological teaching. Bonaventure interprets Hugo of St. Victor,⁴⁴ and others, as teaching that Adam before his fall, had a knowledge of God identical with that which is to constitute the joy of the soul in the next life. This he declares to be impossible; the Beatific Vision is the supreme reward of the human life, and the very fact that it constitutes man's supreme happiness demands its inamissibility. Yet Adam, he thinks, did enjoy a higher knowledge of God than that within the attainment of the ordinary Christian: 'Adam in statu innocentiae non cognovit Deum immediate et in sua substantia, ut cognoscitur in gloria, sed per speculum, non autem in enigmate.'⁴⁵

It is not in accordance with Sacred Scripture, he argues, to adopt the extreme view, that God is never seen immediately, and as He is in Himself, not even by the Blessed in Heaven. St. Paul's 'Then shall I know, even as I am known'⁴⁶ as well as St. John's affirmation, 'We shall see Him, even as He is,'⁴⁷ refute this.

Another opinion upon which he passes judgment errs in the opposite direction, maintaining that God can be seen directly, and as He is in Himself, in the present state, by minds cleansed from all sin (a purgatissimis mentibus), even as He was seen by Adam in the state of innocence, and as He is seen in Heaven.⁴⁸ The Object seen is the same in all these states, the sole difference consisting in the degree of clarity, and the degree of clarity in vision is

43. II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, p. 542.

44. Quoting his *De Sacramentis*, Lib. I, p. VI, cap. XIV. 'Cognovit ergo homo Creatorem suum, non ea cognitione quae foris ex auditu solo percipitur, sed ea quae potius intus per inspirationem ministratur. Non ea quidem qua Deus modo a credentibus absens fide quaeritur; sed ea qua tunc per praesentiam contemplationis scienti manifestius cernebatur.' P. L., T. CLXXVI, col. 271. But Hugo does admit some difference, for he adds: 'Excepto eo quod diximus quod per internam inspirationem visibiliter edoctus, nullatenus de ipso creatore suo dubitare potuit.' Ibid.

45. II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, T. II, p. 543.

46. I Cor., 13, 12.

47. I John, 3, 2.

48. II S., Loc. cit., p. 544.

itself traced back to the relative freedom from the body and its needs.⁴⁹ St. Augustine is made responsible for this theory, and the works of the great Doctor of the West are quoted as teaching it.⁵⁰ Even though it is considered to emanate from so respected a source, it, too, meets with rejection. Bonaventure writes: 'Sed hæc positio, etsi non sit adeo veritati adversaria, sicut prima, nihilominus tamen, dictis Sanctorum non consonat.'⁵¹

He now mentions those by whom he prefers to be guided in the matter, and they are Pseudo-Dionysius and Gregory. These, and the majority of Christian writers, he affirms, had literally interpreted St. Paul's teaching, that whilst we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord, since we walk by faith and not by sight.⁵² The general conclusion follows, and is made to cover the normal mystical experience: 'Unde si quæ auctoritates id dicere inveniantur, quod Deus in præsentī ab homine videtur et cernitur, non sunt intelligendæ quod videtur in sua essentia, sed quod in aliquo effectu interiori cognoscitur . . . nisi fortassis in his qui rapiuntur, sicut credimus fuisse in Paulo, qui specialitate privilegii statum viatorum supergrediuntur, nec ibi aliquid agunt, sed solum aguntur.'⁵³ The general thesis is therefore quite clear. The experience of St. Paul, and the few others, is altogether beyond the normal mystical union. It is in every sense extraordinary, whereas the normal mystical union is that to which grace, of its very nature, inclines the soul. Yet even when writers deal with this, the language most frequently used implies some direct communing with God: some direct, even if it be momentary vision, or touch of the Divine. Bonaventure here asserts that it is indirect, taking place as it does through the medium of some special interior effect.

Doubtless, he continues, returning to the classical instance of Adam, the first man, because of his other great gifts, also desired to behold the Divine Being in Himself, but this natural desire on his part, in no way forces us to accept the theory that in his case, it was fulfilled. In answer to the objection that if in Adam's case this desire had not been even momentarily fulfilled, he would have lacked something essential to true happiness, he replies:

49. Ibid.

50. Bonaventure quotes *De Trinitate*, Lib. VIII, cap. VIII, n. 12. See P. L., T. XLII, cols. 957-960; *ibid.*, cap. II, n. 3, sqq. col. 948 sqq.

51. Loc. cit., p. 544.

52. See II Cor., 5, 6-7.

53. Loc. cit., p. 544. He refers to St. Paul's experience narrated in II Cor. 12, 2 sqq.—'I know a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not, or out of the body, I know not; God knoweth), such a one caught up to the third heaven. And I know such a man . . . that he was caught up into paradise, and heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter.'

'Verum est; sed sic desiderabat videre, quod aliquam cognitionem habebat, in qua reficiebatur, et aliquam expectabat in remunerationem et præmium. Et illa quam expectabat, erat cognitio patriæ; illa vero, quam habebat, erat contemplatio viæ, quæ erat visio per speculum—Et si tu quæras, utrum erat visio intellectualis, vel corporalis; dicendum, quod intellectualis; sed non ipsius divinæ essentiae in se, sed alicujus gratiæ vel influentiæ; et illam in se per experientiam nosse et videre poterat, sicut sentit anima sancta, quando liquefit, cum Sponsus alloquitur eam.'⁵⁴

There is one passage, which so thoroughly explains Bonaventure's attitude, that it may be quoted here in full, in spite of its length. It is an excellent summary of his theories concerning the nature of the various modes in which God is known of men: 'Nota, quod quadruplex est modus cognoscendi Deum, videlicet per fidem, per contemplationem, per apparitionem et per apertam visionem. Et primum est gratiæ communis, secundum est gratiæ excellentis, tertium gratiæ specialis et quartum gloriæ consummantis. Et sufficientia istorum modorum ita colligitur. Omne enim quod cognoscitur, cognoscitur per aliquid præsens; si igitur Deus cognoscitur, necesse est, quod per aliquid præsens intellectui cognoscatur; præsens autem voco hic, secundum quod Augustinus vocat, quod præsens est intellectui ad videndum. Aut igitur cognosco Deum per hoc quod est præsens mihi, aut per hoc quod est præsens alii. Si per hoc quod est præsens alii, sic est cognitio fidei. Quod enim Deus sit trinus et unus, hoc ego credo Dei Filio, qui hoc enarravit et prædicavit, et Spiritui sancto, qui hoc inspiravit . . . Si autem cognosco Deum per hoc quod est præsens mihi, hoc potest esse tripliciter: aut per hoc quod est præsens mihi in effectu proprio; et tunc est contemplatio, quæ tanto est eminentior, quanto effectum divinæ gratiæ magis sentit in se homo, vel quanto etiam melius scit considerare Deum in exterioribus creaturis. Aut est præsens mihi in signo proprio; et sic est apparitio, sicut apparuit Deus Abrahæ in subiecta creatura, quæ ipsum Deum figurabat; et sicut Spiritus sanctus apparuit in columba. Aut est præsens Deus in lumine suo et in seipso; et sic est cognitio, qua videtur Deus in vultu suo, sive facie ad faciem; et sic est aperta visio, quæ tota dicitur merces omnium meritorum. Primum igitur et ultimum genus cognitionis statui innocentiae non competeat . . . Media vero duo, scilicet contemplationis et apparitionis, utrique statui communia esse potuerunt, maxime cognitio contemplationis, quæ

54. Loc. cit., n. 5, p. 546.

in utroque statu est. Ibi tamen potissime vigeat tum propter animæ puritatem, tum etiam propter carnis et inferiorum virium subjectionem; quibus duobus quia ut plurimum anima caret in statu naturæ lapsæ, ideo non potest ad illum gradum contemplationis attingere.⁵⁵ On the authority of such a passage as this, which is so clear, and so easy to follow, it becomes impossible to count Bonaventure among the number of those who declare that the constitutive element of mystical Contemplation is a certain immediate intuition of God. M. J. Maréchal does so, however. Whilst acknowledging that Bonaventure 'est fort impressioné par les expressions négatives du Pseudo-Aréopagite, et par un texte de S. Grégoire,' and '(qu'il) recule devant le mot vision,'⁵⁶ he quotes him as defending the intuitionist theory. But the Seraphic Doctor makes his meaning clear when dealing with an admittedly mystical passage in the works of the Pseudo-Areopagite, for, when he comments upon the latter's application of the Psalmist's 'Deus posuit tenebras latibulum suum,' he adds: 'Vult (Dionysius) dicere, quod Deus non conspiciatur in via in claritate suæ essentiæ, sed quod conspiciatur in effectu gratiæ et experientia suavitatis suæ per ipsam anagogicam unionem.'⁵⁷

Considering Bonaventure's temperament, it was probably with greater reluctance that he dismissed the final difficulty presented. Love, it was objected, can find in God its direct Object; of its very nature it needs no medium. Why therefore is it not the same with the intellect? He responds: 'Amor enim, sicut vult Bernardus, multo plus se extendit quam visio . . . Et ipse etiam dicit in libro de Amore Dei, quod ubi deficit intellectus, ibi proficit affectus. Et ratio huius est, quia visio est solummodo rei præsentis, sed dilectio non solummodo rei præsentis sed etiam absentis. Præterea, visio non dicit qualemcumque modum cognoscendi, sed modum cognoscendi completum; dilectio vero et perfecta potest esse et imperfecta: ideo quamvis immediata Dei dilectio sit in via, non tamen oportet, quod visio sive cognitio immediata.'⁵⁸

An attempt has been made to give a correct and representative account of Bonaventure's ideas on this point, but others who

55. II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, T. II, p. 545.

56. See his *L'Intuition de Dieu dans la Mystique chrétienne* in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, Paris, 1914, T. V, pp. 150-2.

57. III S. D. XXIV, dub. IV, T. III, p. 531; compare *ibid.*, D. XXXV, dub. i, p. 787; coll. in *Hex.*, col. XX, n. 9, T. V, pp. 426-7; coll. in *Joan.*, cap. VIII, col. XXXIV, n. 2, T. VI, p. 574. In all these places he has an identical doctrine.

58. II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, T. II, p. 545-6. The work he quotes is not St. Bernard's, but the *Tractatus de Contemplando Deo*, cap. VIII, n. 17, P. L. T. CLXXXIV, col. 376. This work is now attributed to William of St. Thierry.

have attempted the same task have widely differed. For the difference there is a certain amount of justification. Scattered throughout his writings, there are many passages which at first sight seem to militate against the above, and to give weight to the intuitionist theory. There are, for example, his not infrequent references to a possibility in this life, of a direct experience of God, 'per simplicem contuitum.'⁵⁹ Moreover, and this still more seriously affects our case, he apparently admits, without reserve, in his Commentary on St. John's Gospel, that contemplative knowledge has God as its direct Object. He now says, as if in opposition to what he had taught in his theological work already quoted, that the sole difference between contemplative knowledge and the Beatific Vision is found, not in the direct object, but in the degree of clearness with which it is seen. He has discussed the vision of God 'per speculum,' and adds: 'Alio modo cognoscitur Deus in se; et hoc dupliciter: aut clare, et hoc modo a solo Filio et a Beatis; alio modo in caligine, sicut dicit beatus Dionysius, de Mystica Theologia, et sic vidit Moyses, et sublimiter contemplantes, in quorum aspectu nulla fitur imago creaturæ.'⁶⁰ Every created medium is certainly ruled out here.

With regard to the use of the word 'contuitus' or 'contuitio' for which he has so often been quoted as an Ontologist, it cannot, we venture to think, be accepted as synonymous with any direct intuition of God. The contexts prove this. Very often the term is used in reference to what can only be an indirect form of knowledge. Thus, in the *Itinerarium*, we find him expressing his ideas thus:—'Mens nostra contuita est Deum extra se per vestigia et in vestigiis, intra se per imaginem et in imagine, supra se per divinæ lucis similitudinem super nos relucens et in ipsa luce.'⁶¹ His theory of the origin of ideas is indicated here, and it is because of this same theory—one which he derived from St. Augustine—that he is frequently counted among the Intuitionists. It is to the effect that the mind comes to a knowledge of 'intelligibilia' by the aid of a special Divine Illumination.⁶² Such a theory may sometimes mislead the reader, but it no more means that God Himself is seen when 'intelligibilia' are perceived in His Light, or in His Truth, than that the Sun itself is necessarily seen

59. See *Itin.*, cap. IV, n. 2, T. V, p. 306; *ibid.*, cap. VI, n. 1, p. 310; *Sermo in Sabb. Sanct.*, T. IX, p. 269; *De Plant. Parad.*, n. 3 and n. 10, T. V, p. 575 and p. 577.

60. *Com. in Joan.*, cap. 1, n. 43, T. VI, p. 256.

61. *Op. cit.*, cap. VII, n. 1, T. V, p. 312.

62. For a full synthetic account of his Ideology, see *De humane cognitionis ratione*, etc., already quoted. Also, Gilson, E., *La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure*, pp. 326, sqq.

when objects are viewed in its light. In at least one place, when he himself understands that St. Augustine has used the word 'contuitus' to mean a direct intuition of God, he rejects the idea entirely: 'Hæc positio . . . dictis Sanctorum non consonat.'⁶³

More difficult of explanation, is the passage from the Commentary on St. John's Gospel. There is undoubted reference to a direct vision of God 'in Seipso;' every medium is ruled out: 'in quorum aspectu nulla figitur imago creaturæ.' Pseudo-Dionysius, hitherto quoted as an authority for the negative opinion, is now made to defend an opposite idea. To all this it may be answered that Bonaventure, in the passage quoted, is not propounding a principle applicable to every case of mystical union with God. He is referring to the experiences of Moses, and other 'sublimiter contemplantes,' which, as continually remarked, are always extraordinary. He is but voicing a belief shared by St. Thomas Aquinas, and the majority of the Schoolmen of the thirteenth century, and handed down to them from St. Augustine, that Moses and St. Paul, and a few others, were especially privileged by God, to enjoy a foretaste of the Beatific Vision: an experience differing from the Beatific Vision only in its transiency.⁶⁴ What happened to them in no way affects the other general principle, which he elsewhere makes to extend to the normal mystical experience. We are not forced back upon the teaching, that a transient visitation of the 'lumen gloriæ' is imparted by the very fact of the mystical union, so that, in the words of one who attempts to explain the problem on such a basis, 'the difference between the 'visio beatificans' of heaven, and the mystical vision of persons still living upon earth, is merely that the one is habitual and permanent, and the other transient and exceptional.'⁶⁵ On this basis, there is a great temptation to give a personal explanation of the process; but this is not a personal explanation. It is an attempt to represent Bonaventure's position faithfully. To his mind, the experiences of Moses and Paul are,

63. II S. D. XXIII, art. II, q. III, p. 544.

64. See next chapter for St. Augustine, and others. For St. Thomas' teaching, see his *Secunda Secundæ*, Quaest. CLXXV, De Raptu, arts. III-IV (Leonine Edition), T. X, pp. 404-406; Quaest. CLXXX, De Vita Contemplativa, arts. II-IV, *ibid.*, pp. 425-428; De Veritate, quaest. XIII, arts. II-IV, (ed. Parmæ MDCCCLIX), T. X, pp. 219-225. St. Thomas' Commentary on 2 Cor. XII, 2-4, is valuable: 'Paulus vero dicitur raptus ad tertium coelum, quia sic fuit alienatus a sensibus et sublimatus ab omnibus corporalibus, ut videret intelligibilia nuda et pura eo modo quo vident angeli et anima separata; et quod plus est, etiam ipsum Deum per essentiam, ut Augustinus expresse dicit . . . De Moyse autem, quod viderit Deum per essentiam, patet.' In Ep. II ad Cor. Lectio 1. S. Thomæ Aquinatis in omnes Divi Pauli Epistolæ . . . Expositio, Venetiis, 1541, f. CXLI b. This is the only copy of the Expositio available.

65. A. B. Sharpe, *Mysticism, its true nature and value*, p. 95.

in essence, rare and exceptional, whereas the mystical experience, though it may in fact be likewise of rare occurrence, is so simply because of man's unwillingness to undergo the rigorous self-training demanded as a preliminary. The most intense training could never lead, 'de jure' to the exalted heights of these two great figures, but, in his opinion, God has so willed it that it should lead to mystical union.

In some other way, therefore, must he explain the phenomenon. So far, we have discovered only what it is not, though here and there, among the foregoing negative statements, certain indications, of an affirmative nature have been given. From his description it appears, that the crowning act of the normal Christian life, possesses two constitutive elements, the one intellectual, and the other, of great importance, volitional. Often, in his rhapsodies on the delights of mystical union, Bonaventure dwells upon the one, almost to the exclusion of the other; again, though this is very rare indeed, there is no mention of intellect and will at all, but of the mysterious 'apex mentis' which the German mystics of the fourteenth century were to make so important.⁶⁶ But in ultimate analysis it is apparent that the mystical experience takes place through the agency of the natural powers, intellect and will, the supernatural factor being the gratuitous divine communication received by the agency of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. On the one hand, there is a higher knowledge received in the intellect, not by a direct intuition, but by grace, which, as an effect of divine activity, floods the soul as it were, with a deeper knowledge of God, and of things pertaining to Him; on the other, this same knowledge, by means of a similar Divine activity, becomes experimental, in the sense that the will is so inflamed with love for that concerning which the intellect has been enlightened, that by analogy, it may be said to 'taste,' to 'feel,' the Divine Presence.

If this needs further elucidation, the need may perhaps be met by showing briefly, what can, and what very often does take place on lower levels. By faith, and by reason, we know that among other things, the contemplation of Divine Beauty will constitute the ultimate happiness of the human soul. Meditation upon this

66. We can find out one definition of this 'apex mentis' in his works, and here it has none of the mysteriousness centring around it at a later date. It is not a 'spark of the Divine,' but the 'summum ipsius animae et quasi centrum, in quo recolliguntur omnes aliae vires.' *Sermo IV in Epiph.*, T. IX, p. 162. For other definitions, see W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, Appendix C., pp. 359-60.

truth may surround the whole subject with a net-work of considerations and arguments, making the truth clearer to the intelligence. Affective resolutions may lead to the strenuous endeavour to obtain that cleanness of mind, and heart, without which, it is realized, we cannot make advance in the knowledge of God. Yet Divine Beauty is ever transcendent, and since it is transcendent, the knowledge of it admits of depths which ordinary meditation can never fathom. Now, it is Bonaventure's hypothesis, that, at a certain stage of spiritual progress, Divine grace comes to the aid of the devout soul. God, without showing Himself as He is, works upon the intellect, filling it with a deeper and truer knowledge of His Beauty than is possible in ordinary discursive meditation. Upon this insight into the transcendent Beauty of God, there follows an act of love in the will, which has also been inflamed by Grace: an act so intense that the will may be described as being in possession of the Beauty it desires so ardently. The will is said to 'taste,' to 'feel,' to 'possess' the Beauty of God, and since in God there is absolute unity, it possesses God Himself. In language such as this, the medium is sometimes lost sight of, but the theological background should always be remembered. It will be seen at once, that such an experience, whilst it is on a level higher than spiritual exaltation, which is so often unreasoned and purely emotional, cannot be strictly called a foretaste of the Beatific Vision. Many things enter into the mystical experience, making it quite incompatible with a veritable foretaste of the bliss of the after-life. There is faith for example; likewise there is the medium. These are always present; whereas, in the Beatific Vision, faith can have no part, and the 'lumen gloriæ' takes the place of every other Divine Gift.

The two elements, the intellectual and the volitional, are clearly expressed whenever Bonaventure attempts a positive explanation of the mystical union. They are found in this passage for example—'*Est ibi inflammatio permaxima. Et in hoc est tota ratio contemplationis, quia nunquam venit in contemplatione radius splens, quin etiam sit inflammans. Et ideo in Cantico loquitur Salomon per modum amoris et per modum cantici, quia ad illos fulgores non potest perveniri nisi per amorem.*'⁶⁷ Repeatedly, he refers to the soul in Contemplation, as receiving illumination as to things Divine.⁶⁸ Again, he writes: '*Sicut sponsa desiderat*

67. Coll. in Hex., col. XX, n. 12, T. V, p. 427.

68. See *De plant. Parad.*, n. 3, T. V, p. 575; Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 30, T. V, p. 341; *Ibid.*, col. III, n. 30, pp. 347-8. *De Trip. Via*, cap. III, p. 17: *Quaest. de Scientia Christi*, q. VII, n. 21, T. V, pp. 42-43.

sponsum, et materia formam, et turpe pulchrum; ita anima appetit uniri per excessum contemplationis; et tunc, quando hemisphaerium animæ totum luminibus plenum est, tunc homo exterius fit totus deformis, tunc homo fit sine loquela.⁶⁹ His mystical interpretation of the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, brings out the same conception: 'And God made two great lights, a greater light to rule the day; and a lesser light to rule the night.' Concerning this text, he writes: 'Hæc autem intelligentia per contemplationem suspensa datur intelligi per opus quartæ diei, in qua luminaria facta sunt. Anima autem illa sola per contemplationem suspensa est, quæ habet solem et lunam et stellas in firmamento suo. Considera, modo si non esset sol et luna et stellæ in firmamento, quid esset mundus? Non esset nisi quædam massa tenebrosa, quia etiam nox cum lumine siderum adhuc tenebrosa et horribilis est. Sic est de anima. Quæ enim non habet gratiam contemplationis est sicut firmamentum sine luminaribus; sed quæ habet est firmamentum ornatum luminibus. Et sicut differt cælum non habens hæc luminaria a cælo habente, sic anima non habens, ab anima disposita ad hoc; unde differt sicut Angelus a bestia. Bestialis est homo carens his et habens faciem inclinatam ad terram sicut animal; sed plenus luminibus est totus angelicus.'⁷⁰

The object of such Divine Illumination is to fix the soul's attention upon God, and upon truths relating to Him. Its nature is such, that it results in a mysterious obscurity which, as Bonaventure often declares, can only be properly explained by him who has experienced it. It is higher illumination when compared with the knowledge attained by the soul in discursive meditation, but 'docta ignorantia,' 'nocturna et deliciosa illuminatio,' 'ascensus in caligine,' when compared with the 'Summa Veritas'—God Himself. How can such an obscurity be the effect of true illumination? He explains himself: 'Sed quid est, quod iste radius excæcat, cum potius deberet illuminare? Sed ista excæcatio est summa illuminatio, quia est in sublimitate mentis ultra humani intellectus investigationem. Ibi intellectus caligat, quia non potest investigare, quia transcendit omnem potentiam investigativam. Est ergo ibi caligo inaccessibilis, quæ tamen illuminat mentes, quæ perdidērunt investigationes curiosas. Et hoc est quod dixit Dominus, se habitare in nebula; et in Psalmo: Posuit tenebras latibulum suum.'⁷¹

69. Coll. in Hex., coll. XX, n. 19, T. V, p. 428.

70. Ibid., n. 2, p. 425.

71. Ibid., n. 11, p. 427. He refers to III Kings, 8, 12; Ps. 17, 12.

Further research throughout his *Opera*, for information regarding the nature of this 'night of the intelligence,' so familiar in subsequent mystical literature, is rewarded only by similar dogmatic statements. In his *Breviloquium*, he shows how the just man, in pursuit of a fuller knowledge of God, passes from the indirect knoweldge of His Being, obtained through the ministry of the senses, to the other form of knowledge, given in mystical Contemplation, adding in conclusion: 'Et in his gradibus consistit scala Jacob, cuius cacumen attingit cœlum; et thronus Salomonis, in quo residet Rex sapientissimus et vere pacificus et amorusus ut sponsus speciosissimus et desiderabilis totus; in quem desiderant Angeli prospicere, et ad quem suspirat desiderium sanctarum animarum, sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum. Quo quidem desiderio ferventissimo ad modum ignis spiritus noster non solum efficitur agilis ad ascensum, verum etiam quadam ignorantia docta supra se ipsum rapitur in caliginem et excessum, ut non solum cum sponsa dicat: In odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus, verum etiam cum Propheta psallat: Et nox illuminatio mea in deliciis meis. Quam nocturnam et deliciosam illuminationem nemo novit nisi qui probat, nemo autem probat nisi per gratiam divinitus datam, nemini datur, nisi ei qui se exercet ad illam.'⁷²

Yet it is not in this mystical illumination, but rather in the outbursts of love, that Bonaventure finds the consummation of the mystical act, so that it is not unfrequently described simply by reference to this inflaming of the will: 'Hæc enim est (contemplatio) in qua mirabiliter inflammatur affectio.'⁷³ Furthermore, to show how little is the part played by the intellect, in comparison with the volitional activity, he sometimes makes extreme negative statements. 'Ibi non intrat intellectus, sed affectus,'⁷⁴ is typical. In the *Itinerarium* there is a passage which condenses the opinion common to most of the later Franciscan theologians, Matthew of Acquasparta, John Peter Olivi, Raymond Lull, to mention only a few.⁷⁵

72. Op. cit., pars. V, cap. VI, T. V, p. 260: The Scriptural refs. are to Gen. 28, 12; III Kings 10, 18; Cant. 5, 16; I Peter 1, 12; Ps. 41, 1; Cant. 1, 3; Ps. 138, 11; and compare, Itin., cap. VII, n. 5-6, *ibid.*, p. 313; II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, T. II, p. 546.

73. II S. D. XXIII, a. II, q. III, n. 6, T. II, p. 546; compare III, S. D. XXIV, dub. IV, T. III, p. 531; Sermo in Quadrag., T. IX, p. 219; Sermo de S. Domin., *ibid.*, p. 564.

74. Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 32, T. V, p. 342.

75. For Matthew of Acquasparta, see *Quaestiones Disputatae*, q. IX, Quarrachi, 1903, pp. 399-340. 'Propterea dico indubitanter quod raptus prout provenit ex vehementia devotionis, non tantum pertinet ad intellectum sed potius et principalius et perfectius ad affectum, non solum per casum aut per concomitantiam aut redundantiam, sed per essentiam.' John Peter Olivi, see

It is precisely towards the arousing of this act of love, in which the will is described as being in possession by grace, of its Object, that the intellectual illumination is directed as a subordinate factor, so subordinate, that unless the act of love follow, the illumination, no matter how intense, is worthless where the need of the soul is concerned. Only a union of love between God and itself will satisfy that need: 'Hæc est suprema unio per amorem.'⁷⁶ To St. Paul is traced the doctrine that the act of the will is supreme. The Apostle of the Gentiles had written: 'I bow my knees to the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . that He would grant you, according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened by His Spirit with might into the inward man, that Christ may dwell by faith in your hearts; that being rooted and founded in charity, you may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth, the length and height and depth: to know also the charity of Christ which surpasseth all knowledge, that you may be filled unto all the fullness of God.'⁷⁷ On the Apostle's authority therefore, Bonaventure declares that love transcends all knowledge in the mystical act: 'iste amor transcendit omnem intellectum et scientiam,'⁷⁸ for it is principally towards the 'charity of Christ' that the Apostle's hopes are directed. The fact remains, that the mystical experience is, as often as not, referred to by the term 'contemplatio.' Contemplation primarily implies a reception of knowledge. If the most important element in the experience, be an act of love, how is this term to be justified? To St. Paul he again makes appeal. Knowledge is received; but it is a knowledge of an order higher than that attainable by the intellect, however illuminated it may be; in a word, it is 'experimental knowledge,' perfected in the will, and infused by 'Him, Who is able to do all things more abundantly than we desire or understand.'⁷⁹

Bonaventure proceeds to explain, that when the soul is united to God in this sublime act of love, it may, at one and the same time, be described as 'sleeping' yet 'watchful:' 'sleeping,' since the intellect has failed to fathom the infinite depths of the knowledge of God, even when aided by special illuminations from on

his *An contemplatio principalius sit intellectu et in actu elus?* ed. by Ehrle, in *Archiv. für Lit. und Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. III, p. 503. Raymond Lull, see Probst, *Caractère et origine des idées* du B. Raymond Lulle, Toulouse, 1912, pp. 102-112; pp. 285-288.

76. Coll. in Hex., col II, n. 30, T. V, p. 341.

77. Eph. 3, 14-19; quoted in loc. cit.

78. Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 30, T. V, p. 341.

79. Eph. 3, 20.

high: 'watchful,' because the will, reacting upon that very inability, finds but further impetus in its act of love.⁸⁰ For a further reason is the intellect to be described as 'sleeping;' the experience Bonaventure has in mind is ineffable: 'Unde cum exprimi non possit nisi quod concipitur, nec concipitur nisi quod intelligitur, et intellectus silet; sequitur, quod quasi nihil possit loqui et explicare.'⁸¹ Finally, in the adjectives he applies to this mystical act of Divine love, he indicates the effects which he considers it has upon the soul. The mystical love of God is 'sequestrativus, soporativus, sursumactivus.' His own words best explain his idea: 'Sequestrat enim ab omni affectu alio propter sponsi affectum unicum; soporat et quietat omnes potentias et silentium imponit; sursum agit, quia ducit in Deum. Et sic est homo quasi mortuus; et ideo dicitur, fortis ut mors dilectio, quia separat ab omnibus. Oportet enim, hominem mori per illum amorem, ut sursum agatur.'⁸²

In view of the above, we are not surprised to find him recommending, in the last stage of the spiritual life, the Pseudo-Areopagite's 'Via Negativa' as the best mode of approach to God. Nor does this contradict what was said in the previous chapter, with regard to the *Itinerarium*. In Pseudo-Dionysian Mysticism, the 'Via Negativa' appears as the initial step. For Bonaventure, it is the better step, only after a genuine intellectual search for traces of his God. True love will adopt the negative process after the intellect has performed its task. He gives us what is probably the neatest explanation of the twofold approach to God to be found in mediaeval literature: 'Iste autem ascensus fit per affirmationem et ablationem; per affirmationem, a summo usque ad infimum; per ablationem, ab infimo usque ad summum; et iste modus est conveniens magis, ut: non est hoc, non est illud; nec privo ego a Deo quod suum est, vel in ipso est, sed attribuo meliori modo et altiori, quam ego intelligo.—Ablationem sequitur amor semper. Unde Moyses primo a senioribus sequestratur, secundo ascendit in montem, tertio intrat caliginem. Alium exemplum: qui sculpit figuram nihil ponit, immo removet et in ipso lapide relinquit formam nobilem et pulchram. Sic notitia Divinitatis per oblationem relinquit in nobis nobilissimam dispositionem.'⁸³ The last word is all important. There is no question of creating

80. 'Unde cum mens in illa unione coniuncta est Deo, dormit quodam modo, et quodam modo vigilat: Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat. Sola affectiva vigilat et silentium omnibus aliis potentiis imponit.' Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 30, T. V, p. 341; the Scriptural reference is to Cant. 5, 2.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., n. 33, p. 342.

in the mind a blank which God is expected to fill. The 'Via Negativa,' as adopted by Bonaventure, undoubtedly aims at producing the recognition that God transcends all the knowledge acquired concerning Him. Even in its negations, therefore, it is positive, and it is to the transcendent God that love stretches forth.

With two minor details this attempted synthesis may be concluded.

It has been said, that in the mystical act, the intellect and will are employed, but that they are supernaturalized by Divine grace. The language used by the Franciscan Doctor will be the better understood, if it be remembered that the effective principle of the mystical experience is the purely gratuitous and special action of the Holy Ghost upon the soul's faculties. To the operation of the Holy Ghost, the mystical union is nearly always attributed, explicitly or implicitly. '*Iste ascensus fit per vigorem et commotionem fortissimam Spiritus Sancti; sicut dicitur de Elia: Ecce, spiritus subvertens montes et conterens petras. Hunc ignem non est in potestate nostra habere; sed si Deus dat desuper, sacerdotis est nutrire et ligna subiicere per orationem.*'⁸⁴ More definitely still, the action of the Holy Ghost is explained by the special use of the gifts of Understanding and Wisdom. These become the proximate supernatural principles of mystical Contemplation. The illumination already described is attributed to the gift of Understanding. By faith, the soul accepts as true, and as directive of life, various revealed mysteries concerning God; but, by the gift of Understanding, without comprehending them, it obtains a deeper insight into their import: '*Ad donum intellectus spectat contemplatio clarior et excellentior, quam sit cognitio fidei.*'⁸⁵ Far from clashing with faith, it is founded thereon: '*Super assensum fidei fundatur,*'⁸⁶ and it prepares the soul for the other supernatural operation—the use of the gift of Wisdom, wherein the mystical act is consummated: '*Hæc (cognitio) est doni intellectus, quæ quidem viam præbet ad usum doni sapientiæ; quæ ideo gratuita est, quoniam super assensum fidei fundatur et ulterius ordinat ad sapientiæ gustum.*'⁸⁷

84. Coll. in Hex., col. II, n. 32, T. V, p. 342; The Scriptural references are to III Kings, 19, 11; Levit. 6, 12. Compare Itin., cap. VII, n. 6, T. V, p. 313; De Plant. Paradisi, n. 4, T. V, p. 575; Sermo II de S. Agnete, T. IX, p. 509; Sermo in Pentecost., T. IX, pp. 345-6; etc. etc.

85. III S. D. XXXV, a. 1, q. III, ad IVum, T. III, p. 779.

86. Ibid., ad IIIum.

87. Ibid. True we find him attributing something like mystical joy and love even to the gift of Understanding, but he makes it perfectly clear, that it is not here that we may find the perfection of the mystical experi-

The gift of Wisdom brings with it the experimental knowledge of God of which we spoke. Wisdom has many meanings, but the perfection of Wisdom is obtained only in mystical union: 'Dicitur sapientia magis proprie, et sic nominat cognitionem Dei experimentalem; et hoc modo est unum de septem donis Spiritus sancti, cuius actus consistit in degustando divinam suavitatem.'⁸⁸ Since such an act necessarily presupposes some understanding of what is experienced it follows, that even the gift of Wisdom is in part intellectual, and in part volitional, the intellectual element however, being again subordinated to the volitional: 'Et quoniam ad gustum interiorem, in quo est delectatio, necessario requiritur actus affectionis ad coniungendum et actus cognitionis ad apprehendendum, hinc est, quod actus doni sapientiæ partim est cognitivus, et partim est affectivus: ita quod in cognitione inchoatur et in affectione consummatur, secundum quod ipse gustus vel saporatio est experimentalis boni et dulcis cognitio.'⁸⁹ Primacy of place is thus once more given to the volitional element, both the gift of Understanding, and the intellectual element in the gift of Wisdom itself, being of a purely dispositive value: so dispositive and subordinate, that the perfection of the mystical act does not, in its essence, depend upon the satisfying of the intellect. Again the extreme statements are made: 'actus doni sapientiæ omnino se teneat ex parte affectionis et nullatenus ex parte cognitionis,'⁹¹ and the general tendency of Franciscan thought is marked when he writes: 'Optimus enim modus cognoscendi Deum est per experimentum dulcedinis; multo etiam excellentior et nobilior et delectabilior est quam per argumentum inquisitionis.'⁹¹ The gift of Wisdom becomes the true and essential principle of mystic union. Wisdom it is that gives a knowledge of God which cannot deceive the soul. It is such that of its very nature its Divine origin is appreciated, without the need of further argument. By a process known only to him who has experienced it, the soul is fully persuaded that, though it be only indirectly, the Object of its love is God Himself.

With brief reference to the question of bodily phenomena exhibited in mystical experience, this synthesis of Bonaventurian theology may be concluded. Such phenomena all too often form

ence: 'Nihilominus tamen in ipso actu intellectus est quaedam delectatio, sed longe inferior quam in dono sapientiæ. Delectatur enim quis in cognitione veritatis, sed non sic, sicut in gustu summæ suavitatis.' Ibid.

88. III S., D. XXXV, a. 1, q. 1, T. III, p. 774.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., fund. Vum, p. 773.

91. Ibid., ad. Vum, p. 775.

the central subject of interest in Treatises of this kind, but we think it need not be the case here. Bonaventure's mystical union is essentially internal; it concerns God and the soul. Rarely is he led into a mode of expression which would betray the idea that the experience is manifested outwardly. When he does so, we are reminded more of an interior preoccupation, an intentness of the soul in communion with God, a peaceful rest, unbroken and undisturbed by distractions of bodily origin, than of the lifelessness, the total suspension of bodily faculties, the hearing of material words, the elevation of the body above the ground, and the other multitudinous forms, which mystical phenomena usually take. We do not go so far as to say that he denies the possibility of such phenomena; we merely assert that they do not enter into the essence of the mystical union he describes. There is of course the 'raptus' attributed to Moses and Paul, and this undoubtedly implies for him a momentary separation of body and soul; but the 'raptus' is not the mystical union which constitutes the fulness of the Christian life. Some may regard our interpretation of his doctrine as a watering down of the chief subject of interest: while the terms used to express the mystical experience seem to imply far more than has been admitted—'excessus mentis,' 'stupor mentis,' 'elevatio mentis,' 'mors,' 'ebrietas,' and the apparently conclusive 'ecstasis.'⁹² Into the experience which can be called 'ecstasis,' it is said, a bodily phenomenon surely enters. But an examination of the contexts in which all these terms occur only leads back to the conclusions already arrived at. The 'excessus mentis' of most frequent occurrence in Bonaventure's writings, as in those of St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor,⁹³ seems to be based upon the Vulgate rendering of a text in St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians: 'Sive enim mente excedimus, Deo: sive sobrii sumus, vobis.'⁹⁴ It would be beyond the scope of the present task, to examine the scriptural use of the terms of which 'excessus' is a derivative, but as used by Bonaventure, it implies no external phenomenon: no momentary separation of body and soul. The justification for the use of such a term is found in this, that in the mystical experience the intellect is the subject of the subordinate illumination, and is 'carried out of itself' in the sense that it grasps truths, not in their own light, nor

92. For his description of 'ecstasis,' see *Sermo I*, in *Sabb. Sanct.*, T. IX, p. 269. It may be admitted that Bonaventure is not perfectly consistent with regard to the use of the term 'ecstasis,' but generally speaking it is not made to denote the same phenomenon as 'raptus.'

93. See next chapter.

94. Chap. 5, verse 13.

yet in the ordinary supernatural light of faith, but in the light of the higher gift of Understanding. 'Stupor mentis' finds a similar explanation. 'Mors' implies nothing beyond the fact that in mystical union with God, the soul banishes all affection for, and thought of anything not related to Him. Bonaventure's 'ecstasis,' generally speaking, is not the ecstasy of the later mystical manuals, but simply the exalted will-union of the soul with God: the absorption of the will in the Beloved of the mystical quest: an absorption effected by the gift of Wisdom. Examination of the foregoing quotations, will, we think, sufficiently prove the truth of these last statements.

For the present, it is not intended to criticise from any point of view the material now at hand. It is enough to have given what we consider to be a faithful presentation of Bonaventure's doctrines concerning the mystical experience. Other interpretations have been made, but generally speaking, many of the important major works of Bonaventure have been neglected. Such interpretations have differed from one another, and, in turn, the foregoing differs in various details from all.⁹⁵ Hence, Bonaventure has, as far as possible, been allowed to speak for himself, at the risk of a wearisome multiplication of quotations. If, however, this part of our task has resulted in a coördination of his most important ideas, it will have attained the purpose for which it was begun.

95. Étienne Gilson writes: 'La mystique bonaventurienne distingue au moins deux états contemplatifs nettement différents. Dans le raptus, état extraordinaire dont ont joui Moïse et saint Paul, l'âme, momentanément séparée du corps, est élevée pour quelques instants au séjour des bienheureux: elle voit donc Dieu face à face et redescend ensuite ici-bas sans pouvoir redire ce qu'elle a vu. Dans l'extase, état beaucoup plus fréquent, l'âme purifiée par l'ascèse et entraînée par une méditation appropriée, peut, avec le secours de la grace, éprouver la présence de Dieu par la joie de l'amour, mais sans le voir par l'intellect.' *Art. La Conclusion de la Divine Comédie et la mystique Franciscaine.*, in *Revue d'histoire Franciscaine*, T. I, p. 57. Elsewhere (p. 63), we find "extase franciscaine, sommet ardu, mais accessible à tous, de la vie chrétienne, et qui couronne normalement cette vie." Gilson's conclusions seem to be in perfect agreement with those arrived at in the present chapter.



CHAPTER VI.

Sources of Bonaventure's doctrine of Contemplation.—No attempt to give a full account of the teaching of any writer mentioned.—Pseudo-Dionysius.—St. Augustine.—St. Gregory.—St. Bernard.—The Victorines, Hugo and Richard.—St. Francis of Assisi and his reticence with regard to personal spiritual experience.—Bonaventure's doctrine criticised.—His directive principles.—The encouraging of desire for Contemplation does not lead to an unbalanced Mysticism.—The teaching that Contemplation is open to all, independently of special vocation, not repudiated by Sacred Scripture.—The value of Bonaventure's teaching to explain what is generally understood to take place in mystic experience.—Grace and its connexion with mystic experience.—Limits to Bonaventure's explanation. The objectivity of mystical states.—Utility of presenting the contemplative life as the goal of Christian endeavour.

The mystical union has been set forth as an experience equally accessible to all who are willing to undertake the arduous task of preparing for it, with the aid of grace: an experience, not identical with the raptures attributed to Moses and St. Paul, which is explained by a Divinely-given illumination of the intellect, and a special inflaming of the will in relation to God. Apart altogether from the doctrine synthesized in the previous chapter, Bonaventure's method of presenting that doctrine has perhaps been made sufficiently clear, so as to need no further lengthy comment. His teaching is not professedly built upon personal experience, but is always referred back to Sacred Scriptures, to the writings of the Fathers, and to those of his immediate predecessors. Wherever he has used the Scriptures to illustrate his ideas, the fact has already been noted. In this chapter, Patristic and other influence is investigated.

Bonaventure is unquestionably indebted to others for the teaching he hands down in his *Opera*. He scarcely gives expression to a single thought, without having recourse to authority. In striving to ascertain details concerning his indebtedness, there is a great temptation to concentrate entirely, where the question of Contemplation is concerned, upon the writings of Richard of St. Victor, for again and again he reproduces Richard's ideas, often in the very same language. However, it is patent that he himself, in his own studies of the various problems connected with Mystical Theology, went back beyond Richard, to the same direct sources whence the Victorine drew much of his teaching. Because

of his manifest respect for the weighty authority of the Pseudo-Areopagite, for St. Augustine, St. Gregory and St. Bernard, whose writings he constantly quotes, some mention of these writers, however brief, must be made.

No pretence is made of giving anything approaching a complete survey of the teaching on Contemplation of any single one of the writers mentioned. They have various points of view, their use of terms familiar to the student of Mysticism is not identical, and their final conception, both of the route to be followed in the quest for mystical union with God, and of what takes place when that same quest is brought to a successful issue, is certainly not fully expounded here. For a full exposition, a series of historical studies dealing with one great figure at a time is required. Only with the aid of such a series could each be given with exactness the position due to him in relation to the Mystical Theology of the thirteenth century. Of necessity, the present aim is far more modest. If the writers mentioned seem to be dismissed all too summarily, it is not because their importance in the history of mystical thought is unrecognized, but because it would be impossible within the scope of this work to treat of them at greater length. The problem before us is: with what great figures in the realm of Christian thought must Bonaventure's teaching on mystical Contemplation be linked? Guided most often by the expressed predilection of the Seraphic Doctor, and by his copious quotations from various sources, we have turned back to the literature with which he was obviously most familiar. The conclusion is this: that no matter how much Pseudo-Dionysius may differ in thought from SS. Augustine, Gregory and Bernard, and these in turn from the Victorines, Hugo and Richard, Bonaventure has been guided in the expression of his own doctrine by their fundamental theories. He has done little beyond reproducing the authoritative statements of authors whom he respected. There are divergencies, of course, but the traditions concerning the main beliefs form the warp and woof of his teaching. In addition to this, as St. Francis is for him what St. Benedict was for Gregory and Bernard—the classic type of the true mystic—we have looked to the life of the 'Poverello,' to discover whether there is traceable any influence coming from this source.

As far as possible, the danger attending the isolation of passages from their context has been avoided. There is always the danger, greater still when each writer is not completely

represented, of changing the meaning of passages, and of neglecting the emphasis to be put upon certain points. Only when there is full evidence for the belief that the writers mentioned have in mind a religious experience similar to that described by the Franciscan: only when it is considered on the authority of the works quoted, that they are occupied with the fulness of the Christian life, have their words been reproduced. The objection may be raised, that frequently they refer only to the form of Contemplation now known as 'acquired.'¹ Bonaventure does not know the distinction here implied. Beyond the mystical union he describes, and which he attributes to the agency of the gifts, Understanding and Wisdom, there is no other state which he regards as the fulness of the Christian life. Were it not for the fact that even the most enthusiastic exponents of the distinction admit that the passage from the lower to the higher form of Contemplation is itself mysteriously graded, so that it is well-nigh impossible to draw with certainty a line of demarcation at a particular point, we should have to examine the Patristic texts singly, to see whether they actually do refer to one or other of the modes. Since full evidence is not yet forth-coming for the belief that writers prior to Bonaventure were acquainted with the distinction, such a course does not seem necessary.

Perhaps we may pardonably begin with the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius, giving him at once, by courtesy, the priority of place he assumed when he identified himself with the disciple of Paul, and the historical position he would naturally have in the mind of Bonaventure, who betrays no suspicion as to the authenticity of the *Dionysiaca*. Pseudo-Dionysius, through the translations of Scotus Ēriugena, undoubtedly influenced his conception of the ultimate attainment in the Christian life. Yet the God with whom Bonaventure finally becomes united in the mystic act, is wholly and clearly a God of love: and the love is as between two personalities. He is still unknown in the depths of His Being, to the finite intelligence, and the greater the depth unfathomed, the greater the love. The Franciscan speedily recognizes with Pseudo-Dionysius the incapacity of the human intellect; but whereas the one is content quietly to accept the fact of

1. Thus, Dom C. Butler, in his *Western Mysticism*, whilst admitting that there is a tendency among quite recent authors to react against the two kinds of Contemplation, as unused by, and unknown to, the older writers on Mystical Theology (p. 282), declares that it is of acquired, active and ordinary Contemplation that we must understand the early writers to be speaking, when they say that Contemplation is the natural and normal issue of the spiritual life, p. 283.

the Divine Incomprehensibility, without labouring the point, the other presses forward by way of endless, bewildering negations, in the pursuit of the great 'Nameless Being,' until we wonder what is left as the object of the love described in the *De Divinis Nominibus*. For here it is stated, that it is in ecstatic love for this mysterious 'Anonymous,' that the mystical union is consummated.² It has already been shown, that Bonaventure has adopted a more human and more comprehensible form of the 'Via Negativa' made famous in the Pseudo-Areopagite's works. The resultant 'Docta Ignorantia' and the 'Divina Obscuritas' met with before, come from the same source. A word may be added to what has already been said with regard to the interpretation of the 'Via Negativa.' The knowledge of God by negation, whatever it has been made to mean at various times, amounts with Bonaventure to nothing more than this: that we must, in order to know God, deny in a certain sense all we think and all we say of Him. This is not because our assertions, based as they often are upon Sacred Scripture, are false, but because they are in themselves ill-proportioned to, and scarcely befitting the transcendent perfection of the Divine Being. No matter how intense the effort to know Him may have been, no matter how sublime the resultant conception, even in the highest stages of contemplative illumination, we must always deny that the result, both of effort and illumination, can be in any way commensurate with His high and impenetrable Majesty.

In his attempts to arouse the intense desire for mystical experience, which he makes an indispensable element in the spiritual process, Bonaventure frequently reproduces Eriugena's version of the prayer, with which Pseudo-Dionysius commences his *Mystica Theologia*: 'Trinitas superessentialis, et superdeus, et superoptime Christianorum inspector theosophiæ, dirige nos in mysticorum eloquiorum superincognitum et superlucentem et sublimissimum verticem, ubi nova et absoluta et inconvertibilia theologiæ mysteria, secundum superlucentem absconduntur occulte docentis silentii caliginem, in obscurissimo, quod est supermanifestissimum, supersplendentem, et in qua omne relucet, et invisibilium superbonorum splendoribus superimplentem invisibiles intellectus.'³ This becomes his typical prayer of desire. Moreover, the Pseudo-Areopagite's exhortation to Timothy, to give

2. See *infra*.

3. Scotus Eriugena, *Versio Operum S. Dionysii, Mystica Theologia*, cap. I, P. L., T. CXXII, cols. 1171-2.

himself up diligently to mystical Contemplation, by abandoning the senses, and the operations of the intellect, in order to rise to union with Him Who is above all being and all knowledge,⁴ becomes the guarantee of the accessibility of such an experience. 'Beatus Dionysius,' as Bonaventure calls him, had urged Timothy forward, had encouraged him to pray for, and strive after, the mystic union; hence it is lawful to desire it; hence too, must the experience be within man's attainment, independently of any special vocation. To the 'uninitiated' alone is it refused, Pseudo-Dionysius had declared; but this assertion in no way touched upon the question of the accessibility of mystical union to all Christians, seeing that the 'uninitiated' were not those who did not possess a special call to the mystic life, but those who lacked faith in the existence of the Supreme Being.⁵ Upon the authority of the same 'Beatus Dionysius,' Bonaventure states his general principle, that in mystical Contemplation there can be no face to face vision of God, however momentary, in one place interpreting Dionysius' words to mean, that even Moses, in his rapture, did not see God. In the *Mystica Theologia*, it is written, that though on a certain occasion, Moses was privileged, when raised up in rapture, to behold many lamps flashing manifold pure beams, and though he had attained to the height of the Divine Ascent, he nevertheless did not come to the presence of God Himself, since He cannot be looked upon.⁶ Bonaventure personally credits Moses with something more than this,⁷ but the negative statement of Pseudo-Dionysius does influence his conception of the normal mystic experience. In this he teaches that God is only experienced indirectly, 'in effectu proprio'—a conception traceable to Pseudo-Dionysius' positive statement: 'Et si quis videns Deum intellexit quod vidit, non ipsum contemplatus est, sed quid eorum ab ipso existentium et cognitorum.'⁸

In the same writings, he had learnt that whilst even the knowledge of God gained in mystical Contemplation, being so ill-proportioned to the Divinity, could only be described as 'Ignorantia,'

4. 'Tu autem, o amice Timothee,' etc., *ibid.*, col. 1173.

5. 'His autem, vide, quomodo nemo indoctorum auscultet. Indoctos autem dico, in his, quae sunt, conformatos, et nihil super existentia super-essentialiter esse imaginantes.' *Ibid.*

6. 'Etenim non simpliciter divinus ipse Moyses primus mundari jubetur, et iterum ab his, qui tales non sunt, segregari . . . et videt luminaria multa aperte fulgurantia . . . Deinde . . . et cum electis sacerdotibus in summitatem divinarum ascensionum praecurrit: et si eis sic manentibus fit Deo, contemplatur vero non ipsum, invisibilis enim, sed locum ubi stetit.' *Ibid.*

7. It will be remembered that in one place he even uses the Pseudo-Areopagite's authority for his statement that Moses saw God directly. See *supra*, chap. V.

8. Ep. ad Caium, *ibid.*, col. 1177.

it was truly 'Docta Ignorantia,' since in that very obscurity, the fact of the Divine Incomprehensibility was grasped more fully, and Divinely given illumination aided the intellect in its apprehension of the mysteries enveloping the God-head. 'Est eis,' translates Eriugena, 'intellectualis operatio clara, et incontaminata puritate splendida, sciens et conspiciens divinarum intelligentiarum impartibiles et immateriales.'⁹ Lastly, however, wanting in power of attraction, the final union with the 'Nameless One' described by Pseudo-Dionysius may generally seem, there is, in the *De Divinis Nominibus*, the clear statement, that it is in a union of ecstatic love between God and the soul that the Christian life, here below, finds its completion: a statement to which Bonaventure firmly clings.¹⁰ The rhapsodies of the *De Divinis Nominibus* become compressed, in Bonaventurian language, in such beautiful expressions as: 'Puto, anima mea, quod verius es, ubi amas, quam ubi animas.'¹¹ With the author of the *Hierarchies*, therefore, must Bonaventure's teaching be connected; not that Bonaventure ever reached the sublimity of philosophical thought or expression of that mysterious personality, but substantially, his conception of what takes place in the mystic communing between God and the human soul is identical with that of Dionysius.

Nor could he whom Vaughan has so aptly called the 'large-souled Augustine'¹² fail to have a profound influence upon Bonaventure's thought. In St. Augustine he saw one who united in himself the two constitutive elements of the mystical life, namely, a most penetrating intellectual vision into things Divine, and a love of God that could rightly be called a consuming passion. It might seem, that Pseudo-Dionysian and Augustinian influence could scarcely meet in one and the same person.¹³ Yet the two streams of thought do meet in Bonaventure. Pseudo-Dionysius may find a greater philosophical interest in repeated negations, whilst the intellectual vigour of St. Augustine may speed him on in his race through creatures to something more positive—to the Light, the Beauty, the Goodness of the God of Whom he has

9. *De Divinis Nominibus*, cap. VII, *ibid.*, col. 1153, and compare *Coelest. Hierarchia*, cap. III, *ibid.*, col. 1045.

10. See *Op. cit.*, cap. IV, P. L., T. CXXII, cols. 1128—1146 especially. In Col. 1136 we find: 'Est autem et ecstaticus divinus amor, non sine seipsos esse amantes, sed amandorum . . . Proinde et Paulus magnus in excellentia divini factus amoris, et mente excedentem suam virtutem assumens, divino ore: Vivio ego, ait, jam non, vivit autem in me Christus.'

11. *Soliloquium*, cap. II, n. 12, T. VIII, p. 49.

12. *Hours with the Mystics*, p. 131.

13. It is not, of course, assumed that the sources of Augustinian and Pseudo-Dionysian thought are diverse. We refer to the Areopagite's marked anxiety to pass beyond creatures, in contrast to St. Augustine's delight in seeking traces of God in all things.

caught glimpses in his passage: Pseudo-Dionysius may press still further the thought of Divine Incomprehensibility, whilst Augustine meditates upon the possibility of acquiring a yet higher knowledge than that gained in response to the 'quære supra nos' of creatures — all this may be true, but both ultimately come to rest in an ecstatic union with God, which they believe to constitute the fulness of the Christian life.¹⁴

It is upon the union they describe that Bonaventure concentrates his attention. He was well acquainted with all the then known works of Saint Augustine, and with others which critical research has since proved spurious, and in the genuine *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, he could find full authority for the importance he attaches to desire, in relation to the mystic union. St. Augustine, commenting on the forty-first Psalm, fully encourages desire of the mystical experience, with its wondrous, ineffable illuminations of the mind, and its power to satisfy the soul's longing for God: 'Curre ad fontes, desidera aquarum fontes. Apud Deum est fons vitæ et insiccabilis fons: in illius luce lumen inobscurable. Lumen hoc desidera Curre ad fontem, desidera fontem impigre curre, impigre desidera fontem.'¹⁵ The same desire for union with God finds expression in the *Liber de Videndo Deo*.¹⁶

Intellectualism prevails in the works of Saint Augustine, and probably only the well-disciplined mind could follow him in his path, but he teaches that the highest point in Christian attainment is not the privilege of the more gifted. It is open to all who steadfastly hold to the course commanded by God; hence to the 'little ones' who can follow Christ Crucified, as well as to those possessed of superior intellectual powers. He writes in his *De Quantitate Animæ*: 'Illud plane ego nunc audeo tibi dicere, nos si cursum quem nobis Deus imperat, et quem tenendum suscepimus, constantissime tenerimus, perventuros per Virtutem Dei atque Sapientiam ad summam illam causam, vel summum auctorem, vel summum principium rerum omnium, vel si quo alio modo res tanta congruentius appellari potest: quo intellecto, vere videbimus quam sint omnia

14. As illustrating the differences of thought, compare Pseudo-Dionysius' interpretation of the vision of Moses, with St. Augustine's ready admission that St. John, whilst still 'in via' had been privileged to contemplate the Eternal Light, with steady gaze, (fixis oculis). In Joan. Evangel. Tract. CXXIV, Tract. XXXVI, cap. VIII, P. L., T. XX, cap. V, col. 1666. 'Restat aquila: ipse est Joannes, sublimium prædicator, et lucis internæ atque æternæ fixis oculis contemplator.'

15. Op. cit., P. L., T. XXXVI, col. 465.

16. Or, Epistola CXLVII, P. L., T. XXXIII, cols. 596 sqq.

sub sole vanitas vanitatum.' ¹⁷ That he is here referring to an experience of God in this life may be gathered from the opening words of the section in which the passage quoted occurs. He declares that certain choice souls have enjoyed such an experience, and have tried in some measure to describe it. ¹⁸ Elsewhere ¹⁹ he declares that the reception of the highest spiritual privileges depends upon one's being faithful to the Divine commands, and though he seems prepared to grant to all a more exalted experience than that described by Bonaventure, he stresses the idea of its accessibility to others, besides the more intellectually gifted: 'Nam quidam etiam minimi, et tamen in via fidei perseverantissime gradientes, ad illam beatissimam contemplationem perveniunt: quidam vero quid sit natura invisibilis, incommutabilis, incorporea, utcumque jam scientes, et viam quæ ducit ad tantæ beatitudinis mansionem, quoniam stulta illis videtur, quod est Christus crucifixus, tenere recusantes, ad quietis ipsius penetrabile, cujus jam luce mens eorum velut in longinqua radiante perstringitur, pervenire non possunt.' ²⁰ Such an idea as this could not fail to influence Bonaventure, to whom the following by faith of Christ-Crucified is all important, and to whom all knowledge is worthless, unless it aids the soul to know Christ better.

It would seem, that in the *Epistola* just quoted, St. Augustine is prepared to admit the accessibility to all of an experience similar to that of St. Paul; the strict road of faith leads 'ad summitatem contemplationis, quam dicit Apostolus, facie ad faciem.' However, in his concession that the request of Moses to see God face to face met with a favourable response, he gives at least a hint of the extraordinary nature of so great a privilege, and a general principle covering all mystic experience is entirely absent: 'Quamquam et illi fidelissimo antiquo famulo Dei Moysi, mirum nisi in hac terra laboraturo, populumque illum adhuc recturo, concessum est quod petivit, ut claritatem Domini videret, qui

17. Op. cit., cap. XXXIII, n. 76, P. L., T. XXXII, col. 1076.

18. 'Jamvero in ipsa visione atque contemplatione veritatis, qui septimus atque ultimus animæ gradus est; neque jam gradus, sed quaedam mansio, quo illis gradibus pervenitur; quæ sint gaudia, quæ perfructio summi et veri boni, cujus serenitatis atque æternitatis afflatus, quid ego dicam? Dixerunt hæc quantum dicenda esse judicaverunt, magnæ quædam et incomparabiles animæ, quas etiam vidisse ac videre ista credimus.' Ibid.

19. 'Jam ergo si fideles sumus, ad fidei viam pervenimus, quam si non dimiserimus, non solum ad tantam intelligentiam rerum incorporæarum et incommutabilium, quanta in hac vita capi non ab omnibus potest, verum etiam ad summitatem contemplationis, quam dicit Apostolus, facie ad faciem (1 Cor. XIII, 12), sine dubitatione perveniemus.' *Epistola CXX*, n. 4, P. L., T. XXXIII, col 454.

20. Ibid.

dixerat: Si inveni gratiam ante te, ostende mihi temetipsum manifeste. Accepit enim in præsentia congruum responsum, quod faciem Dei videre non posset, quam nemo videret, et viveret; hoc modo significante Deo alterius potioris vitæ illam esse visionem. . . . Quod autem dicere institueram, desiderio ejus etiam illum quod petierat, fuisse concessum, in libro Numerorum postea demonstratum est; ubi Dominus arguit contumaciam sororis ipsius, et dicit aliis Prophetis in visione se apparere et in somno, Moysi autem per speciem, non per ænigmata: ubi etiam addidit dicens: Et gloriam Domini vidit. (Num. XII, 6-8).'²¹

There is no evidence for the belief that anything approaching this enters into the normal mystical experience, according to Saint Augustine's idea. He admits he is dealing with an exception: 'Quid ergo est quod eum sic fecit exceptum . . . ?'²² The normal mystical experience, when received, seems to bring with it the intellectual enlightenment, and the rapturous sense of union with God, dwelt upon by Bonaventure, although generally speaking, in Augustinian writings, passages in which it is described only in terms of intellectual illumination, prevail. The characteristic description of the Christian experience, after which St. Augustine strives, sets it forth as a beholding with the mind's eye something unchangeable²³ which, we venture to think, is only Bonaventure's deeper insight into Divine truths by the agency of the gift of Understanding. The same applies when he makes it the attainment of the end of a quest, itself understood as a search for some unchangeable truth.²⁴ When St. Augustine's ideology is recalled, it will be admitted that such statements as these need not necessarily imply any direct vision of God. Even though it is true that his favourite mode of describing the highest point in Christian attainment is by dwelling upon the Light received in the intellect, he does not fail to mention the joys and the spiritual sweetness to which the illumination gives rise. Both the *Enarrationes* and the *Libri Confessionum* can vie with any later works as the expression of intellectual attainment, but even these contain passages of rare and exquisite beauty, descriptive of that love-union between God and the soul, which is an integral element of the mystic experience. In the one,

21. Epistola CXLVII, cap. XIII, n. 32, P. L., T. XXXIII, cols. 610-611.

22. Ibid.

23. 'Ecce acie mentis aliquid incommutabile, etsi, perstrictim et raptim, perspicere potuimus.' *Enarrat.* in Ps. XLI, n. 10, P. L., T. XXXVI, col. 471. N. B. To this he prefixes the statement: 'Ecce jam quadam interiore dulcedine lætati sumus.' Ibid.

24. 'Aliquam quaerit incommutabilem veritatem,' *ibid.*, n. 7, col. 469.

he dwells again and again, upon the indescribable sweetness of which the mystic is the recipient,²⁵ whilst in the other, his tone becomes still more personal, when dealing with its unwonted and ineffable nature: 'Et aliquando intromittis me in affectum multum inusitatum introrsus ad nescio quam dulcedinem, quæ si perficiatur in me, nescio quid erit quod vita ista non erit.'²⁶ When this love within the soul reaches the height of perfection, the result is a life of intimate and habitual union with God. For love, of its very nature, tends towards such perfect union. 'Quid amor omnis?' asks Augustine, and he continues: 'Nonne unum vult fieri cum eo quod amat, et si ei contingat, unum cum eo fit?'²⁷ This general principle, we think, extends primarily to the love of the soul for God. Ideas such as these, though they by no means represent Augustinian thought completely, constitute the basis of the assertion that Bonaventure's name in the sphere of Mystical Theology must be linked with that of the great Doctor of the West.

It must also be connected with the name of St. Gregory, in whom we find to some extent a reversion to the type of Mysticism associated with the works of Pseudo-Dionysius: not that this reversion has been proved to be due to a study of those works.²⁸ Unlike St. Augustine, all that Gregory can find in creatures is but a mass of cares and worries, to be laboriously forced aside. He demonstrates the voluntaristic attitude towards the great problem of sanctifying grace, and with him, the mystical experience becomes a gratuitous gift of God indeed, yet the reward bestowed by Him, after strenuous efforts in the exercise of virtue. When he maps out the various degrees in the actual ascent to Christian perfection, Contemplation becomes the normal term of spiritual activity,²⁹ and an experience by no means the privilege of a few. This last is sufficiently proved by the fact that his most exhaustive explanations of Contemplation and of all that is necessary thereto, appear in exhortations and public sermons

25. 'Tamen dum miratur membra tabernaculi, ita perductus est ad domum Dei, quamdam dulcedinem sequendo, interiorum nescio quam et occultam voluptatem, tanquam de domo Dei sonaret suaviter aliquod organum: et cum ille ambularet in tabernaculo, audito quodam interiori sono, ductus dulcedine, sequens quod sonabat, abstrahens se ab omni strepitu carnis et sanguinis, pervenit usque ad domum Dei.' Enarrat. in Ps. XLI, n. 9, *ibid.*, col. 470.

26. *Confess. S. Aug.*, Lib. X, cap. XL, T. XXXII, col. 807.

27. *De Ordine*, Lib. II, cap. XVII, n. 48, T. XXXII, col. 1017.

28. Gregory in one place refers to 'Dionysius Areopagita, antiquus videlicet et venerabilis Pater,' and quotes the Heavenly Hierarchy indirectly. See *Hom. in Evangel.*, Lib. II, Hom. XXXIV, P. L., T. LXXVI, col. 1254. But we do not find any extensive use of the Dionysiaca.

29. See his *Moral.*, Lib. XXII, cap. XX, P. L., T. LXXVI, cols. 240-244.

delivered in the Lateran Basilica, not merely to monks, but to very mixed congregations. Is Gregory referring to something below the true mystic union, when he so positively declares that no condition or state of life can justly be debarred from the realization of a loving communion with God? The context makes him at least appear to have in view the highest point of Christian attainment when he writes: 'Non enim contemplationis gratia summis datur et minimis non datur, sed sæpe hanc summi, sæpe minimi, sæpius remoti, aliquando etiam conjugati percipiunt.'³⁰ Beneath this, there is plainly the idea that a retired life, for example the monastic life, is more conducive to the enjoyment of mystic communing with God, but there is no question of a special vocation. It is possible of attainment, even amid the distracting cares of service of others. He treats it as an acknowledged fact that many, whilst busily engaged with external affairs, have been led by grace to higher levels of the spiritual life.³¹

Bonaventure presented his doctrine that in the act of Contemplation the soul is vouchsafed no vision or direct experience of God, on the authority of Gregory as well as of Pseudo-Dionysius. Nor does he seem to have misrepresented Gregory's teaching. Gregory repeatedly asserts that God cannot be known or seen as He is in this life by man; whatever man sees, is not, and cannot be, God Himself, but only a similitude of the glory that is Divine.³² Nothing more explicit than the following statement could be found. He writes: 'Deum hic non nisi de longe prospicimus. Quantumlibet enim in hac vita positus quisque profecerit, necdum Deum per speciem, sed per ænigma et speculum videt. E vicino autem cum respicimus, verius cernimus: cum vero longius aciem tendimus, sub incerto visu caligamus. Quia igitur sancti viri in altam se contemplationem erigunt, et tamen Deum, sicut est, videre non possunt, bene de hac aquila dicitur: Oculi eius de longe prospiciunt. Ac si diceret: Intentionis aciem fortiter tendunt, sed

30. Hom. in Ezech., Lib. II, Hom. V, n. 19, P. L., T. LXXXVI, col. 996.

31. 'Quod quotidie in sancta Ecclesia cernimus, quia plerique dum bene ministrant exteriora quae accipiunt, per adjunctam gratiam ad intellectum quoque mysticum perducuntur, ut etiam de interna intelligentia polleant qui exteriora fideliter administrant.' Hom. XL in Evangel., Lib. I, Hom. IX, n. 5, T. LXXXVI, col. 1108.

32. 'Quid enim in universo mundo sancti Spiritus gratia agat aspiciens, ait: Hic erat aspectus splendoris per gyrum. Quae vero interius ejusdem sancti Spiritus gloriae maneat, considerare volens, sed sicut erat non valens, subiungit: Et haec visio similitudinis gloriae Domini. Non enim ait: Visio gloriae, sed similitudinis gloriae, ut videlicet ostendatur quia quantumlibet se intentione mens humana tetenderit, etiamsi jam phantasias imaginum corporalium a cogitatione compescat . . . ' etc., Hom. in Ezech., Lib. I, Hom. VIII, n. 30, T. LXXXVI, col. 868.

necdum propinquum aspiciunt, cujus claritatis magnitudinem penetrare nequaquam possunt. A luce enim incorruptibili caligo nos nostræ corruptionis obscurat.' ³³ It is easy to see how Bonaventure has been impressed by this, and by a similar dogmatic utterance: 'Mens cum in contemplationis sublimitate suspenditur, quidquid perfecte conspiciere prævalet, Deus non est.' ³⁴

In spite of his uncompromising attitude with regard to the vision of God, Gregory admits that a supernatural illumination is an element in the act of Contemplation: an illumination which he calls the 'chink of Contemplation.' The soul cannot directly gaze upon the Infinite Light, but just as a sunbeam passing through a chink in a darkened room is seen, so too, may a ray of the Divine Light penetrate into the depths of the soul. ³⁵ By its radiance, is the soul enabled to apprehend more clearly the 'profunda Dei.' Again, the full contemplative act is not experienced, till there is a subtle mysterious 'tasting' of the sweetness of boundless Truth: 'Quasi enim sibilum tenuis auræ percipimus, cum saporem incircumscriptæ veritatis contemplatione subita subtiliter degustamus.' ³⁶ A theory like Bonaventure's, that the illumination received in Contemplation is dispositive with regard to the love which perfects the mystic union, seems to underlie the further statement, that the food of love is received from the pastures of this contemplated truth: 'Sicque fit ut ipsis bonis actibus adjuta, ad superiora rursus in contemplationem surgat, et amoris pastum de pabulo contemplatæ veritatis accipiat.' ³⁷ The soul has sought after the unencompassed Light; it has been permitted to see its ray, and beholding that ray, it attains to the essential and perfecting element in the mystical act—the 'tasting' of that which it has sought: 'Miro modo hoc ipsum quod accipere quærit, degustat.' ³⁸ Gregory has come to the end of his theorizing concerning the mystical state when he writes: 'Cumque internam dulcedinem degustat, amore æstuat.' ³⁹ Mystic love is there undoubtedly, but in Gregory's

33. Moral., Lib. XXXI, cap. LI, n. 101, T. LXXVI, cols. 628-9. Compare *ibid.*, Lib. IV, cap. XXIV, n. 45, T. LXXV, col. 659: 'Sancti igitur viri videre verum mane appetunt, et, si concedatur, etiam cum corpore illud attingere lucis intimæ secretum volunt. Sed quantolibet ardore intentionis exsiliant, adhuc antiqua nox gravat, et corruptibilis hujus carnis oculos, quos hostis callidus ad concupiscentiam aperuit, iudex justus a contuitu interni sui fulgoris premit.'

34. *Ibid.*, Lib. V, cap. XXXVI, n. 66, T. LXXV, col. 716.

35. *Ibid.*, cap. XXIX, n. 52, cols. 706-7; also see Hom. in Ezech., Lib. II, Hom. V, n. 16—n. 18, T. LXXVI, cols. 994-5.

36. Moral., Lib. V, cap. XXXVI, n. 66, T. LXXV, col. 716.

37. Hom. in Ezech., Lib. I, Hom. V, n. 12, T. LXXVI, col. 826.

38. Moral., Lib. XV, cap. XLVII, n. 53, T. LXXV, col. 1108.

39. *Ibid.*, Lib. V, cap. XXXIII, n. 58, col. 711.

case, we are struck by the almost impersonal character given to its Object; the greater warmth of Bonaventurian writings is painfully absent. The religious thought which finds expression in these, is personal in a new way, and because it is personal, it has greater powers of attraction to the devout soul. For the personal aspect of his religion, the Franciscan is largely indebted, together with his contemporaries, not only to St. Francis with his vitalizing Christ-love, but also to St. Anselm and St. Bernard.

Bernard's is a name which will always be given an important place in the full history of mystical thought. In him we find the dividing line between the Patristic and the Middle Ages. Not the 'Anonymous,' nor 'That which is,' nor yet 'The Unencompassed Light,' but Jesus, the Word, conceived as the Spouse of the Soul, with lips to kiss, and hands and feet, is the Object of Bernard's love. The truth that desire of mystic joys is an indispensable preliminary to their actual attainment becomes a veritable commonplace in his eighty-six Sermons on the *Canticle of Canticles*; to be mystically united to Jesus is the reward only of the 'man of desires.'⁴⁰

The fact that Bernard addressed these Sermons to monks, to encourage them to give themselves up to the contemplative life, to which they were bound by their vocation, in some measure tends to make his Mysticism the privilege of a special class. Now and again, is it viewed as within the grasp of all. In one place, he declares that there is no single individual among the faithful members of Christ's Church, with respect to whom His mystical promise may not be fulfilled;⁴¹ and in another, there is the confession of the belief, that if there is anyone who feels it good to draw near to God: any one in such a way a man of desire, that he longs to be dissolved and to be with Christ, such a one, whoever he may be, will assuredly receive the Word, in mystic communion.⁴² But it would seem that Bernard, in his love of

40. See Sermo III, n. 5, P. L., T. CLXXXIII, col. 796; Sermo IX, n. 3, col. 816; Sermo XXXII, n. 2, col. 946.

41. That is, Christ's promise to abide within His faithful servant. Commenting on this, Bernard writes: 'Quid singulus quisque nostrum? putamusne in nobis quempiam esse, cui aptari queat quod dicitur? Quid dixi, in nobis? Ego autem et de quovis intra Ecclesiam constituto si quis hoc quaerat, non omnino reprehendendum censuerim . . . Denique non propter animam unam, sed propter multas in unam Ecclesiam colligendas, in unicam astringendas sponsum, Deus tam multa et fecit et pertulit, cum operatus est salutem in medio terrae.' Sermo LXVIII, n. 4, col. 1110.

42. 'Ergo si cui nostrum cum sancto Propheta adhaerere Deo bonum est, et, ut loquar manifestius, si quis in nobis est ita desiderii vir, ut cupiat dissolvi et cum Christo esse, cupiat autem vehementer, ardentem sitiit, assidue meditetur; is profecto non secus quam in forma sponsi suscipiet verbum in tempore visitationis, hora videlicet qua se astringi intus quibusdam brachiis sapientiae, atque inde sibi infundi senserit sancti suavitatem amoris.' Sermo XXXII, n. 2, col. 946.

the monastic life, and in his conviction that herein alone could Christian perfection be found, makes such statements with a reluctance unknown to Bonaventure. When Bernard explains the nature of the mystical act, he is as explicit as Gregory in excluding the idea of an experience to be judged as a foretaste of the Beatific Vision. 'Talis visio,' he writes, after giving a glowing account of its beauties, 'non est vitæ præsentis, sed in novissimis reservatur.'⁴³ The most ardent defender of the thesis that the mystical experience is in some way a foretaste of the Beatific Vision, might, however, be the author of this utterance, understanding it to mean that in its fulness the Beatific Vision is reserved for the next life. Bernard means more than this, for in the same Sermon he declares: 'Et nunc quidem apparet quibus vult; sed sicuti vult, non sicuti est. Non sapiens, non sanctus, non propheta videre illum, sicuti est, potest, aut potuit in corpore hoc mortali.'⁴⁴ Moses, to whom Augustine granted the vision of God Himself is, to Bernard, but one who presumes upon favours already received; his request to see God face to face was indeed rewarded, but not in the manner desired: 'Accepit autem pro ea visionem longe inferiorem, ex qua tamen ad ipsam quam volebat, posset aliquando pervenire.'⁴⁵ What he will not admit in the case of Moses, he readily grants in favour of his Holy Father St. Benedict, who was, though only 'ad modicum,' he declares, snatched up to that vision of God which constitutes the Blessedness of the Elect.⁴⁶

The practical identity of St. Bernard's and Bonaventure's thought is manifested in descriptions of the normal term of the spiritual life. It is most frequently, with Bernard, the love-union between the soul and its Beloved, though he does not entirely neglect the intellectual aspect of Contemplation. When all stains of sin and the rust of vices have been consumed by the fire of love: when the conscience has been purified and calmed: 'Sequatur subita quædam atque insolita latitudo mentis, et infusio luminis illuminantis intellectum vel ad scientiam Scripturarum, vel ad mysteriorum notitiam.'⁴⁷ This illumination, ascribed by Bonaventure to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, is, according to Bernard, effected in the soul by the suggestions of Holy Angels:⁴⁸ a thought

43. Sermo XXXI, n. 2, col. 941.

44. Ibid.

45. Sermo XXXIV, n. 1, col. 960.

46. See his Sermones de Diversis, Sermo IX, n. 1, P. L., T. CLXXXIII, col. 565.

47. Sermones in Cant., Sermo LVII, n. 8, col. 1053.

48. Sermo XLI, n. 3, col. 986. He describes how in ecstasy something from God momentarily sheds its ray upon the mind, and there present themselves certain imaginary likenesses of lower things, suited to the meanings

on a lower level, no doubt, but sufficiently developed to prove continuity. There is little need to expand the argument, that Bernard's highest point in the mystical life is a state of love: of a resting of the will in an undisturbed possession of its Object. From Bernard, especially, does Bonaventure borrow the finest passages in the *Soliloquium*, to express the truth that love is the great reality: the only one among all the movements, feelings, and affections of the soul in which creatures are able to respond, adequately, to the advances of the Creator.⁴⁹

Hugo of St. Victor need not, in this connection, receive lengthy treatment. Most of his mystical ideas have been continued in the works of his disciple Richard, for whom he was the 'præcipuus theologus nostri temporis.'⁵⁰ No one can read Hugo's *De laude charitatis*,⁵¹ or his *De Amore Sponsi ad Sponsam*,⁵² without realizing that the contemplative act, bringing with it the Divine Illuminations of which Bonaventure speaks, is perfected in love. In the fact that Hugo rendered, as Vaughan has noted,⁵³ the Pseudo-Areopagite's *Heavenly Hierarchy* more scriptural, more spiritual, and far more human, is his principal influence upon Bonaventure to be found. It is not too much to say that by this work he showed the Franciscan how the other ponderous translations of Scotus Eriugena were to be interpreted.

Richard's is a spirit kindred in many ways to that of Bonaventure. Not only are they both led to seek inspiration for their ideas on Mystical Theology in practically the same sources, but they seem to be moved to dwell upon the benefits of the contemplative life, by the degenerate state of religion in their respective spheres. Richard, even in his most profound expositions of the highest forms of the religious life, laments the evils he finds, not only abroad, but at home, where the finest fruits of devotion might be expected,⁵⁴ and, as we have already seen, Bonaventure is saddened when he compares the lives of the friars and companions of

which have been infused from above, and by means of which the most brilliant ray of truth is in a manner shaded. 'Existimo tamen ipsas formari in nobis sanctorum suggestionibus angelorum.'

49. Sermo LXXXIII is especially quoted: 'Qualiter anima, quantumcunque vitii corrupta, adhuc per amorem eamdem et sanctum potest redire ad similitudinem Sponsi, id est Christi.' Cols. 1181-84.

50. Benjamin Major, Lib. I, cap. IV, P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 67.

51. Contained in P. L., T. CLXXVI, cols. 969 sqq.

52. Ibid., cols. 987 sqq.

53. Hours with the Mystics, Bk. V, c. 2, p. 155.

54. The history of the once holy Abbey of St. Victor bears witness to the truth of Richard's complainings: 'Heu in quam inferiori saeculo dilapsi sumus! Heu in quos fines, imo, faeces saeculorum homines devenerunt! cum (ut de saeculi hominibus taceamus quos excaecavit ambitio) ipsa religionis electio nostra miserabili tempore tanta divisione spargatur, ut vix unus alteri conveniat in unum, nisi forte adversus Dominum et adversus

St. Francis with those of his own contemporaries. They write in the hope of raising the standard of devotion among the Canons of St. Augustine, and the Franciscan Friars respectively. Again, like the later Theologian, Richard was no less renowned for his learning than for his piety and zeal for reform. Keeping closely to the path made by Hugo, he adds still more of the products of Scholasticism, but, curiously enough, beneath his endless subdivisions and distinctions in which the Scholastics delighted, there is a Mystical Theology representing an advance rather than a retrogression. It becomes more definite. In his *De Gradibus Charitatis*, Mystical Theology, understanding by this the religious experience itself is not the privilege of a few, but, as he writes: 'Offertur omni, aufertur nulli, ut nullus nisi suo vitio illa careat.'⁵⁵ Such a declaration may be made, because, like Bonaventure in his *Itinerarium*, he emphasizes the truth that in the attainment of this sublime grace compunction of heart avails more than profound investigations; sighs avail more than arguments.⁵⁶

We are more fortunate now, in being able to find exact definitions of terms used, though it must be confessed that Richard has the mediaeval weakness for departing from definitions on the slightest pretext. In the *Benjamin Major*, he defines Contemplation as the 'libera mentis perspicacia in sapientiæ spectacula cum admiratione suspensa,'⁵⁷ a definition as incomplete as Hugo's which he rejects, unless 'cum admiratione suspensa' denotes the ecstatic love, which he afterwards makes the essential element in the mystical act. Though it has been prepared for by compunction of heart, and the various spiritual exercises already mentioned, in itself it is made possible only by a gratuitous Divine working upon the soul. When it is experienced, Contemplation costs the soul no effort.⁵⁸ In it, though not always with the same

Christum ejus. Ubique apparent scissurae civitatis David, et intantum jam hiant, ut vicinam ruinam omnino minentur. Servatur sub tunica una et veste simili cor varium et omnino dissimile, ita ut de religione antiqua vix signa serventur, et venientibus ad sepulchrum Domini quod claustrum est, Christum quaerentibus sola linteamina pateant, id est, habitus forma . . . Fateor, taedet hic esse.' *De Gradibus Charitatis*, cap. IV, P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 1204.

55. *Ibid.*, cap. col. 1205.

56. *Benjamin Major*, Lib. IV, cap. VI, col. 139. 'Puto ergo quia opus est in hoc opere intima potius compunctione, quam profunda investigatione, suspiriis quam argumentis, crebris potius gemitibus quam copiosis argumentationibus. Scimus autem quia cordis intima nil adeo purgat, mentisque munditiam nil adeo reparat; nihil sic ambiguitatis nebulas detergit, cordisque serenitatem nil melius, nil citius adducit, quam vera animi contritio, quam profunda et intima animae compunctio.'

57. *Op. cit.*, Lib. I, cap. IV, T. CXCVI, col. 67; compare *ibid.*, Lib. V, cap. XIX, col. 193.

58. *Ibid.*, cap. III, cols. 66-7 'Contemplatio permanet sine labore cum fructu.'

intensity—Contemplation admitting of many degrees⁵⁹—the soul is ravished by the wonders of the object contemplated.⁶⁰

What is this object? Richard refers to the 'spectacula sapientiae' which could be rendered 'the wonders of Divine Wisdom,' and thus be made to denote a deeper insight into the hidden truths concerning the Godhead. Yet both Vaughan,⁶¹ and Maréchal claim to have discovered in his writings evidence for something far more exalted than this, the latter going so far as to declare, expressly, that Richard admits the possibility of a vision of the Divine Essence in the act of Contemplation.⁶² Whilst this claim cannot be summarily dismissed, there is much ground for the statement that, like Bonaventure, he rules out such a possibility, and explains the act of Contemplation in some other way. The following, taken from his *Adnotationes Mysticae in Psalmos*, is sufficiently explicit. 'Eumdem tamen in cœlis esse, et in cœlis videri non dubitamus. Sciendum tamen est quod aliter videtur per fidem, aliter autem per contemplationem, aliter vero cernitur per speciem. Quod est inter cœlum et terram, hoc interest inter fidelem et infidelem, et possumus quemlibet perfectum dicere cœlum propter fidem. Huic tamen cœlo supereminet alium cœlum, dignitas scilicet spiritualium virorum, cui tamen superfertur tertium sublimitas, videlicet angelorum. In primo itaque videtur per solam utique fidem; in secundo autem videtur etiam per contemplationem; in tertio vero cernitur facie ad faciem. Per fidem eum videmus, quando illa quæ de eo scripta sunt firmiter credimus. Per contemplationem autem eum cernit, qui in eo quod de illo prius credidit, ex inspiratione divina intelligentiæ oculos figit. Per speciem vero videtur, quando in propria substantia, sicuti est facie ad faciem cernitur. Verumtamen quocumque modo videatur, non tamen videtur nisi in cœlo.'⁶³

A sharp distinction is thus drawn between the three-fold way in which God may be seen, and it is made sufficiently clear that the Object of Contemplation is not God Himself. So too, in another scriptural commentary, this negation is equally stressed. The soul on fire with love for Christ knows its Beloved indeed, but cannot yet behold His Head: the head of Christ being

59. See for these degrees: *Ibid.*, Lib. I, cap. V, cols. 68 sqq.

60. *Ibid.*, cap. IV, col. 68. 'Nam veritatem quidem diu quaesitam tandemque inventam mens solet cum aviditate suscipere, mirari cum exultatione, ejusque admirationi diutius inhaerere.'

61. Hours with the Mystics, bk. V, c. 2, pp. 162-3, and note to p. 163 given on p. 172. Vaughan is evidently impressed by the quotation: 'Egressus autem quasi facie ad faciem intuetur,' etc. See *infra*.

62. L'intuition de Dieu dans la mystique chrétienne, in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, T. V, 1914, pp. 147 sqq.

63. *Op. cit.*, P. L., T. CXCVI, col. 270-1.

for Richard the symbol of His Divinity: 'Caput ejus divinitas ejus est, quia caput Christi Deus est. Quod caput aurum optimum est, quia divinitatis bonitas omnibus quæ ab ea facta sunt antecellit, hoc est aurum terræ viventium, et aurum terræ illius optimum est. Nam fulgens ut humanis oculis, et a viventibus in carne videri non possit. Non enim videbit Deum homo, et vivet. Ideo ergo dilectus meus, quia hoc caput ejus, hoc principale ejus, hoc sublime quod videri non potest.'⁶⁴

These quotations would suffice to prove that Bonaventure continues Richard's doctrine, were it not for Richard's frequent descriptions of contemplatives as those to whom it is given to see God face to face: 'Per contemplativos debemus illos intelligere, quibus datum est facie ad faciem videre,'⁶⁵ or whose privilege is a direct communing with God: 'Habet (contemplativus) in oratione cum Deo familiare colloquium . . . facie ad faciem cum Deo loquens.'⁶⁶ Passages such as these, it is admitted, present serious difficulties, but they should not be interpreted too literally. A religious enthusiasm, and an intense appreciation of the wonders of mystic union with God, sometimes carry Richard, as well as other writers, beyond the strict theological bounds so carefully marked in more critical moods. When he so freely speaks of a face to face vision of God, there are serious reasons for supposing that he has, for a while, departed from theological language, for he elsewhere qualifies his statements: 'Nihil itaque aliud est montes in modum arietum exsultare, nisi viros contemplativos per mentis excessum summam veritatem nuda et aperta visione attingere, et quasi facie ad faciem videre.'⁶⁷ Prior to his other utterance, he writes: 'Homines quamvis boni, quamvis sancti, vident tamen in nocte, id est in obscuritate, . . . etiam hi qui lucent virtutibus et vitæ sanctitate, obscurantur tenebris humanæ cæcitatís.'⁶⁸ This is a return to the thought of Bonaventure.

'Visio Dei quasi facie ad faciem' may, in spite of its being a qualified statement, present certain difficulties, but Richard uses the expressions merely to show forth the superiority of contemplative knowledge over that of faith. In the mystic, as in the ascetic states, the soul has concepts of God, concepts of His Being, and of truths connected with Him, but whereas

64. Explic. in Cant. Cantic., cap. XXXVI, col. 509.

65. Adnot. Mysticae in Psalmos, adnot. in Ps. CXIII, col. 337.

66. Explicat. in Cant. Cantic., cap. V, col. 420.

67. Adnot. Mysticae in Psalmos, cols. 341-2.

68. Explicit. in Cant. Cantic., cap. V, col. 419.

the ascetic, even after strenuous efforts, has only a weak apprehension of things Divine, the mystic, without effort, penetrates more deeply into various religious truths: 'Per contemplationem autem eum (i. e. Deum) cernit, qui in eo quod de illo prius credit, ex inspiratione divina intelligentiæ oculos figit.'⁶⁹ The Victorine's teaching, that the supernatural enlightenment received in mystic communion with God is based upon, and inseparable from, the knowledge of faith, became, not only for Bonaventure, but for future generations of mystical theologians, one of the chief tests for the discriminating between true and false Mysticism.⁷⁰ Because of its exalted nature, therefore, mystical illumination can be called the 'visio Dei, quasi facie ad faciem,' not, however, because it implies a direct, however momentary, experience of God.

There is no need to dwell at greater length upon the truth that Richard makes a supernatural illumination one of the integral elements of mystical Contemplation. It is in love that the contemplative experiences its fulness: 'In hoc statu, dum mens a seipsa alienatur, dum in illud divini arcani secretarium rapitur, dum ab illo divini amoris incendio undique circumdatur, intime penetratur, usquequaque inflammatur, seipsam penitus exuit, divinum quemdam affectum induit, et inspectæ pulchritudini configurata tota in aliam gloriam transit. . . . Cum enim ferrum in ignem projicitur, tam frigidum quam nigrum procul dubio primo videtur. Sed dum in ignis incendio moram facit, paulatim incalcescit, paulatim nigredinem deponit, sensimque incandescens, paulatim in se ignis similitudinem trahit, donec tandem totum liquefiat, et a seipso plene deficiat, et in aliam penitus qualitatem transeat. Sic itaque, sic anima divini ardoris rogo intimique amoris incendio absorpta, æternorumque desideriorum globis undique circumsepta, primo incalcescit, postea incandescit, tandem autem tota liquescit, et a priori statu penitus deficit.'⁷¹

A word may be said concerning his use of the term 'excessus mentis' which occurs at frequent intervals, denoting the mystical act of union with God.⁷² It seems

69. Adnot. Mysticae in Psalmos, adnot. in Ps. II, col. 271.

70. 'Sed si jam te existimas ascendisse ad cor altum, et apprehendisse montem illum excelsum et magnum, si jam te credis Christum videre transfiguratum, quidquid in illo videas, quidquid ab illo audias non ei facile credas, nisi occurrant ei Moyses et Elias. . . . Suspecta est mihi omnis veritas quam non confirmat Scripturarum auctoritas nec Christum in sua clarificatione recipio, si non assistant ei Moyses et Elias.' Benjamin Minor, cap. LXXXI, col. 57; compare *ibid.*, caps. LXXVIII-LXXX, cols. 55-57.

71. De Quattuor Gradibus Violentæ Charitatis, col. 1221.

72. See Benjamin Minor, cap. LXXIV, col. 53; Benjamin Major, Lib. IV, cap. XXIII, col. 167.

to imply nothing more than this, that the soul is so engrossed in things Divine that it can give no attention to other matters. It implies likewise, that the knowledge acquired, and the love enkindled within the soul, are deeper and more intense than the knowledge and the love experienced in the ordinary Christian life. What has already been said regarding Bonaventure's use of 'excessus mentis,' and even 'ecstasis,' applies with equal truth in the case of the Victorine.

Richard it is who develops the presentation of mystical problems, carried still further by Bonaventure, which is based upon the 'given' of Scripture. The Holy Ghost, the Source of all power and strength, revealed in Scripture as working within the soul of man to effect reunion with God, is the effective cause of the mystical experience: 'Hæc omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus' ⁷³ he writes, after describing the illumination received by the contemplative, and the resultant ecstatic act of love. Again, 'Ecce tot hominum mentes tot modis informat, et omnium voluntates ad voluntatis suæ arbitrium sine aliqua coactione inclinât, ipso revelante, veritas agnoscitur, ipso inspirante, bonitas amatur.' ⁷⁴ In this passage, the intellectual and the volitional elements constituting the mystical act of Contemplation are both attributed to the operation of the Holy Ghost. He has not developed to the same extent, the theology of the 'Dona Spiritus Sancti,' found in the Franciscan's works, but he certainly realizes the part played by the gifts, in relation to the mystical life. That the gifts, like the virtues, are general principles of spiritual activity, he admits in his *Benjamin Major*, ⁷⁵ but in the *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, he has the following, which intimately connects them with the mystical experience: 'Agnus ergo, id est Christus, septem cornua, et septem oculos qui sunt septem spiritus Dei missi in omnem terram habet, quia per septiformem Spiritus sancti gratiam, quibus vult regni spiritualis sublimitatem, et suæ veritatis agnitionem præbet. Quos vult ad regnandum exaltat, quos vult ad contemplandum fontem boni spiritualium bonorum radiis illustrat. Missi in omnem terram, ut de omni terra aliquos ad spiritualis regni celsitudinem exaltent, et ad spiritualium bonorum

73. Benjamin Major, Lib. III, cap. XXIV, col. 134.

74. Ibid., col. 133.

75. Op. cit., Lib. III, cap. XXIV, col. 134. 'Toties namque servitutis nostræ debitum divina benignitas augescit, et sibi nos magis obnoxios reddit, quoties in nobis scientiæ et sapientiæ dona accrescit. Haec itaque et quaelibet ejusmodi in augmentum sunt debiti potius quam meriti,' etc.

contemplationem illuminent.' ⁷⁶ Bonaventure's theology of the gifts is only the further development of this.

The quotations adduced do not, we repeat, fully represent any single one of Bonaventure's predecessors. Later theologians, by recourse to the same works, have built up entirely different theses. It is readily conceded that a closer examination, a more competent comparison of texts, a more scholarly acquaintance with Patristic Theology, may set Pseudo-Dionysius, Augustine, Gregory and the rest, in a different light: may prove ultimately that any or all of them granted the mystic a more exalted experience than that which Bonaventure is prepared to admit. But the fact remains that it is upon their authority that he himself hands down his teaching. He is persuaded that he has read their works aright, and that his doctrine is not his own, but one constructed by the master-minds of the Church, and inspired by Sacred Scripture. Does he interpret them correctly? On the authority of the foregoing attempt to pass with Bonaventure through his sources, we think he does.

St. Francis of Assisi, as we have said, stands for the Seraphic Doctor as a perfect type of the true mystic: a follower of Christ: a Saint who derived his strength in frequent communings with Him: one whose insight into Divine mysteries was wondrous indeed, but as nothing when compared with the love that absorbed him. All this is true, but from the point of view of written or spoken doctrine, with regard to the precise nature of mystical Contemplation, he seems to owe little or nothing to the 'Poverello.' ⁷⁷ Francis is the example of the true man of mystic desire; ⁷⁸ he is the example brought forward to show that God calls all, irrespective of any special vocation, to the mystical life; ⁷⁹ he is the example of the perfect lover of the Crucified, ⁸⁰ and doubtless his conception of the life led by the Founder of his Order did much to vitalize what we may call the 'Science of Sanctity' which he derived from tradition.

To give an example of what we mean—the doctrine that the highest mystical state is open to all who ardently desire it, and are willing to undertake the difficult task

76. *Op. cit.*, Lib. II, cap. III, col. 757.

77. There is the little treatise on the contemplative life, but this contains nothing on the nature of Contemplation; it is a guide to those who wish to give themselves up to Contemplation. See *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. and edit. by P. Robinson, pp. 89-90.

78. See *Legenda*, cap. IX, pp. 530-3.

79. See *Itin.*, cap. VII, n. 3, T. V, p. 312.

80. *Ibid.*, Prologus, p. 295.

of preparing for it, was, until the advent of Francis, a theory at best. It seems to have been generally accepted that the true saint was the inhabitant of the cloister or convent, that there were heights of sanctity to be attained only after assuming the habit of the monk or nun. This general acceptance could doubtless have been proved false by the writings originating in the monasteries themselves. Nevertheless, the tendency seems to have been in the direction of making sanctity, and Contemplation, accessible only in seclusion. Francis appears as the religious democrat, breaking down, in deed and word, the barriers supposed to exist between class and class, in the sphere of the service of Christ: proving in his own life, and by his own example, the truth of the doctrine, enunciated centuries before by St. Augustine, that the 'minimi,' the 'little ones' who follow Christ Crucified, possess the same powers, in relation to fellowship with Him, as the more gifted. An ease in clothing one's religious thought in terms of philosophy or scientific theology is helpful, Francis would admit; so too, the inheritance of a traditional rule of life, acquired within the cloisters of the great Monastic Orders. But they are not essential. Those who follow Christ, possessing neither philosophy nor theology, nor yet again a traditional rule of life, may, by love and devotion, attain to equal heights of holiness. This was Francis' message to the world, and we consider that it is only by realizing the spirit in which it was delivered, that the other problem, concerning his attitude towards scientific study, can ever be rightly settled. That message could not fail to influence Bonaventure. It did not find set theological expression, it is true, but in Francis he saw one who did, in reality, come to the enjoyment of mystical communing with God, by the use of means which all possess. St. Francis became for him the concrete proof that Contemplation is accessible to all.

Whilst it is perfectly true that Bonaventure's Scholasticism would naturally incline him towards an impersonal and an objective presentation of his Mystical Theology, there can be little doubt that his knowledge of St. Francis' life served as a newer motive for reticence with regard to his own experiences in the religious life. It is acknowledged that Francis' reputation for sanctity depended upon the testimony of witnesses, rather than upon self-revelation. For Francis was markedly silent, not only with regard to the relatively unimportant secondary phenomena of Mysticism, but also where the more important love-union between his soul and God was concerned. Only now and again,

when he realized that revealing of certain Divine communications would be of positive benefit to his brethren, did he break his wonted silence. On one occasion, he is said to have received in prayer a sure knowledge of the future glory of his Order, which knowledge he communicated to the Friars, excusing himself on the ground that charity constrained him to do so.⁸¹ At another time, after his final exaltation on Mount Alvernia, when he went out into the world with the 'Stigmata' upon his body, he was constantly at pains to hide them, not only from the general public, but also from the Friars themselves. Imparted knowledge of future things, as well as the 'Stigmata,' were unimportant when compared with the delights experienced within his soul when mystically united to God. If he was unwilling to have the former known, he was even more silent where the all-important interior experience was concerned. He keenly felt the folly of publishing abroad the details of consolation received in mystic union, appreciating deeply the beauty of silence in such things. However holy his Friars might be, his will was that they should maintain a like silence: 'Blessed is the servant who treasures up in Heaven the good things which the Lord shows him, and who does not wish to manifest them to men through the hope of reward, for the Most High will Himself manifest His works to whomsoever He may please. Blessed is the servant who keeps the secrets of the Lord in his heart.'⁸² Bonaventure has appreciated the sacredness of Francis' injunction. He calls others therefore to a mode of life which, he is convinced, is the highest offered by Christ to the devout soul; upon the relationship of his doctrine to the Gospel, not upon a personal proof of its worth, does he rely for its attractiveness and acceptance. It is the method dictated by faith—'*habitus quo intellectus noster voluntarie captivatur in obsequium Christi*.'⁸³

* * *

The points of view from which we might attempt a criticism of the foregoing doctrines are obviously numerous. With the modern authors of manuals of Mystical Theology, we could dwell at length upon the question: Is Bonaventure sound in his directive principles, teaching as he does that mystical union with God is to be ardently desired, and that it is within the reach of all, independently of any special vocation? Again, when he explains the

81. See Celano, *Legenda Prima*, cap. XI (ed. Alencon), pp. 28-30.

82. Writings of St. Francis, trans. and edit. by P. Robinson, p. 19.

83. II S. D. XXIII, a. 1, q. 1, T. III, p. 471.

nature of the experience, unanimously associated with the mystics, as a supernatural enlightenment of the intellect, and an inflaming of the will through the agency of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, rather than by some direct experience of God Himself, what value does his theory possess? Indeed, in view of the results of most recent psychological research, it has been questioned whether an explanation of Mysticism necessarily demands the introduction of grace in any form. Further questions can easily be multiplied, to include that which seeks definite proof of the objectivity of the experience claimed by the mystics, and described by Bonaventure, as well as the other, demanding proof of its utility in the religious or social spheres. Questions such as these, though by no means exhausting the number possible, and even reasonable, seem to be the most important. Now, even though we confine ourselves to those mentioned, it cannot be hoped that any fully conclusive arguments will be given. The difficulties surrounding the whole subject are too numerous, and too great, to admit of final dismissal in the little remaining space at our disposal. The primary end of this treatise has been to give Bonaventure his due place among those who have treated of the many problems of Mystical Theology. Since his day, other discoveries have been made, other channels of thought have been opened up, and we can scarcely hope that on his authority every problem will be solved, or that we shall find him prepared to meet the newly-framed objections. The best we can hope to do at present is to advance certain opinions, always where possible with special reference to the Franciscan's teaching, which may make for a clearer understanding of the situation.

Firstly, we may treat of Bonaventure's directive principles. We can discover no weighty reason for rejecting them as unsound, no matter how much they may be opposed to the teaching of certain schools of thought. When rightly understood, they in no way open up the path for any of the evils, to prevent which the more rigid directive principles were formulated. It is conceivable that the suppression of desire, and the presenting of the true mystical experience as a grace which God is willing to bestow only on a few chosen souls, would be more effective in checking a religious emotionalism altogether divorced from a willingness to tread the difficult ascetic way. Insistence upon these two ideas would likewise check the tendency to find in the mystical union merely a way of escape from the many disquieting elements in human

life. Knowing that the mystical union may not be desired, knowing, too, that it is a gift which God bestows upon but few chosen souls, the vast majority would not be too eager to disregard all social obligations, in the endeavour to cultivate the more interior spirit. The desire, however, upon which Bonaventure dwells, is well balanced in itself and in its effects. We have already seen that, extending as it does to all the asceticism which forms the subject of the first part of this work, it is not likely to lead to spiritual presumption. If Mysticism were once admitted to be the outcome of a weariness of spirit, of a disgust with the evils of human life, or the result of an unwillingness to comply with social obligations, the encouraging of desire would be indeed regretted. It is hard to conceive of such disquiet or disgust, as in themselves, and apart from any other consideration, excusing the desire of 'resting with Christ.' Desire built upon such weariness of spirit is, for Bonaventure, a sign of imperfection, and not of perfection: 'Desiderium quiescendi cum Christo, potest venire ex duplici causa: vel propter tedium malorum præsentium, vel propter contemptum malorum et abundantiam prægustationum cœlestium. Primo modo est signum imperfectionis, non perfectionis, quia sic recusat laborare.'⁸⁴ Undoubtedly, in relation to God, the mystics must despise earthly things; they must deny to themselves many of the comforts coming from social existence, but this does not imply necessarily a downright disgust for the natural order of things. From his communings with God, the mystic, in Bonaventurian theology at least, must return to the service of others in a continued imitation of the Christ-life. The idea of benefiting others must be implicit in the desire of attaining to mystical union. It has already been shown that it is their strong hope of benefiting their fellow men that sustains the mystics, even in their absolute renunciation of the world.⁸⁵ Understood thus, the encouraging of desire does not seem to be in any way harmful.

Furthermore, admitting for the moment the truth of Bonaventure's other principle, that the mystical experience is open to all who will seriously labour for it, it is only natural that he should be so emphatic as he is with regard to desire. The two principles are perfectly logical. For the mystic quest needs the greatest strength of purpose; various difficulties must be overcome; the whole character must be rigidly trained, and it is only a strong

84. III S. D. XXIX, dub. VI, T. III, p. 654. This is his answer to the objection: 'Ad perfectam caritatem non pertineat dicere: Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo, sed magis: cupio laborare pro Christo.'

85. See *Supra*, chap. III.

desire that will ensure progress. Desire it is that gives vitality to all effort. Desire is the very key to conquest and success in every sphere of life. It is desire, moreover, that underlies the unwavering fixity of purpose which has characterized the victors of battles, external as well as internal. If all this be true, then, when the mystic's progress is viewed, with Bonaventure, as a continued struggle with the lower self, or with St. John of the Cross, as one that inevitably leads through the 'Dark Night of the Soul,' there must be, within the mystic, an ardent desire, which the increasing severity of the struggle only serves to intensify.

All these arguments, however, fall to the ground, once it is proved that the mystical union is 'de jure divino' given only to a few chosen souls. On this hypothesis, it would be as dangerous to encourage a desire for mystical union as it is to encourage the desire for miracle-working, or prophecy. But the hypothesis has not much to recommend it. As a matter of fact, theologians will never know definitely either way. God's ways of dealing with men are themselves incomprehensible. All we can say is, that Sacred Scripture does not anywhere repudiate Bonaventure's teaching that the mystical union is open to all, independently of any special vocation. On the contrary, Holy Scripture seems to form the basis of that teaching, for it presents to us a Christ delivering to all, without any special reservation either as to class or as to degree of perfection, the promise to abide within the faithful soul: 'If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and will make our abode with him.'⁸⁶ And the mystical experience is but the fullest realization of this promise. On the other hand, it must not be inferred from Bonaventure's teaching that the mystical experience is offered to all without any reservation, that therefore those who do not attain to the heights of sanctity are blameworthy. He is well aware of the fact that the mystics are in the truest sense heroes of sanctity, and that not all men are prepared to make the stern uncompromising sacrifices which are the preliminaries to heroism. His positive attitude is that all the wealth of Christ's Love is open to those who will make the necessary sacrifice: to those who will be heroes. The answer he would give to the objection that it seems strange, that to all appearance only few attain to so high a level, would be in perfect accord with the response of the later author of the *Imitation of Christ*: 'This is

86. John, XIV, 23.

the reason why there are found so few contemplative persons, because few know how to separate themselves wholly from created and perishing things.' ⁸⁷ All this seems to be more in accord with the universality of Christ's Love, than the other opinion which would make the fulness of His Charity, 'de jure,' the privilege of the few and the specially chosen.

Undoubtedly, we are often led by Sacred Scripture to think of God as calling souls to Himself by the interspersion among the many of men of extraordinary gifts and abilities. Moses and Paul are types. Among those who admit the mystic's claim to be valid, and who see in the mystic the veritable religious genius, there are those who would put him in the same category. The mystic's privilege is similar to those other privileges, of which St. Paul speaks: 'To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom: and to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; . . . to another, the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another the discerning of spirits; to another, diverse kinds of tongues; to another, interpretation of speeches.' ⁸⁸ St. Paul refers to special gifts divided by the Spirit, 'according as He will,' and for the spiritual edification of the whole Church. But the mystical experience is none of these things; it is the fulness of the charity of Christ, and it is of that same charity that the Apostle of the Gentiles speaks, when he writes: 'If I speak with the tongues of men, and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should have prophecy and should know all mysteries, and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.' ⁸⁹ Common sense dictates that the extraordinary gifts referred to by St. Paul are not within the reach of all men. The prophet cannot call all to a share in his power of prophecy; nor can the worker of miracles call all to a reception of a like gift; but the perfect lover of Christ can bid all to follow him in his path, with an equal hope of final union with God. It is only a persistence in finding in the unessential phenomena, which are sometimes concomitants of the mystical experience, something more than the purely subordinate and the unnecessary, that has led, we think, to any confusion on these points.

However, these points are of relative unimportance. The question is far more important which asks the value Bonaventure's

87. Op. cit., Bk. III, chap. 31.

88. I Cor., XIII, 8-10.

89. Ibid., XIII, 1-2.

theory possesses as an explanation of the mystical union itself. It has been seen that he views the mystical union as an objective fact, and explains it by a supernatural enlightenment, and an inflaming of the will. The fact that he introduces supernatural agencies marks him off from others who have treated of the problem from a non-theological point of view, but in stressing these two characteristics of the mystical state, he is really at one with practically all who have examined the problem.

William James is probably to be accepted as voicing the universal belief among psychologists, when he singles out the noetic quality, as one of the marks characterizing genuine mystical states. He writes: 'Although so similar to states of feeling, mystical states seem to those who experience them to be also states of knowledge. They are states of insight into depths of truth unplumbed by the discursive intellect. They are illuminations, revelations, full of significance and importance, all inarticulate though they remain; and as a rule they carry with them a curious sense of authority for after-time.'⁹⁰ But the first of the marks by which he attempts to classify any state as mystical is that of ineffability, in which peculiarity, he declares: 'Mystical states are more like states of feeling than like states of intellect.'⁹¹ He continues: 'No one can make clear to another who has never had a certain feeling, in what the quality or worth of it consists. One must have musical ears to know the value of a symphony; one must have been in love one's self to understand a lover's state of mind.'⁹² Here he touches upon the precise cause of the ineffability of the mystic states. They are ineffable, because they are states of love, of will-union with God. Dr. Moberly, who, though not a Catholic, has a sound appreciation of the mystic union, has also singled out light and love as the characteristics of the experience the mystic strives to realize: 'It is an inward light which makes itself manifest as character; a direct communion of love which is also, to the fullest extent, wholly rational at once and wholly practical; it is as much knowledge as love, and love as knowledge.'⁹³

These two characteristics, which seem to be universally accepted, Bonaventure traces to supernatural agencies, as we have said. There are those who would declare that he has not

90. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, pp. 380-1. This is valuable as coming from a dispassionate witness.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901, p. 314. No one, we venture to think, will quarrel with this.

gone far enough in this direction; that the mystical experience is only explicable on the hypothesis of some direct experience of God Himself. On the other hand, there are many who wish to rule out the doctrine of grace altogether. Bonaventure does not in any way limit the possibilities of Divine activity, when the soul is concerned. That God could grant some direct experience of Himself in this life, he is prepared to admit, but his position is, that He grants the mystic joys through the medium of certain interior effects. It is doubtful whether, in ultimate analysis, the best accredited mystics have described their experiences otherwise than by the introduction of some such medium. St. John of the Cross, we are told, though not a scholar, was intimately acquainted with the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas,⁹⁴ and he nowhere contradicts the categorical statement made by that Doctor: 'In contemplatione Deus videtur per medium, quod est lumen sapientiæ, mentem elevans ad cernenda divina; non autem ut ipsa divina essentia immediate videatur.'⁹⁵ The question, however, naturally arises: Does love, whose immediacy Bonaventure acknowledges, need a medium whereby it may be united to the Object, which is God? If there be no momentary intuition of God on the part of the intellect, the medium does seem to be necessary, to arouse in the will an act of love more or less proportioned to its Object. To the finite intelligence, God is still hidden in the depths of His Being, and the intensity of the soul's love is more explicable on the ground of some such medium as the gift of Wisdom.

But need the supernatural element be brought to bear upon the problem at all?⁹⁶ Are there not experiences in the lives of people other than the Christian saints, akin in nature to that which these claim for themselves, yet in connection with which it would be futile to introduce the supernatural? These supernatural agencies of Bonaventure admirably explain the mark of passivity characterizing mystic states. William James has once more expressed a conclusion arrived at by most psychologists who have been interested in Mysticism, when he writes: 'Although the oncoming of mystical states may be facilitated by preliminary voluntary operations, as by fixing the attention, or going through

94. See *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, trans. by D. Lewis, London, 1906, Introduction by B. Zimmerman, p. 13, and p. 17.

95. *De Veritate*, q. XVIII, a. 1, ad 4 (ed. Parmæ), T. X, p. 275.

96. To present possible misunderstanding we may here assert that we do not even consider the possibility of a true Mysticism without the Supernatural: without Grace. Here the question is asked and discussed merely because non-Catholic writers frequently regard Supernatural Mysticism as a species of Mysticism. To us it is the only kind.

certain bodily performances, or in any other ways which manuals of mysticism prescribe; yet when the characteristic sort of consciousness once has set in, the mystic feels as if his own will were in abeyance, and indeed sometimes as if he were grasped and held by a superior power.'⁹⁷ God, working on the soul through the instrumentality of the gifts, will, as we say, explain the mark of passivity. In mystic states, as Bonaventure frequently declares, the soul is to be regarded as acted upon, rather than as itself acting. Where we feel Bonaventure's theology to be especially weak is in this, that he does not set forth the mystic experience in the light of the possibilities of unaided intellect or will. His psychology does not extend to those intuitions into truth, those states akin to religious ecstasy, which appear in lives not professedly religious, or in lives which are even vigorously anti-religious. His attitude, it is true, is uncompromising enough. His only genuine mystical experience is essentially the full development of grace; it is moreover specifically Christian: '*Omnes alii a Christianis sunt sicci ab ista gratia.*'⁹⁸ Had his psychology been as advanced as is the psychology of the present, he would probably have attempted to show that in the genuine mystical experience, which is inseparable from grace, there is an element differentiating it from every other. Unfortunately, he is silent.

That such states exist, akin in nature to the mystical state he describes, there can be no question. Instances will be found in practically every treatise on religion written from a psychological point of view.⁹⁹ They are very frequently personal accounts, and they point to experiences, similar to those which Bonaventure declares to be so essentially the effect of grace. Others, besides the Saints, have spoken of themselves as the subjects of certain exaltations of mind, without abnormal physical concomitants, resulting in the delights attributed by theologians to the will-union of the soul with God. Often it is non-religious in the means of its production, and non-religious, or only vaguely religious, in its content. Sometimes such experiences are produced by drugs.¹⁰⁰ The more the possibilities of the unaided intellect and will are established and multiplied by psychological research, so much the

97. *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 381. Yes! And the power is the power of God.

98. *Sermo de Sabbato Sancto*, Sermo 1, T. IX, p. 269.

99. Thus, see *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 383 sqq. The author quotes many instances.

100. William James declares that nitrous oxide and ether, especially nitrous oxide, when sufficiently diluted with air, stimulate the mystical consciousness in an extraordinary degree. See his *Varieties*, etc., p. 387. De Quincey's opium reveries will also be recalled.

more tempted do writers become, to see in the exaltation of the poet, the intuition of the metaphysician, and in the experience of the Christian mystic, but various forms of one and the same phenomenon. We must, consequently, it is argued, cease to assign to grace a necessary part in the mystical experience. The differences discovered can be traced to purely natural origins: to varieties of temperament, and varieties of previous training. Thus, the mind already attuned to metaphysics, will be the subject of experiences of which the primary character is metaphysical; to a mind attuned to religion by years of discursive meditation on matters religious, the experience will assume a definitely religious character.

The task before those who wish to establish the essential connection between grace and the mystical union resolves itself into this—they must prove that there is in that act in which their Theology centres an element which is not present in the act of which the poet or the metaphysician speaks. The favourite mode of differentiating the genuine religious state from the non-religious is by the application of the pragmatic test. Within the Church it amounts to this: that by its *fruits*, in the religious or social spheres, we shall be able to distinguish the genuine from the spurious. Only the genuine variety will be attributed to grace. For example, the genuine mystical experience has not been enjoyed, if it results in the embracing of religious truths directly opposed to the accepted Rule of Faith. Mystical experience will not be genuine, if it causes the subject to enter into competition with the *Magisterium* of the Church: if it leaves its sphere of the personal and the experimental, and becomes didactic in opposition to already defined dogmas. Bonaventure knows this test which was formulated by Richard of St. Victor, but he applies it, like the Victorine, not with special reference to purely psychological possibilities, but rather to show that those who base heretical dogmas upon supposed Divine illuminations, are charlatans; to him, the claims of such people have absolutely no objective value. In like manner, the genuine mystic, after his experience, must still be subject to the general laws of morality. If he fails in these, and in similar tests, which easily suggest themselves when it is remembered that the mystic is a member of Society, whose beliefs and laws are already established, his claim is absolutely rejected.

Now, we are far from denying that these tests possess a certain value. But are they sufficient of themselves, so that, after applying them, we can, with certainty, say that this or that is the genuine mystical experience: it appears as the consummation of the life

of grace—can we say therefore, that true Mysticism and grace are inseparable? Such a conclusion seems to take too much for granted, and it neglects the truth that even those who have been bound to God by the closest ties can fall from grace. Presumably, two men might be the subjects of an identical experience. The one, when he begins to translate his experience into thought and activity might, on the authority of his intuition, found a new religion, or become the greatest enemy of law and order. His free will, of which he is not deprived by union with God, can be responsible for all kinds of deviations from truth and rectitude. The other might return from his experiences with a firmer grasp of tenets already accepted by the majority as true, and might appear as a more vigorous champion of the moral code. After-behaviour, to which the tests are applied, might easily be traced therefore, in both cases, to something other than the mystical experience itself. This being so, we feel that we must look further, for some intrinsic difference, if we are to establish the relationship claimed to exist between Mysticism and grace.

Bonaventure is weak here, in that he does not explicitly help us. Implicitly, however, he does do so, for, to establish the diversity of the experiences claimed by the Saints on the one hand and by these who are strangers to sanctity on the other, we can look to the general directive principles he sets forth. It is more reasonable to suppose that different modes of life will culminate in different results. What we have already said of Bonaventure's asceticism shows sufficiently that the would-be mystic must not merely attune his mind by meditation to religious truths: he must lead a practical life of heroic devotion; he must enter into the life of Christ, by the practice of His virtues. Involving, as it does, not a continuous change of thought, but an entire change of life, it is only reasonable to suppose, we repeat, that this preliminary asceticism will lead to an experience, differing in nature from that which is the culmination of ideas, imaginings and other things, which have not their root in action—in genuine change of life. It is impossible to suppose that the drug-taker, with no thought of moral values, or—if we may be pardoned for mentioning the drug-taker and the metaphysician in the same connection—the metaphysician, whose sphere is that of pure thought, will attain to precisely the same experience as the supernatural mystic who, by heroic, unceasing toil, has substituted virtue for vice, sacrifice for ease and comfort: who has transmuted thought itself into prayer, by relating it directly to the Transcendent God-head.

It is readily admitted that even this is not fully conclusive. The result is at best a probability, but the probability seems to be of a higher degree than that obtained by the application of the above mentioned tests. It does not meet the case of the poet, for example, who, however explicit in his rejection of all religious values, may find his true inward life in the continued contemplation of beauty: or of the metaphysician, who discovers his in prolonged concentration of thought. To the poet or the metaphysician, beauty and thought may mean all that the cultivation of virtue, or the constant denial of the self, mean to the Christian ascetic. However, these remarks are offered, not in the hope of settling the problems raised. For the Christian, the path is an easy and a true one; it is that of *faith*. We believe by faith that they who wish to enjoy in fulness the delights of communion with God must, in some way, be conjoined with Him. It is grace alone that effects the radical union between God and the soul; it will therefore be through grace alone that we can come to the perfection of that union with Him in this life which is the goal of the Mystic Quest.

Intimately connected with the above problem, though differing from it in many respects, is the next question, which asks whether all these states, be their origins in the supernatural or in the natural, possess any objective value: whether the subject has derived his experience from a genuine trans-subjective source. When the mystics relate their experiences, are they merely relating the results of pure imaginings, are they victims of certain diseases, or are they merely conscious of a store of past experiences accumulated during a long period of time? In determining this, the impressions of truthfulness, sanity and reality, left by the reading of the reports of the great Christian mystics, will be of the greatest importance. Here especially, we are inclined to regret Bonaventure's impersonal method of expression. Personal testimony, coming from a man of his temperament, from one fully developed intellectually, robust in his physical constitution, little given to vain imaginings, inclined to distrust the psycho-physical concomitants of Mysticism, or at least insistent upon the fact that they are unessential—from such a one, personal testimony would have been of the greatest worth. Dogmatically, of course, his mystical experience is trans-subjective: it has its origin outside the mind, in the activity of God upon the soul. According to him, the soul knows, and is convinced, that it has received something which it did not possess before.

There are few who are inclined to doubt the good faith of the greater mystics, but their good faith alone, their conviction that these experiences have a trans-subjective origin, does not prove sufficient. Fortunately, in these latter days, there is no need to dwell at length upon the once popular method of making certain diseases, especially mental diseases, responsible for the experiences claimed. A St. Teresa is no longer seriously regarded as a hysterical patient, nor a St. Francis as a victim of any other form of nervous disorder. Even the discovery that the majority of the mystics have been physically weak, or even neurotic, does not serve to establish the relationship of cause and effect between disease and mystical experience. As Baron Von Hügel has pointed out, practically every manifestation of genius is accompanied by certain psycho-physical phenomena which point to diseases of some kind or other: 'In such cases as Kant and Beethoven, a classifier of humanity according to its psycho-physical phenomena alone, would put these great discoverers and creators, without hesitation, among hopeless and useless hypochondriacs.'¹⁰¹ Yet, as he so rightly continues: 'The truth of their ideas, and the work of their lives have to be measured by quite other things than by this, their neural concomitance and cost.'¹⁰² The mystic is, in the sense explained, the *religious genius*. He has been dominated by one central idea, and has worked towards a definite end and object. It is more likely that whatever abnormalities he betrays, instead of being the cause, are but the inevitable consequences of the continual subordination of the flesh to the spirit.¹⁰³ Disease in the case of the great Christian mystics, as in the case of the genius in spheres other than religious, is incapable of sustained effort; it is incapable 'per se' of the prolonged subordination of all interests to the attainment of one ideal. From this particular quarter it would seem there is little fear that anything definite will come to disprove the trans-subjective value of the mystical experience.

The theory which centres upon the subconscious self, that psychic state whose powerful operations and rich content are being revealed by the latest psychological research, produces far more potent arguments. It is the content of the subconscious self that the mystic experiences, in his wonderful communings,

101. *The Mystical Element of Religion*, vol. II, p. 42.

102. *Ibid.*

103. We cannot reasonably hope to find a man who spends years in self-denial in the same state of bodily health as one who never dreams of bodily asceticism.

so we are told. There is little doubt that psychology can become a good friend to religion. This examination of the subconscious self will do much to eliminate the true from the false, the results of subjective imaginings from genuine illuminations. It will probably, if rightly directed, serve to remove the many misconceptions surrounding the subject of Mysticism. But it must not suppose too much. It cannot be denied that very often so-called visions, locutions, and other secondary phenomena of Mysticism, are ultimately traceable to past experiences, long since forgotten by the subject. So too, it is possible that when he who has received a genuine mystical experience tries to translate it into human language, many ideas, or facts, stored away in the subconscious mind, spring up and are spontaneously pressed into service. Will all this, however true it may be, prove satisfactorily that the will-union of the soul with God, which lies beneath all these things, is itself to be explained as purely subjective—with no relation to anything outside the mind? We have seen Bonaventure, with other dogmatic mystics, declaring emphatically that to attain to mystical union, the soul must transcend itself; it must rise above all sense and intellectual knowledge, or at the most, it must use such knowledge as a stepping stone to something higher. On the volitional side, it must dismiss all affection for creaturely objects. Indeed, it would be difficult to discover language more forcible than theirs, to express the truth that it is in a communing with an essentially extra-mental Object that the mystical quest is brought to a successful issue. This is always represented as an experience of an Absolute Being, beyond the limits of the self, attained only after the reduction of the self to a state of sheer instrumentality in relation to the transcendent Godhead. Before tracing this ineffable experience to a purely subjective source, we must surely examine our right to do so. They — the mystics — alone have experienced that of which they speak, and they declare it has objective value. True, the mystical life has already been described as the attempt to realize the inherent possibilities of that which is within: of grace and its supernatural concomitants. But grace is not co-natural; it is the mysterious means whereby God communicates Himself to the human soul. From that God, through the use of the graces bestowed, Bonaventure declares, the mystic receives his illuminations; with that God, through a like means, the mystic feels united.

To us it would seem that we do not possess sufficient data to warrant a denial of the objectivity of

the experience itself. If the mystics cannot fully persuade us that they really have consciously communed with God Himself, our only logical position would be the admission that it is still an open question. This is the least that seems demanded by sound reasoning. For it is nearly always admitted in the case of those forms of genius, whose intuitions into things are at times akin to the mystic experience itself, that they are intuitions of objective worth, although they are beyond the normal reach. Art, for example, in its highest forms, is rightly regarded, not as a subjective figment, without objective reference, but as an apprehension, however subjective in its medium, of a trans-subjective beauty, existent outside the artist. The question naturally arises: Is Mysticism to be the only sphere in which value is divorced from all objective existence? Can we readily attach the stigma of self-hallucination to the mystic, when he emphatically asserts that his experience is not only sought after, but attained, in a manner only explicable on the hypothesis of objective worth? The stronger position seems to be held by the religious genius himself.

We come now to the last point. This has reference to the utility of setting forth, as Bonaventure does, such a secret, hidden, and ineffable union with God as the goal of the Christian life. That it has its dangers he is quite willing to admit. Even love can be disordered. But the dangers of the mystical life are not necessary concomitants. Most of us, Catholic and non-Catholic, are prepared to admit with Dr. Moberly that Our Divine Lord appears as the Example of the true Mystic, that He alone, albeit in a transcendent manner, has realized *all* that Mysticism and mystics have aimed at, that in Him, moreover, that perfect realization evidently means a harmony, a sanity, a fitly proportioned completeness.¹⁰⁴ In those who strive to imitate Him, there will be a certain amount of disproportion no doubt, and from the disproportion will spring the dangerous elements. The mystic who has left the world for example, not out of disgust, but with the sound enough idea of gaining, in solitude, that which he cannot reach amid the cares and worries of the world, may begin, after success in his efforts, to despise all social activity. Here is a want of true proportion.

Of course our appreciation of the value of the mystical experience will depend entirely upon our attitude towards religion as a whole, as well as upon our pre-conceived notions of what it is.

104. Atonement and Personality, p. 314. In other words: Our Divine Lord is the Supreme and Perfect Exemplar of all that we are to strive after.

As described by Bonaventure, the supreme delights of the experience for the mystic himself cannot be denied. Nor can we deny the utility of all the preparation Bonaventure deems absolutely necessary. In the stern fight for the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh, in the rigid asceticism, demanding so much energy and patience, unsuspected depths of character are revealed. The discipline the individual mystic voluntarily imposes upon himself, cannot but benefit him.

But were his religion of a type that is wholly passive, we should have good reason for questioning its utility, from the point of view of the community. To accept it as useful from this point of view, we must show that in its best forms it somehow reacts in favour of the many. Nor is this difficult. The number of the mystics and their rôle in the life of Christian Society, prove that it is from them that Christianity has derived much of its vitality. They have stood firmly by the great realities of religion, and have done their best to communicate their convictions to others. Within the Church they have championed the great truth, frequently forgotten in times of prosperity, that the religious life is primarily from within. At times, when the outward splendour of the Church was at its highest point of magnificence, they have preached that the breath of Divine Life was absent, and that that absence was due to the lack of interior prayer. History is indeed kind to Mysticism in its best forms, and it bears witness to its utility. It shows us a St. Francis returning from his mystic communings with God, to preach with wonderful results to a fast-degenerating people: a St. Teresa, even in her seclusion, holding a leading position in the religious life of the Spain of her day. Francis and Teresa are but two out of many.¹⁰⁵

With special reference to Bonaventure, we cannot help remarking, before we conclude, that he champions this genuine and inward spirituality, he makes it the basis of his greater dogmatic works, precisely because he realized, that if his Order was to be of any utility to the World, it must draw its life from this source. He knew well that when this inward communing with God, with all that it implies, is held up as the goal of Christian endeavour, all hypocrisy and deceit must disappear. He knew that the very

105. For evidence as to the social service rendered by the mystics, see Royce, J., *The World and the Individual*, New York, 1900, vol. I, pp. 85-7; Jones, R. M., *Studies Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, pp. 30-31. Underhill, E., *Mysticism*, London, 1911, pp. 209 sqq., 512 sqq. This evidence is the stronger since it comes from non-Catholic sources. Within the Church the value of the true mystic has always been recognized.

evils, which he so bitterly lamented, and which threatened the Order's existence from within and without, were due to the absence of this spirituality: that the Franciscan ideal, mystical in its origin, demands a mystical approach. And the history of the Order bears testimony to the truth of his conviction. In the absence, or universal neglect, of this inward spirituality, it has sunk to its lowest depths. When this spirituality has been present, there has been a return to the primitive ideal, and it has produced men after the pattern of St. Francis of Assisi. The world cannot but benefit by the multiplication of such types. For the secret of the wonderful influence of the 'Poverello' lies in this, that he teaches men how to interpret Christ. In a personal interpretation of Christ, or in the adoption of so genuine an interpretation as that of Francis, the possibilities, in the purely religious or in the social sphere are endless. It is Mysticism that has revealed and proved those possibilities.



CONCLUSIONS

On the authority of the foregoing, we now feel in a position to make a few general statements, covering the work already done. These statements have been grouped together under the following headings, viz:—

- (1) The principles of Bonaventure's Mystical Theology.
- (2) The sources of his teaching, (a) General, and (b) Particular.
- (3) The chief characteristics of his doctrine.

(1) *The Principles of St. Bonaventure's Mystical Theology:—*

The opinion that Bonaventure is a mystical writer of great importance seems to possess a solid foundation, whilst the suggestion that he has made but rare references to the subject of Mysticism can only be accounted for, by the very ill-defined nature of the subject itself. If Mysticism deal with the possibilities of Divine Love in relation to the human soul, the amount of material to be gathered from his works is extensive. It is quite true that unlike his admirer of a later date, Gerson, he has not been the author of a work which may strictly be called a *Compendium* of Mystical Theology, but he has expressed definite ideas with regard to the many problems confronting every writer on matters mystical. The fact that his teaching is so scattered did not prevent it from exercising, as we hope to show in a continuation of the present work, a great influence upon subsequent mystical thought.¹

1. A little has already been done on this point, but, as has been noted, many works, now proved to be of different authorship, are introduced. Any treatise on his influence upon subsequent mystical thought should, we think, make the edition of his Opera, published at Quarrachi, the starting point. Bonaventure's dogmatic works were displaced by those of Duns Scotus, but his *Opuscula Mystica* were always popular within the Franciscan Order. Indeed, they formed the models of many beautiful treatises, which, in turn, exercised a great influence. Bonaventure determined the direction taken by later spiritual writings, emanating from Franciscan sources. These writings, are, almost without exception, Christocentric and affective in character. They exhibit the specifically Franciscan love of Our Lord's Humanity, and the devotion to His Passion. We may mention a few of the better known works:—There is Peccam's beautiful lyric, *Philomena*, undoubtedly inspired by Bonaventurian thought. (Printed in the Opera of St. Bonaventure, T. VIII. pp. 669 sqq). The *Septem Itineribus Aeternitatis*, and the *Stimulus Amoris*, are also well known, and they contain whole passages taken verbally from the genuine works of the Seraphic Doctor. (They will be found in the Vatican Edition of the Opera). The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, (also contained in the Vatican Edition, and frequently translated into various European languages), had a widespread influence throughout Europe. (See Oliger, L., *Le Meditationes Vitae Christi del Pseudo-*

The Seraphic Doctor has viewed the whole spiritual life of man objectively, and he sees in the exalted experience of the Christian mystic the culmination of the life begun within every soul acknowledging Christ's dominion, by the first outpouring of Sanctifying Grace. Grace and its concomitants, the Virtues and the Gifts, make the soul capable of responding to the advances of Divine Love, and Bonaventure's Mysticism is based upon the conception that in such a response the soul is subject to a vital development in relationship to the Divine. It is first cleansed from sin and its consequences; then it is illumined; finally it enters into a secret union with the only Object conceived of as capable of satisfying its cravings after happiness.

As a preliminary to the mystical life stands an asceticism demanding genuine labour and continued effort: an asceticism, which views the grace of God as working in, and through man indeed, but not in such a way as to render conative activity in any degree the less necessary. Consequently, Bonaventure's Mystical Theology offers no short road to a fuller communion of the Christian soul with God. This lies beyond the arduous paths of Purgation and Illumination.

The Supreme Guide presented by the Franciscan's Mysticism is Jesus Christ in His twofold Nature, Divine and Human. Our Lord is the Guide in word and deed. Only by imitating the many virtues of which Christ in His Human Nature is the Exemplar, only by attempting to re-live His Life in some fashion, can the soul enter into communion with the Divinity. An imitation of Christ, determined as to details by diversities of vocation, is the *Via Illuminativa* which constitutes what may be called the 'bridge' between the purgative life and the more developed life of the Christian Saints.

Bonaventure's Mysticism proceeds by way of Meditation and Prayer. Meditation is not the mere intellectual satisfaction derived from the reflection upon truths, even though these truths be

Bonaventure, Arezzo, 1922). Ubertino da Casale, in his *Arbor Vitae* made great use of Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae* (see Callaey, F. *Étude sur Ubertin de Casale*), and it would be interesting to discover any indebtedness on the part of the other 'Spiritual,' Jacopone da Todi, whose beautiful *Laude* are well known. Lastly, there are the *Visiones* and *Consolationes* of Angela of Foligno. (See B. *Angelae Fulginatis, Vita et Opuscula, Fulginiae, MDCC-XIV*). Through many of the works first mentioned, Bonaventure influenced some of our own English mystical writers, e. g. Rolle and Hilton. It has likewise been asserted that he inspired the author of the *Imitation* of Christ to a large extent. (See Symphorien, P., *L'Influence spirituelle de S. Bonaventure et l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1923). More documentary evidence is needed, however, to prove this conclusively. It is hoped that in a further and more popular study new facts with regard to Bonaventure's influence upon mystical writings will be brought forward.

of a specifically religious and devotional order. The Meditation conceived as leading up to Contemplation should be called a life: an endeavour to live in strict accord with truth. The basic principle of Bonaventure's teaching on Meditation is, that holiness in the will, and in action, must be the fruit of truth in thought, if that truth is to be of any benefit in the spiritual life. This being so, he can offer as material for Meditation, not only the Scriptures, and the specifically religious dogmas with their multitudinous consequences which go to make up the science of Theology, but also the more philosophical search after traces of God in Nature. His doctrine of Prayer springs from a sense of God's Love, and Mercy, and Omnipresence on the one hand, and from a realization of human frailty and shortcomings on the other.

The Seraphic Doctor has likewise well-defined ideas as to what takes place in the mystical experience itself, and the proximate dispositions required for its enjoyment. The mystical experience in his Theology is represented as the reward which Divine Love bestows upon all who have been willing to respond fully to the graces working in and through them: the reward offered to all who are animated by an ardent desire of a fuller communion with the Divine, and are prepared to undergo the rigorous self-training implied in that desire. His theological system acknowledges no clear-cut distinction between the mystic and the non-mystic, on the basis of special predestination or vocation. In theory, it admits that the highest experiences of the Saints are open to all, though it grants that in practice few do attain to such experiences, because of the great difficulty of the work demanded in preparation. Bonaventure has analyzed the act of Contemplation, and finds it impossible to subscribe to the opinion that the mystical phenomenon is to be explained by any form of *direct* experience of God Himself. It is not, in a real sense, a foretaste of the Beatific Vision. To explain what takes place, he has recourse to the potentialities of the many Graces coming from God. The illumination claimed by the Christian mystics is traced to the Gift of Understanding. This endows the soul with a more penetrating knowledge of truths already received by faith: a knowledge which is never divorced from faith. The element in the mystical experience which makes it ineffable is traced to the Divine working upon the will, through the agency of the Gift of Wisdom. The use of the gift of Wisdom results in a mysterious experimental knowledge of the truths contemplated. Moreover, it enables the will to send forth its love in all intensity to the God

Who is still hidden in the depths of His Being from the finite intelligence, even though this intelligence be the recipient of special illuminations. Without seeing God, the soul enjoys a fuller union with Him than is possible in lower levels of the spiritual life. Bonaventure is willing to acknowledge more than this in the instances of Moses and St. Paul, on account of the exalted position they held with regard to the Old and New Dispensations, but the normal experience of the Christian Mystics is believed to be such as he describes. It implies no Pantheistic merging of the being of the human soul into the Being of God; nor does it necessarily imply any wonderful psycho-physical phenomena. From such a mysterious union with God the mystic derives his strength to fulfil his special vocation in life.

(2) *Sources of his Teaching.*

(a) *General.*

The doctrine Bonaventure offers is one which he believes will reveal itself to him who makes a devout study of Holy Writ. It centres upon the promise made by Christ to abide within the faithful soul, and the mystic union is but the highest fulfilment in this life of that promise. In an especial manner, he has favoured the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels, finding in them the authority for the importance attached to the imitation of Christ's earthly life, and to the attempt to discover traces of God in the created world. His Mystical Theology is illustrated by the vast amount of literature bequeathed to the Christian Church by his predecessors. Common Tradition guides him when he dwells upon the value of Asceticism in his understanding of the term, and when he develops his doctrine of Mediate Contemplation. It also guides him, when he insists upon the need of desire in relation to mystical union with God, and when he emphatically asserts that such a union is not reserved to any particular class of men, but is open to all. Finally, Tradition has guided him in his description of the twofold element in the mystical act, the intellectual and the volitional.

(b) *Particular.*

In this exposition, however, there are distinct traces of individual influences. The writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, to whom priority of place has been given throughout, for reasons already stated, cause him to declare with especial insistence that the God with Whom the mystic in some mysterious fashion finally enters

into union, is infinitely raised above all knowledge received of Him. These writings stand as valued authority for the statement, that God Himself is not directly seen in the act of Contemplation. From Pseudo-Dionysius, he has borrowed the terminology under which he describes the three ways of Purgation, Illumination, and Union.

Saint Augustine's influence, without doubt, saves his Mystical Theology from the extreme interpretation given to the Pseudo-Dionysian 'Docta Ignorantia' at a later date.² With this great Doctor of the Western Church, Bonaventure regards the things of sense as pledges of spiritual realities, and the acquisition of all forms of knowledge as a valuable preliminary to a final emptying of the self. Augustinian Theology and Philosophy form the background of his mystical thought.

In Gregory, the Franciscan theologian has found a forcible exponent of the voluntarism he champions: using the term voluntarism to denote the doctrine which emphasizes the need of conative activity, in relation to Grace. With Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory is another authority for the statement that in Mystical Contemplation the direct Object seen, is not God Himself.

SS. Anselm and Bernard are responsible to no little degree for the personal warmth of his religious thought, and for his championship of the devotion to the Humanity of Christ. They have taught him to unite speculative thought with most affective piety.

Hugo of St. Victor has continued Augustinian tradition, whilst his interpretation of Pseudo-Dionysian theology has influenced Bonaventure's own understanding of that same theology.

From Hugo's disciple, Richard, Bonaventure has inherited the tendency to schematization, and the insistence that the Gifts of the Holy Ghost play an important part in the act of mystical Contemplation.

The whole of Bonaventure's Mystical Theology is coloured by the spiritual traditions set up by the Founder of his Order, Francis of Assisi. He has continued Francis' moderate teaching with regard to bodily penances. Needless to say, Francis' conception of Poverty is the primary element in Bonaventure's Asceticism. He exhibits Francis' personal love of Christ, the Saviour of the World, and retains much of that definitely Franciscan philosophy,

2. See Vansteenbergh, E., *Autour de la doct. ignorance. Une controverse sur la Théologie Mystique au XVe siècle*, Münster i. W., 1915. This controversy will find its place in the proposed continuation of this work.

which refuses to see in creaturely objects so many barriers in the mystic path. With Francis of Assisi, Bonaventure, the Mystical Theologian, directs the soul into wide spiritual channels, counselling, not only the withdrawal into the self in order to come into communion with God, but also the loving meditation upon every existing relationship between God and the outside World. Bonaventure is the Scholastic exponent of that belief in the preëminence of love, which characterized every deed of the 'Poverello.'

(3) *Characteristics of his Doctrine.*

We do not therefore claim for the Seraphic Doctor any great originality. Nor do we affirm that his Mysticism has attained to the heights of Augustinian thought. In the sphere of Mysticism, he is what he professes to be in the sphere of Dogma—an exponent of received traditions. Yet we can and do assert that he has given to the religious world a teaching unspoilt by the vagaries and abuses which have brought the subject of Mysticism into disrepute: a teaching which will be admitted to be at once sane, and sound, and powerful in its practical possibilities.

Whilst it must be called a Supernatural Mysticism, it is not a debased form of Supernaturalism, since it safeguards the truth that even in relation to the most inward activities, the human soul never surrenders its co-natural capacities. It receives indeed great graces from God, but the reception of such graces in no way destroys its freedom as to after-behaviour. On the external side it is free from what has been called by non-Catholic writers a debased Supernaturalism, inasmuch as Bonaventure's Mystical Theology is far from being merely the sum total of those extraordinary phenomena which seem, at times, to be unworthy of the sacred relationship existing between the Supreme Being and human nature in general.

In so far as Quietism is to be identified with the tendency to destroy the efficacy of human effort, and to neglect the lessons taught by Christ in His life upon earth, his teaching is definitely anti-Quietistic. It is Christocentric, presenting Our Lord as the 'Bridge' uniting in Himself the Human with the Divine: the Leader, bringing men by His own example into fuller communion with the Father.

It is a Mystical Theology characterized by an optimistic view of the World, and of the destiny of the human race. For it does not withdraw men from the world, in the belief that Christian Perfection is attainable only in strictest retirement, but it upholds

the idea, that a wider life can be conducive to higher spiritual realities. Because of this optimism, the world of sense offers no stumbling block to the mystic in his path: neither does a life spent in the service of others.

It is non-Pantheistic, for it insists that even in the most exalted states of union the soul loses nothing of its own being.

Whilst we admit that Bonaventure's teaching possesses certain limitations—it does not, for example, examine the mystical problem from a psychological point of view—we claim that he has handed down a teaching which should not fail to find an honourable place in the history of mystical thought. His is a Mysticism which is simple and practical, being in ultimate analysis, nothing more than the dedication of life to the service of God: making for the best interests, not only of the individual mystic, but also of the whole community of men.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, E. H.**
Authorship of the Prick of Conscience, Boston, etc., 1910.
- Amoni, L.**
Fioretti di S. Francesco d'Assisi, Roma, 1889.
- Angela of Foligno.**
B. Angelae Fulginatis, vita et opuscula, Fulginiae, MDCCXIV.
- Anselm, S.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L. T. CLVIII-CLIX.
- Augustine, S.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L. T. XXXII-XLVII.
- Bardenhever, O.**
Patrology, Freiburg im B., 1908.
- Bernard, S.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L. T. CLXXXII-CLXXXV.
- Berthoumieu, A.**
Histoire de S. Bonaventure, Paris, 1858.
- Besse, L. de.**
La Science de la Prière, Paris, 1924.
- Bonaventura, S.**
Opera Omnia, Quartrachl, 1882-1902.
do. (Another edition, containing spurious works), Romae, 1588-96.
- Bossuet, J. B.**
Instruction sur les États d'Oraison (Seconde Traité), Paris, 1897.
- Boztkovic, G.**
S. Bonaventurae doctrina de gratia et libero arbitrio, Balneis Marianis, 1919.
- Bremond, H.**
Histoire Littéraire du sentiment religieux en France, Paris, 1916-21.
- Butler, C.**
do. Benedictine Monachism, London, 1919.
do. Western Mysticism, London, 1922.
- Callaey, F.**
Étude sur Ubertain de Casale, Louvain, 1911.
- Carvahlo, L. de.**
Saint Bonaventure; Le Docteur Franciscaïn, Paris, 1923.
- Clop, E.**
Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1922.
- Comper, F. M.**
The Fire of Love or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life of Richard Rolle, London, 1914.
- Coulton, G. G.**
do. Mediaeval Studies (First Series), London, 1915.
do. Christ, St. Francis and to-day, Cambridge, 1919.
- Cuthbert, F.**
do. St. Francis of Assisi, London, 1921.
do. The Romanticism of St. Francis, London, 1915.
- Deanesly, M.**
The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole, Manchester, 1915.
- Delacroix, H.**
do. Essai sur le mysticisme spéculatif en Allemagne au quatorzième siècle. (Thèse) Paris, 1899.
do. Note sur Christianisme et Mysticisme, Paris, 1909.
- Delaporte, P. A.**
do. Étude sur l'itinéraire de l'âme à Dieu de de Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1863.
- Denifle, H.**
Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, Parisiis, MDCCCLXXXIX.
- Devine, A.**
A Manual of Mystical Theology, London, 1903.
- Dionysius the Areopagite.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. G. T. III-IV.
- Erlugena, J. Scotus.**
Versio Op. S. Dionysii, Migne, P. L. T. CXXII.

- Evangelista, P.**
Sanctus Bonaventura Scholae Franciscanae magister praecellens,
Paris, 1888.
- Facin, D.**
S. Bonaventura Doctor Seraphicus Discipulorum S. Augustini alter
princeps, Venetilis, 1904.
- Fanna, F.**
Ratio novae collectionis operum omnium S. Bonaventurae etc.
Taurini, 1874.
- do.** De Humanae Cognitionis Ratione. Anecdota quaedam Seraphici
D. S. Bonaventurae et nonnullorum ipsius discipulorum, Quar-
rachi, 1883.
- Felder, H.**
Histoire des Études dans l'Ordre de Saint-François, Paris, 1908.
- Ferrers-Howell, A. G.**
S. Bernardino of Siena, London, 1903.
- Fleming, W. K.**
Mysticism in Christianity, London, 1913.
- Fournier, P.**
Études sur Joachim de Flora, Paris, 1909.
- Francis of Assisi, S.**
Opera Omnia, ed. in. Medii Aevi Bibliotheca Patristica, T. VI,
Parisiis, 1880.
- do.** Opuscula S. Patris Francisci Assisiensis. Quarrachi, 1904.
(See Robinson).
- Gardner, E.**
Joachim of Flora and the Everlasting Gospel, in Franciscan
Essays (Extra Series), Aberdeen, 1912.
- do.** Dante and the Mystics, London, 1913.
- Gaspard de Monte Santo.**
Gesta e dottrina del serafico dottore S. Bonaventura, Macerata, 1793.
- Gerson, J.**
Opera Omnia, Parisiis, MDCVI.
- Ghellinck, J. de.**
Le Mouvement Théologique du XIIe siècle, Paris, 1914.
- Gilson, E.**
Études de Philosophie médiévale, Strasburg, 1921.
- do.** La Philosophie de Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1924.
- Gregory, S.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L., T. LXXV-LXXIX.
- Haskins, C. H.**
Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science, Cambridge (U. S. A.)
1924.
- Hauréau, B.**
Histoire de la Philosophie, Paris, 1880.
- Herrmann, W.**
The Communion of the Christian with God. (Trans. by R. W.
Stewart), London, 1906.
- Hilton, W.**
See Underhill.
- Horstman, C.**
Richard Rolle of Hampole, London, 1895.
- Hügel, Baron Von.**
The mystical element of religion as studied in St. Catherine of
Genoa and her friends (2nd Ed.), London, 1923.
- do.** Essays and addresses on the philosophy of religion, London, 1921.
- Hugo of St. Victor.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L., T. CLXXV-CLXXVII.
- Inge, W. R.**
Christian Mysticism, London, 1899.
- do.** Studies of English Mystics, London, 1906.
- James, W.**
The Varieties of Religious Experience, London, 1902.
- Jeller, I.**
S. Bonaventurae principia de concursu Dei generali ad actiones
causarum secundarum etc. Quarrachi, 1897.
- John of the Cross, S.**
The Ascent of Mount Carmel (trans. by D. Lewis), London, 1906.
- do.** A Spiritual Canticle of the Soul (trans. by D. Lewis), London, 1909.
- Joly, H.**
The Psychology of the Saints, London, 1898.
- Jones, R. M.**
Studies in Mystical Religion, London, 1909.

- Jørgensen, J.**
Saint Francis of Assisi (trans. from the Danish, by T. O'Connor Sloane), London, 1912.
- Jourdain, C.**
La Philosophie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Paris, 1858.
do. Recherches sur les anciennes traductions latines d'Aristote, Paris, 1843.
- Keble, J.**
On the Mysticism of the early Fathers of the Church, Oxford, 1868.
- Lecoy de la Marche, A.**
La chaire Française au moyen âge, Paris, 1868.
- Lemmens, L.**
S. Bonaventura, Milano, 1921.
- Love, N.**
See Powell.
- Mandonnet, P.**
Siger de Brabant et l'Averroisme Latin au XIIIe siècle, Fribourg, 1899.
- Maria d'Agreda.**
La mistica ciudad de Dios, Madrid, 1670.
- Margerie, A. de.**
Essai sur la philosophie de Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1855.
- Martigné P. de.**
La scolastique et les traditions Franciscains, Paris, 1888.
- McNabb, V.**
The Mysticism of St. Thomas Aquinas, Oxford, 1924.
- Mignon, A.**
Les origines de la scolastique et Hugues de St.-Victor, Paris, 1895.
- Montmorency, J. de.**
Thomas a Kempis, his age and book (2nd ed.), London, 1907.
- Naval, F.**
Theologiae Asceticae et Mysticae Cursus, Romae, 1920.
- Oliger, P. L.**
Le Meditationes Vitae Christi del Pseudo-Bonaventura, Arezzo, 1922.
- Origen,**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. G., T. XI-XVII.
- Ozanam, A. F.**
Les poètes franciscains en Italie au XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1882.
- Falhoris, G.**
Saint Bonaventure, Paris, 1913.
- Pleavet, F.**
La Place de Roger Bacon parmi les Philosophes du XIIIe siècle, in Roger Bacon Essays (ed. by A. G. Little), Oxford, 1914.
- Poulain, A.**
The Graces of Interior Prayer (authorized English trans.), London, 1921.
- Pourrat, P.**
La Spiritualité Chrétienne, Paris, 1921.
- Probst, A.**
Caractère et origine des idées du B. R. Lulle, Toulouse, 1912.
- Powell, L. F.**
The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ, Oxford, MCVII.
- Richard of St. Victor.**
Opera Omnia, Migne, P. L., T. CXCVI.
- Richard, J.**
Étude sur le mysticisme spéculatif de Saint Bonaventure, Heidelberg, 1869.
- Robinson, P.**
The writings of St. Francis of Assisi, Philadelphia, 1906.
- Rolle, R.**
See Comper, Deanesly and Horstman.
- Rousselot, P.**
Pour l'Histoire du Problème de l'amour au Moyen Âge, Münster, 1908.
- Royce, J.**
The World and the Individual, New York, 1900.
- Sabatier, P.**
Vie de S. François d'Assise, Paris, 1894.
do. Speculum Perfectionis seu S. Francisci Assisiensis Legenda Antiquissima auctore F. Leone, Paris, 1898.

- Salimbene.**
Cronica F. Salimbene de Adam, Ordinis Minorum,
Catalogus Generalium Ministrorum Ord. F. Min., ed. in
Monumenta Germaniae Historica, T. xxxii, Hannoverae et Leipsiae,
MDCCCXV-MDCCCXIII.
- Saudreau, L'Abbé.**
La Vie d'union à Dieu, etc., Paris, 1921.
- Sbaralea, J. H.**
Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores trium Ordinum S. Francis-
cisci a Waddingo aliisque descriptos, Romae, MDCCCVI.
- Scotus, J. Duns.**
Opera Omnia, Parisiis, apud Vivès, MDCCCXCIV.
- Sharpe, A. B.**
Mysticism, its true nature and value, London, 1910.
- Storr, R.**
Concordance de Imitatione Christi, Oxford, 1910.
- Suso, B. H.**
Autobiography (trans. by T. F. Knox), London, 1865.
- Symphorien, P.**
L'Influence spirituelle de S. Bonaventure et l'imitation de Jésus-
Christ de Thomas à Kempis, Paris, 1923.
- Taylor, H.**
The Mediaeval Mind, London, 1914.
- Tempesti.**
Mistica teologia secondo lo spirito e le sentenze di S. Bonaventura,
Venezia, 1748.
- Teresa, S.**
Interior Castle (Stanbrook ed. and trans.), 1906.
do. Autobiography (trans. by D. Lewis), London, 1904.
- Theologia Germanica.**
See Winkworth.
- Thomas Aquinas, S.**
Opera Omnia, Leonine Edition, Romae, 1882.—(This Edition used
where possible).
do. De Veritate (Parma Edition), MDCCCLIX.
do. In omnes Divi Pauli Epistolas Expositio, Venetiis, 1541.
- Thomas of Valigona.**
Mysticae Theologiae D. Thomae, Turin, 1890.
- Thorold, A.**
An Essay in aid of the better appreciation of Catholic Mysticism.
London, 1900.
- Tyrrell, G.**
The Faith of the Millions (First Series), London, 1901.
- Ubertino da Casale.**
Arbor Vitae, etc., Venetiis, 1485.
- Underhill, E.**
Mysticism, London, 1911.
do. The Scale of Perfection by W. Hilton, London, 1923.
- Vaughan, R. A.**
Hours with the Mystics (2nd Edit.), London, 1860.
- Vansteenberghe, E.**
Autour de la docte ignorance. Une controverse sur la Théologie
Mystique au XVe siècle, Münster, 1915.
- Wadding, L.**
Annales Minorum, Romae MDCCXXXI.
- Watkin, E.**
The Philosophy of Mysticism, London, 1920.
- Webb, C. C. J.**
The Devotions of St. Anselm, London, 1903.
- Winkworth, S.**
The Theologia Germanica (trans. from the German), London,
1874.

For articles on St. Bonaventure, Mysticism, Contemplation, etc., etc.,
and for editions of minor mediaeval MSS., I am also indebted to the
following:—

- Acta Ordinis Minorum, Romae, 1890.
Analecta Bollandiana, Bruxellis, 1903 etc.
Analecta Franciscana, Quarrachi, 1885 etc.
Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, Berlin,
1895, etc.

Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, Quarrachi, 1922 etc.
Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1907 etc.
Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique (Vacant, Paris, 1905 etc.
Dublin Review, London, 1914 etc
Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings), Edinburgh, 1910.
Études Carmélitaines, Paris, 1920.
Études Religieuses, Historiques et Littéraires, Paris, 1913.
Franziskanische Studien, Münster, 1921.
Récherches de Science Religieuse, Paris, 1914.
Revue d'Histoire Franciscaine, Paris, 1924.
Revue néo-scholastique, Louvain, 1903 etc.

To the above must be added the Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, Washington, D. C., 1926, which appeared after this work was completed.





Franciscan studies
v.1-6
1924-
27

BX
3601
F7
v.1-6
1924-
27

323905

GRADUATE THEOLOGICAL UNION LIBRARY
BERKELEY, CA 94709

GTU Library

~~Microfilm of the~~ G
Microfilm of the Christian World an



3 2400 00160 7245

